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VENEZUELA-BRITISH GUIANA BOUNDARY ARBITRATION

THE CASE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA

BEFORE THE

TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION

To Convene at Paris

UNDER THE

Provisions of the Treaty between the United States of Venezuela and Her Britannic Majesty Signed at Washington February 2, 1897

VOLUME 1

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TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION

His Excellency F. DE MARTENS, President

The Honorable MELVILLE WESTON FULLER

The Right Honorable BARON HERSCHELL, G. C. B.

The Honorable SIR RICHARD HENN COLLINS, Kt.

The Honorable DAVID JOSIAH BREWER

J. M. DE ROJAS

Agent of Venezuela

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CASE OF THE UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

Treaty of Arbitration of 1897.

The Treaty of Arbitration signed at Washington on the second day of February, 1897, between the United States of Venezuela and Her Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, after making provision for the organization of the Tribunal of Arbitration, proceeds, in Article III, to define the questions which are to be investigated and determined.

Article III is as follows:

Questions submitted.

"The Tribunal shall investigate and ascertain the extent of the territories belonging to, or that might lawfully be claimed by, the United Netherlands or by the Kingdom of Spain respectively at the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the Colony of British Guiana, and shall determine the boundary line between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela."

After laying down certain rules for the government of the Arbitrators in connection with the decision of the matters submitted, the Treaty then proceeds to specify the time and manner in which each party shall present its case.

Article VI, which provides for this, is as follows:

Delivery of Case.

"The printed Case of each of the two parties, accompanied by the documents, the official correspondence, and other evidence on which each relies, shall be delivered in duplicate to each of the Arbitrators and to the Agent of the other Party as soon as may be after the appointment of the members of the tribunal, but within a period not exceeding eight months from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty."

Submission of Case.

In compliance with this stipulation, the Agent of Venezuela before the Arbitral Tribunal has the honor to submit the present Case, accompanied by an Appendix printed in two volumes and an atlas. The Government of Venezuela reserves the right to hereafter present additional documents, correspondence and evidence pursuant to the provisions of Article VII of the Treaty.

The full text of the Treaty is as follows:

Treaty of Arbitration of 1897.

"Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States of Venezuela, being desirous to provide for an amicable settlement of the question which has arisen between their respective Governments concerning the boundary between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela, have resolved to submit to arbitration the question involved, and to the end of concluding a Treaty for that purpose have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Sir Julian Pauncefote, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath and of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, and Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States;

"Los Estados Unidos de Venezuela y Su Majestad la Reina del Reino Unido de la Gran Bretaña é Irlanda, deseando estipular el arreglo amistoso de la cuestión que se ha suscitado entre sus respectivos Gobiernos acerca del límite de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela y la Colonia de la Guayana Británica, han resuelto someter dicha cuestión á arbitramento, y á fin de concluir con ese objeto un tratado, han elegido por sus respectivos Plenipotenciarios:

El Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela, al Señor José Andrade, Enviado Extraordinario y Ministro Plenipotenciario de Venezuela en los Estados Unidos de América;

Y Su Majestad la Reina del Reino Unido de la Gran Bretaña é Irlanda al Muy Honorable Sir Julian Pauncefote, Miembro del Muy Honorable Consejo Privado de Su Majestad, Caballero Gran Cruz de la Muy Honorable Orden del Baño y de la Muy Distinguida Orden

Treaty of Arbitration of 1897.

And the President of the United States of Venezuela, Señor José Andrade, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Venezuela to the United States of America;

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed to and concluded the following Articles:—

de San Miguel y San Jorge, y Embajador Extraordinario y Plenipotenciario de Su Majestad en los Estados Unidos;

Quienes, habiéndose comunicado sus respectivos plenos poderes que fueron hallados en propria y debida forma, han acordado y concluido los artículos siguientes:—

ARTICLE I.

Arbitral Tribunal.

An Arbitral Tribunal shall be immediately appointed to determine the boundary-line between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela.

ARTÍCULO I.

Se nombrará inmediatamente un Tribunal arbitral para determinar la línea divisoria entre los Estados Unidos de Venezuela y la Colonia de la Guayana Británica.

ARTICLE II.

Tribunal appointed.

The Tribunal shall consist of five jurists: two on the part of Great Britain, nominated by the Members of the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, namely, the Right Honourable Baron Herschell, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath; and the Honourable Sir Richard Henn Collins, Knight, one of the Justices of her Britannic Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature; two on the part of Venezuela, nominated, one by the President of the United States of Venezuela, namely, the Honourable

ARTÍCULO II.

El Tribunal se compondrá de cinco Juristas; dos de parte de Venezuela, nombrados, uno por el Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela, á saber, el Honorable Melville Weston Fuller, Justicia Mayor de los Estados Unidos de América, y uno por los Justicias de la Corte Suprema de los Estados Unidos de América, á saber, el Honorable David Josiah Brewer, Justicia de la Corte Suprema de los Estados Unidos de América; dos de parte de la Gran Bretaña nombrados por los miembros de la Comisión Judicial del Consejo Privado de

Tribunal appointed.

Melville Weston Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States of America, and one nominated by the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, namely, the Honorable David Josiah Brewer, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America; and of a fifth Jurist to be selected by the four persons so nominated, or in the event of their failure to agree within three months from the date of the exchange of ratifications of the present Treaty, to be selected by His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway. The Jurist so selected shall be President of the Tribunal.

In case of the death, absence, or incapacity to serve of any of the four Arbitrators above named, or in the event of any such Arbitrator omitting or declining or ceasing to act as such, another Jurist of repute shall be forthwith substituted in his place. If such vacancy shall occur among those nominated on the part of Great Britain the substitute shall be appointed by the members for the time being of the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, acting by a majority, and if among those nominated on the part of Venezuela, he shall be appointed by the Justices of the Supreme Court of

Su Majestad, á saber, el Muy Honorable Barón Herschell, Caballero Gran Cruz de la Muy Honorable Orden del Baño, y el Honorable Sir Richard Henn Collins, Caballero, uno de los Justicias de la Corte Suprema de Judicatura de Su Majestad; y de un quinto Jurista, que será elegido por las cuatro personas así nombradas, ó, en el evento de no lograr ellas acordarse en la designación dentro de los tres meses contados desde la fecha del canje de las ratificaciones del presente Tratado, por Su Majestad el Rey de Suecia y Noruega. El Jurista á quien así se elija será Presidente del Tribunal.

En caso de muerte, ausencia ó incapacidad para servir de cualquiera de los cuatro Arbitros arriba mencionados, ó en el evento de que alguno de ellos no llegue á ejercer las funciones de tal por omisión, renuncia ó cesación, se sustituirá inmediatamente por otro Jurista de reputación. Si tal vacante ocurre entre los nombrados por parte de Venezuela, el sustituto será elegido por los Justicias de la Corte Suprema de los Estados Unidos de América por mayoria; y si ocurriere entre los nombrados por parte de la Gran Bretaña, elegirán al sustituto, por mayoría, los que fueren entonces miembros de la

the United States, acting by a majority. If such vacancy shall occur in the case of the fifth Arbitrator, a substitute shall be selected in the manner herein provided for with regard to the original appointment.

Comisión Judicial del Consejo Privado de Su Majestad. Si vacare el puésso de quinto Arbitro, se le elegirá sustituto del modo aqui estipulado en cuanto al nombramiento primitivo.

Tribunal appointed.

Article III.

The Tribunal shall investigate and ascertain the extent of the territories belonging to, or that might lawfully be claimed by the United Netherlands or by the Kingdom of Spain respectively at the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the Colony of British Guiana, and shall determine the boundary line between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela.

Artículo III.

El Tribunal investigará y se cerciorará de la extensión de los territorios pertenecientes á las Provincias Unidas de los Países Bajos ó al Reino de España respectivamente, ó que pudieran ser legítimamente reclamados por aquéllas ó éste, al tiempo de la adquisición de la Colonia de la Guayana Británica por la Gran Bretaña, y determinará la línea divisoria entre los Estados Unidos de Venezuela y la Colonia de la Guayana Británica.

Questions submitted.

Article IV.

In deciding the matters submitted, the Arbitrators shall ascertain all facts which they deem necessary to a decision of the controversy, and shall be governed by the following Rules, which are agreed upon by the High Contracting Parties as Rules to be taken as applicable to the case, and by such principles of international law not inconsistent therewith as the Arbitrators shall determine to be applicable to the case:—

Artículo IV.

Al decidir los asuntos sometidos á los Arbitros, estos se cerciorarán de todos los hechos que estimen necesarios para la decisión de la controversia, y se gobernarán por las siguientes reglas en que están convenidas las Altas Partes contratantes como reglas que han de considerarse aplicables al caso, y por los principios de derecho internacional no incompatibles con ellas, que los Arbitros juzgaren aplicables al mismo.

Rules adopted.

Rules.

Rules adopted.

(*a*) Adverse holding or prescription during a period of fifty years shall make a good title. The Arbitrators may deem exclusive political control of a district, as well as actual settlement thereof, sufficient to constitute adverse holding or to make title by prescription.

(*b*) The Arbitrators may recognize and give effect to rights and claims resting on any other ground whatever valid according to international law, and on any principles of international law which the Arbitrators may deem to be applicable to the case, and which are not in contravention of the foregoing rule.

(*c*) In determining the boundary-line, if territory of one Party be found by the Tribunal to have been at the date of this Treaty in the occupation of the subjects or citizens of the other Party, such effect shall be given to such occupation as reason, justice, the principles of international law, and the equities of the case shall, in the opinion of the Tribunal, require.

ARTICLE V.

Meeting of Tribunal.

The Arbitrators shall meet at Paris, within sixty days after the delivery of the printed arguments mentioned

Reglas.

(*a*) Una posesión adversa ó prescripción por el término de cincuenta años constituirá un buen título. Los Arbitros podrán estimar que la dominación política exclusiva de un distrito, asi como la efectiva colonización de él, son suficientes para constituir una posesión adversa ó crear título de prescripción.

(*b*) Los Arbitros podrán reconocer y hacer efectivos derechos y reivindicaciones que se apoyen en cualquier otro fundamento válido conforme al derecho internacional, y en cualesquiera principios de derecho internacional que los Arbitros estimen aplicables al caso y que no contravengan á la regla precedente.

(*c*) Al determinar la línea divisoria, si el Tribunal hallare que territorio de una parte ha estado en la fecha de este Tratado ocupado por los ciudadanos ó súbditos de la otra parte, se dará á tal ocupación el fecto que, en opinión del Tribunal, requieran la razón, la justicia, los principios del derecho internacional, y la equidad del caso.

ARTÍCULO V.

Los Arbitros se reunirán en Paris dentro de los sesenta días después de la entrega de los argumentos impresos mencio-

in Article VIII, and shall proceed impartially and carefully to examine and decide the questions that have been, or shall be, laid before them, as herein provided, on the part of the Governments of Her Britannic Majesty and the United States of Venezuela respectively.

Provided always that the Arbitrators may, if they shall think fit, hold their meetings, or any of them, at any other place which they may determine.

All questions considered by the Tribunal, including the final decision, shall be determined by a majority of all the Arbitrators.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall name one person as its agent to attend the Tribunal, and to represent it generally in all matters connected with the Tribunal.

nados en el Artículo VIII, y procederán á examinar y decidir imparcial y cuidadosamente las cuestiones que se les hayan sometido ó se les presentaren, según aquí se estipula, por parte de los Gobiernos de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela y de Su Majestad Británica respectivamente. Meeting of Tribunal.

Pero queda siempre entendido que los Arbitros, si lo juzgan conveniente, podrán celebrar sus reuniones, ó algunas de ellas, en cualquier otro lugar que determinen.

Todas las cuestiones consideradas por el Tribunal, inclusive la decisión definitiva, serán resueltas por mayoría de todos los Arbitros.

Cada una de las Altas Partes Contratantes nombrará como su Agente una persona que asista al Tribunal y la represente generalmente en todos los asuntos conexos con el Tribunal.

Article VI.

The printed Case of each of the two Parties, accompanied by the documents, the official correspondence, and other evidence on which each relies, shall be delivered in duplicate to each of the Arbitrators and to the Agent of the other Party as soon as may be after the appointment of the members of the Tribunal, but within a peri-

Artículo VI.

Tan pronto como sea posible después de nombrados los miembros del Tribunal, pero dentro de un plazo que no excederá de ocho meses contados desde la fecha del canje de las ratificaciones de este Tratado, se entregará por duplicado á cada uno de los Arbitros y al Agente de la otra parte, el Alegato impreso de Delivery of Case.

Delivery of Case.

od not exceeding eight months from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty.

cada una de las dos partes, acompañado de los documentos, la correspondencia oficial y las demás pruebas, en que cada una se apoye.

ARTICLE VII.

ARTÍCULO VII.

Delivery of Counter-Case.

Within four months after the delivery on both sides of the printed Case, either Party may in like manner deliver in duplicate to each of the said Arbitrators, and to the Agent of the other Party, a Counter-Case, and additional documents, correspondence, and evidence, in reply to the Case, documents, correspondence, and evidence so presented by the other Party.

If in the Case submitted to the Arbitrators either Party shall have specified or alluded to any report or document in its own exclusive possession, without annexing a copy, such Party shall be bound, if the other Party thinks proper to apply for it, to furnish that Party with a copy thereof, and either Party may call upon the other, through the Arbitrators, to produce the originals or certified copies of any papers adduced as evidence, giving in each instance notice thereof within thirty days after delivery of the Case, and the original or copy so requested shall be delivered as soon as may be, and within a period not

Dentro de los cuatro meses siguientes á la entrega por ambas partes del Alegato impreso, una ú otra podrá del mismo modo entregar por duplicado á cada uno de dichos Arbitros, y al Agente de la otra parte, un contra-Alegato y nuevos documentos, correspondencia y pruebas, para contestar al Alegato, documentos, correspondencia y pruebas presentados por la otra parte.

Si en el Alegato sometido á los Arbitros una ú otra parte hubiere especificado ó citado algún informe ó documento que esté en su exclusiva posesión, sin agregar copia, tal parte quedará obligada, si la otra cree conveniente pedirla, á suministrarle copia de él; y una ú otra parte podra excitar á la otra, por medio de los Arbitros, á producir los originales ó copias certificadas de los papeles aducidos como pruebas, dando en cada caso aviso de esto dentro de los treinta días después de la presentación del Alegato; y el original ó la copia pedidos se entregarán tan pronto como sea posible y dentro de un plazo

exceeding forty days after receipt of notice.

que no exceda de cuarenta días después del recibo del aviso.

Delivery of Counter-case.

ARTICLE VIII.

It shall be the duty of the Agent of each Party, within three months after the expiration of the time limited for the delivery of the Counter-Case on both sides, to deliver in duplicate to each of the said Arbitrators, and to the Agent of the other Party, a printed argument showing the points, and referring to the evidence upon which his Government relies, and either Party may also support the same before the Arbitrators by oral argument of counsel; and the Arbitrators may, if they desire further elucidation with regard to any point, require a written or printed statement or argument, or oral argument by counsel upon it; but in such case the other party shall be entitled to reply either orally or in writing, as the case may be.

ARTÍCULO VIII.

El Agente de cada parte, dentro de los tres meses después de la expiración del tiempo señalado para la entrega del contra-Alegato por ambas partes, deberá entregar por duplicado á cada uno de dichos Arbitros y al Agente de la otra parte un argumento impreso que señale los puntos y cite las pruebas en que se funda su Gobierno, y cualquiera de las dos partes podrá también apoyarlo ante los Arbitros con argumentos orales de su Abogado; y los Arbitros podrán, si desean mayor esclarecimiento con respecto á algún punto, requerir sobre él una exposición ó argumento escritos ó impresos, ó argumentos orales del Abogado; pero en tal caso la otra parte tendrá derecho á contestar oralmente ó por escrito, según fuere el caso.

Delivery of Printed Argument.

ARTICLE IX.

The Arbitrators may, for any cause deemed by them sufficient, enlarge either of the periods fixed by Articles VI, VII and VIII by the allowance of thirty days additional.

ARTÍCULO IX.

Los Arbitros por cualquier causa que juzguen suficiente podrán prorrogar uno ú otro de los plazos fijados en los Artículos VI, VII y VIII, concediendo treinta días adicionales.

Extensions.

ARTICLE X.

The decision of the Tribunal shall, if possible, be made

ARTÍCULO X.

Si fuere posible, el Tribunal dará su decisión dentro de tres

Decision.

Decision.

within three months from the close of the argument on both sides.

It shall be made in writing and dated, and shall be signed by the Arbitrators who may assent to it.

The decision shall be in duplicate, one copy whereof shall be delivered to the Agent of Great Britain for his Government, and the other copy shall be delivered to the Agent of the United States of Venezuela for his Government.

meses contados desde que termine la argumentación por ambos lados.

La decisión se dará por escrito, llevará fecha y se firmará por los Arbitros que asientan á ella.

La decisión se extenderá por duplicado; de ella se entregará un ejemplar al Agente de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela para su Gobierno, y el otro se entregará al Agente de la Gran Bretaña para su Gobierno.

ARTICLE XI.

Record of Proceedings.

The Arbitrators shall keep an accurate record of their proceedings, and may appoint and employ the necessary officers to assist them.

ARTÍCULO XI.

Los Arbitros llevarán un registro exacto de sus procedimientos y podrán eligir y emplear las personas que necesiten para su ayuda.

ARTICLE XII.

Agents and Counsel.

Each Government shall pay its own Agent and provide for the proper remuneration of the counsel employed by it, and of the Arbitrators appointed by it or in its behalf, and for the expense of preparing and submitting its Case to the Tribunal. All other expenses connected with the Arbitration shall be defrayed by the two Governments in equal moieties.

ARTÍCULO XII.

Cada Gobierno pagará á su propio Agente y proveerá la remuneración conveniente para el Abogado que emplee y para los Arbitros elegidos por él ó en su nombre, y costeará los gastos de la preparación y sometimiento de su causa al Tribunal. Los dos Gobiernos satisfarán por partes iguales todos los demás gastos relativos al arbitramento.

ARTICLE XIII.

Result to be Final.

The High Contracting Parties engage to consider the result of the proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration as a full,

ARTÍCULO XIII.

Las altas Partes Contratantes se obligan á considerar el resultado de los procedimientos del Tribuual de Arbitramento

perfect, and final settlement of all the questions referred to the Arbitrators.

como arreglo pleno, perfecto y definitivo de todas las cuestiones sometidas á los árbitros.

Result to be Final.

ARTICLE XIV.

The present Treaty shall be duly ratified by Her Britannic Majesty and by the President of the United States of Venezuela, by and with the approval of the Congress thereof, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London or in Washington within six months from the date hereof.

In faith whereof we, the respective Plenipotentiaries, have signed this Treaty and have hereunto affixed our seals.

Done in duplicate, at Washington, the second day of February, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven.

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE. [SEAL.]
JOSÉ ANDRADE. [SEAL.]

ARTÍCULO XIV.

El presente Tratado será debidamente ratificado por el Presidente de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela con la aprobación del Congreso de ellos, y por Su Majestad Británica: y las ratificaciones se canjearán en Washington ó en Londres dentro de los seis meses contados desde la fecha del presente tratado.

Ratification of Treaty.

En fé de lo cual los respectivos Plenipotenciarios hemos firmado este tratado y le hemos puesto nuestros sellos.

Hecho por duplicado en Washington, a dos de Febrero, de mil ochocientos noventa y siete.

JOSÉ ANDRADE. [SELLO.]
JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE. [SELLO.]

II.—GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE DISPUTED TERRITORY.

Location and Extent of Disputed Territory.

The disputed territory lies on the north-eastern border of South America, between the Essequibo and Orinoco rivers. It extends from the coast southward as far as the boundary with Brazil. Venezuela claims the entire region as far east as the western bank of the Essequibo: Her Majesty's Government has, at various times, made mention of an "extreme British claim" from the Essequibo west as far as the main mouth of the Orinoco, on the coast, and, in the interior, as far as the divide which separates the drainage basin of the Cuyuni from the drainage basin of the Orinoco. *

Division of Territory into four tracts.

The relations of the various parts of this territory to the question in controversy will be best appreciated if the entire region be considered as divisible into four great tracts:

First.—That which drains directly into the Orinoco below the junction of that river with the Caroni.

Second.—That which, lying between the Essequibo on the east, the Moruca on the northwest, and the Imataca mountains on the southwest, drains directly into the Atlantic Ocean.

Third.—That which, constitutes the great interior Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin.

Fourth.—That which, stretching from the junction of the Cuyuni, Mazaruni and Essequibo towards the south, constitutes the upper drainage basin of the Essequibo.

These four tracts will be considered in the order named.

* In British Blue Book, Venezuela, No. 1 (1896), map 9, however, it is stated that this "extreme British claim * * * is not pressed."

1.—ORINOCO DELTA REGION.

Orinoco Delta Region.

The first of these tracts, which for convenience may be called the *Orinoco Delta Region*, includes a portion of the lower drainage basin of the Orinoco, and a great part of its delta. It is bounded on the north and west by the Orinoco itself; on the south by a range of hills or mountains, to different parts of which have been applied the designations "Piacoa mountains" and "Imataca mountains"; on the east it is separated from the second of the four tracts above mentioned; first, by a wet savanna difficult to traverse; and, further inland, by a tract of white sand, miles in length, white almost as the driven snow, hot and dazzling to the eyes, difficult and even painful to travel over.

Points of special importance.

The points to be especially noted in connection with this tract are: 1st, its essential unity or indivisibility, geographically speaking; and 2d, the importance of Barima as a point from which the entire Orinoco system may be controlled.

1ST. GEOGRAPHIC UNITY OF THE ORINOCO DELTA REGION.

Geographic Unity of Orinoco Delta Region.

A glance at the nature and extent of the Orinoco river and of its delta will make this apparent.

The Orinoco, except for the Amazon the greatest river of South America, and one of the world's great rivers, after flowing for miles 1,500 through a region of large precipitation, discharges its waters through a mighty, forest-clad delta. The area of this delta is about 12,000 square miles; and its coast line is fully 250 miles long. Through this delta the Orinoco discharges its waters by an uncounted number of channels, estimated at 150; of which three or four may be navigated by craft of considerable size. The main or "Ship's Mouth," that which alone is available for large steamers, and that which to-

Orinoco River.

day serves as the main channel of commerce, is the one which empties into the Atlantic Ocean between Crab island and Barima point.

Into the Orinoco, at and above Barima point, flow various streams: the Barima, Amacura, Arature, Aguire and Imataca.

Barima River and Mora passage.

The Barima, between Mora passage and Barima point, can hardly be called an independent stream; it is rather one of those many channels through which the Orinoco empties its waters into the ocean. At certain states of the tide the waters of the Barima flow westward and are discharged into the Orinoco; at other states the current is in the opposite direction, the water from the Orinoco flowing eastward through this same Barima channel, and discharging through the Mora passage into the sea. This set of conditions, which converts the lower Barima and the Mora passage into a veritable Orinoco mouth, gives rise to unusual conditions in the Mora passage itself; conditions which serve to emphasize the intimate connection between the Mora passage and the main mouth of the Orinoco.

Description of Mora passage by Perkins.

H. I. Perkins, F. R. G. S., government surveyor, in an article published in *Timehri*,* in June, 1889, thus describes these conditions:

"A peculiar feature of this (Mora) passage is the remarkable swiftness of its current, both at ebb and flow, and the presence of large trees which have been washed down and anchored by their roots, and have become fixed in the centre of the channel, where they sway, bend, creak and groan, as the water swirls past them at the rate of five or six miles an hour. As the distance from the sea of the Barima and Waini ends of the passage, is respectively fifty-one and eight miles, there is considerable difficulty in comprehending the state of the water in the passage, for sometimes it is falling at one end and rising at the other, and *vice versa*, or

Timehri is the journal of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana, published at Demerara.

Description of Mora passage by Perkins.

rising or falling at both ends, according to the state of the tide in the sea at the time."*

Waini River.

Also intimately connected with the Lower Orinoco, as will appear from the passage just quoted, is the Waini, a river which empties into the ocean, in part through its own mouth, but in part also, through this same Mora passage and the Barima river. The Waini, with the region through which it flows, constitutes a part of the great Orinoco delta.

Connection of Barima, etc., with Orinoco.

The intimate connection, with each other and with the Orinoco, of these various streams, the Waini, the Barima, the Amacura, the Arature, and the rest, is evidenced by the physical features of the region, proved by the history of settlement and trade (to be examined later), and explicitly recognized by British explorers and British writers.

Description of the Coast Region by im Thurn

Mr. Everard F. im Thurn, in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society, and published in its *Proceedings* for 1892, thus describes the coast region:

"Its coast region, which consists mainly of a series of river deltas, is almost everywhere very low,—indeed, almost invariably below the level of the sea. It is everywhere, except where the hand of man has worked a change, covered by a dense growth of trees, of which so large a proportion are the semi-aquatic, stilt-raised mangroves (*Rhizophora mangle*), or the somewhat similar courida (*Avicennia nitida*), that it requires a careful eye to distinguish the presence of any other species amid the scenery to which these two trees give a very distinctive character. From this low-lying mangrove belt, which may be said to be yet only half land, half sea, there is a gradual, at first scarcely perceptible, rise; but, further inland, the alluvial tract ending at varying distance from the sea, the land rises far more rapidly, in a series of terraces, till it culminates in the comparatively high, dry table-land

* Timehri. 12°, Demerara, 1889, June, vol. 8, p. 55. For further information regarding the Mora passage, see U. S. Commission, Report, iii., pp. 249–253.

which, in Guiana, is called savannah, and which forms so much of the interior of the continent of South America."*

Description of Coast Region by im Thurn.

Further on he adds:

"The network of rivers is in itself a natural wonder; the Waini, with its sister, or tributary, the Barama, and the Barima, and the Amakuru, all of which, though they have long appeared on our maps, have virtually remained unknown until the last few years, and have remained completely outside the limits of civilization and settlement. The Waini system and the Barima are wide and deep rivers, affording water-passage for vessels up to 15 or 16 feet draught, for 80 or more miles inland from the sea; the Morawhanna, navigable for equally large vessels, forms a link between these two main rivers. Thus we have one splendid water-way, and many small water-ways affording passage to small boats between all the rivers of the district, and between these and the Orinoco on the one hand, and the old civilised portion of the colony on the other."†

Description of Delta Rivers by Schomburgk.

Schomburgk, in a letter to Governor Light, dated June 22, 1841, says:

"We reached in the afternoon, at 3 o'clock, the Coyuni [this is elsewhere more correctly called by him Brazo, *i. e.*, Coyoni Pass, a stream connecting the Amacura with the Arature, and not to be confounded with the great Cuyuni river in the interior] which, like the Mora from the Waini to the Barima, and *vice versa*, forms an uninterrupted passage in canoes from the Amacura to the Araturi. The Coyuni connects the Amacura with the Waicaicaru or Bassama, which falls into the Araturi. This river flows opposite the island Imataca into the Orinoco, and is another instance of a remarkable connection between the tidal rivers of this coast."‡

2D.—The Political, Military and Commercial Importance of Barima Point.

Importance of Barima Point.

The importance of Barima point, and of the land and rivers immediately surrounding it, is due to its

* Royal Geog. Soc. Proceedings, London, 1892, October, vol. XIV, pp. 666–667.

† Same, p. 668.

‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 89.

Importance of Barima Point.

commanding position with reference to the "Ship's Mouth" or main channel of the Orinoco. As a result of this, the essential unity of the Orinoco Delta Region from a *geographical* standpoint is emphasized, while its indivisibility from a *political* standpoint is made apparent. This importance of Barima, political and otherwise, has been forcibly set forth by explorers and writers, and has been recognized and acted upon by British statesmen.

Humboldt's testimony as to its importance.

Humboldt, in his *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent during the years 1799–1804*, after some description of the Orinoco, says of the facts he mentions:

"They will I think suffice to show, how intimately the political security of the United Provinces of Caraccas and New-Grenada is connected with the defence of the mouths of the Oroonoko; and how Spanish Guyana, though scarcely cleared, and desitute of population, acquires a high importance in the struggle between the colonies and the mother country. This military importance was foreseen more than two centuries ago by the celebrated Raleigh."*

McCreagh's testimony as to its importance.

Another authority to be quoted in this connection is Major McCreagh, a British officer who was sent, in 1802, to make a military survey of the Orinoco. He reported where the Spanish forts and military posts were, and pointed out the military and commercial importance of holding the Orinoco. He said:

"Except the conversion of the aboriginal natives (which is certainly not the primary motive), the Spanish Government has obviously no other object in occupying the Oronoque than the very important one of excluding other Powers from a river which runs along the rear of the Provinces of Popayan, Venezuela, Carraccas, Cumana, and Paria; which, therefore, in the hands of a commercial nation would carry away from them the productions,

* Humboldt (A. von), "Personal narrative of travels, etc., 1799–1804," London, 1821, Vol. V, p. 714.

and monopolize the traffic of those rich territories, and which, if possessed by a warlike Power, might immediately paralyze the authority and gradually destroy the tenure by which Spain holds her vast Empire in South America."*

McCreagh's testimony as to importance of Barima Point.

Schomburgk, on various occasions, gave his testimony to the same effect. Referring to Colonel Moody's survey of the Orinoco in the early part of this century, he says:

Schomburgk's testimony as to importance of Barima Point.

"This point (Barima point) in the possession of Great Britain is of great value in a military respect. The peculiar configuration of the only channel (Boca de Navios), which admits vessels of some draught to the Orinoco, passes near Point Barima, so that if hereafter it became of advantage to command the entrance to the Orinoco, this might be easily effected from that point. This assertion is supported by Colonel Moody's evidence, who visited this spot in his military capacity in the commencement of this century."†

Expressing his own opinion Schomburgk, on another occasion, says:

"Of equal importance is the determination of the western boundary, the limits of which have never been completely settled, and it merits the greatest attention on account of the political importance of the mouth of the Orinoco."‡

Again, speaking of the importance of the Amacura and Arature, he mentions an inland waterway or pass which there exists; and adds that it

"offers an uninterrupted passage in canoes from the Amacura to the Araturi. . . . This river flows opposite the island Imataca into the Orinoco, and is another instance of a remarkable connection between the tidal rivers of this coast. A short distance above the mouth of the River Araturi is the Venezuelan post Coriabo. The importance of this natural canal in a military or a commercial point of view is undeniable, but its importance to Venezuela (if a denser population should make it such) is ren-

* Appendix to Case, iii, 58.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 82.
‡ Parliamentary Papers, 1840, Vol. 34, p. 327.

Schomburgk's testimony as to importance of Barima Point.

dered abortive in a military aspect if Great Britain possesses the right or eastern bank of the Amacura."*

In his work on British Guiana, he says:

"Between the Essequibo and Orinoco are the rivers Pomeroon, Marocco, and Wa-ina or Guayma; and although these outlets are comparatively of small size, they are so closely connected by branches and tributaries, that they afford an inland navigation from the Marocco to the Orinoco. Their importance in a political and commercial respect becomes therefore evident."†

In a note in his edition of Raleigh's Guiana, published in 1848, Schomburgk also says:

"A strong battery established at Punta Barima, where the Dutch had as early as 1660 a fortified outpost, would prevent any vessel from entering the Orinoco drawing more than eight feet of water. Punta Barima, or Point Breme, as it was called by the Dutch, commands entirely the entrance of the Orinoco by the Boca de Navios; and when on a late occasion the right of possession to this point was the subject of discussion between the British Government and the Republic of Venezuela, Punta Barima was appropriately and emphatically styled 'the Dardanelles of the Orinoco.'"‡

A *confidential* letter of Schomburgk to Governor Light, dated October 23, 1841, deserves to be quoted in full in this connection. He says:

Sir, *Demerara, October* 23, 1841.

In my letter of this day's date, I informed your Excellency upon what grounds I founded the right of possession of Her Majesty to the Barima, and I have now to point out the importance which is attached to this position, should the British Government establish the Amacura as the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela.

The River Orinoco may be termed the high-road to the interior of the territories of Venezuela and New Granada. It has at its

* Appendix to Case, iii, 89.

† Schomburgk (R. H.) Description of British Guiana, etc., London, 1840, p. 17.

‡ Schomburgk (R. H.) Discovery of Guiana, by Sir W. Raleigh, London, 1848, p. 115, note.

mouth the appearance of an ocean, and articles of commerce may be transported on this stream for 400 or 500 leagues. Nearly three hundred tributary streams, of more or less importance, flow into it, which may serve as additional canals and facilitate the commerce of the interior. Santa Fé de Bogota may be reached within a distance of eight miles by one of its tributary streams, the Meta, and operations of commerce or war, combined with others from the Pacific, could be carried on by means of the vast plains or llanos. A small fleet may go up the Orinoco and the Meta within fifteen or twenty leagues of Santa Fé, and the flour of New Grenada may be conveyed down the same way.

Schomburgk's testimony as to importance of Barima Point.

And the only access to this vast inland communication for sailing vessels of more than ten feet draft of water is by means of the Boca de Navios, which is *commanded from Point Barima.*

The River Barima falls into the south side of the Orinoco near the most eastern point of its mouth and in a direction almost parallel to the coast. Point Barima is, therefore, bounded to the west by the river of that name, to the north by the Orinoco, to the east by the Atlantic, and to the south by impenetrable forests. Colonel Moody considers this position "susceptable [*sic*] of being fortified so as to resist almost any attack on the sea-side—the small depth of water, the nature of the tides, and its muddy shores, defend it. The Barima, and the uncultivated forests on marshy ground, present an impenetrable barrier against the interior, and debarkation from the Orinoco might be put under the fire of any number of guns—and the land-reproaches [*sic*] on that soil could be easily rendered inaccessible to an invading force."

This is the importance which Colonel Moody in a military respect has attached to this point, and which, so far as my knowledge goes in this matter, is fully borne out by personal inspection during my late survey of the entrance to the Barima.

The Venezuelan Government, as at present organised, tottering in their interior relations, and embarassed by a number of slaves who would hail the opportunity to shake off their fetters, hated and despised by the aborigines, whom maltreatment and cruelties have alienated, would be an insignificant enemy—but in the hands of any of the maritime European powers, matters would assume another aspect.

France has attempted to establish a fortified position at the mouth of the Amazon near Macapa, which she claims as the eastern

Schomburgk's testimony as to importance of Barima Point.

boundary of Cayenne. A settlement at this spot commands the commerce of the Amazon, and this, no doubt, is the reason why this Power puts such importance upon its possession. Supposing that unforeseen circumstances should put France in occupation of Point Barima at the Orinoco, and that Macapa at the Amazon is ceded to her, she will then command the commerce of the two first rivers of South America and hold the military keys of the northern provinces of Brazil and of the former Spanish provinces of South America, north of the equator, which territories will be always at the mercy of that power which commands the channels to their commerce.

Finally, trusting to the prospects of prosperity and a continued emigration to British Guiana, there could not be a more favourable position for a commercial settlement than Point Barima. The capital of Spanish Guayana is Angostura, situated a distance of 85 leagues from the mouth of the Orinoco, and the intricate navigation of that river presents numerous difficulties to foreign vessels going up the Orinoco as far as Angostura.

A commercial settlement established at the extreme point of Barima, where one part of the town would front the River Barima, and the other the Orinoco, would soon induce foreign vessels to dispose of their cargoes at the new settlement, and leave the further transport to the interior to smaller craft; naturally this premises the supposition that amicable relations and commercial treaties exist between Great Britain and Venezuela. The bar at the Barima admits vessels of sixteen feet draft of water, which if once entered, may safely anchor in from four to five fathoms water. The peculiar formation of the fluvial system of the coast-land between the Barima and the Essequibo admits an inland navigation, in punts and barges, to Richmond Estate, on the Arabisi Coast of the Essequibo, which with a few improvements might vie with any of the interior canals of England.*

Importance of Barima Point admitted by Great Britain.

The recognition of what is here so forcibly set forth in the preceding extracts is by no means confined either to foreign writers or to minor British officials. It has, *in words*, been admitted by no less than three of Great Britain's Prime Ministers, and it has been *acted upon*

* Appendix to Case, iii, 125–127.

by at least four of them. On March 30, 1844, Lord Aberdeen wrote as follows to the Venezuelan Government:

Importance of Barima Point admitted by Lord Aberdeen.

"Believing, then, that the undivided possession of the Orinoco is the object most important for the interests of Venezuela, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to cede to the Republic a portion of the coast amply sufficient to insure Venezuela against the mouth of this her principal river being at the command of any foreign power. With this view, and regarding it as a most valuable concession to Venezuela, Her Majesty's Government are willing to waive their claim to the Amacura as the western boundary of the British territory, and to consider the mouth of the Moroco River as the limit of Her Majesty's possessions on the sea-coast." *

On September 15, 1881, Lord Granville wrote as follows:

Importance of Barima Point admitted by Lord Granville.

"8. They [Her Majesty's Government] are disposed, therefore, to submit the following as a line of boundary, which they consider will yield to Venezuela every reasonable requirement while securing the interests of British Guiana:—

"The initial point to be fixed at a spot on the sea-shore 29 miles of longitude due east from the right bank of the River Barima, and to be carried thence south," etc.

"9. This boundary will surrender to Venezuela what has been called The Dardanelles of the Orinoco. It will give to Venezuela the entire command of the mouth of that river, and it yields about one-half of the disputed territory, while it secures to British Guiana a well-defined natural boundary along almost its whole course, except for about the first 50 miles inland from the sea, where it is necessary to lay down an arbitrary boundary in order to secure to Venezuela the undisturbed possession of the mouths of the Orinoco.†

On June 7, 1886, Lord Rosebery wrote:

Importance of Barima Point admitted by Lord Rosebery.

"The line which they [Her Majesty's Government] intend to trace will run as follows:—

"The initial point to be fixed at a spot on the sea-shore 29 miles

* Appendix to Case, iii, 210.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 156.

Importance of Barima Point admitted by Lord Rosebery.

of longitude due east from the right bank of the River Barima, and to be carried thence south," etc.

"This line is identical with that which was suggested in Lord Granville's note to Señor de Rojas of the 15th September, 1881, a copy of which accompanied his Lordship's despatch to your predecessor of the 30th of that month.

"Her Majesty's Government, however, still reserve their right to insist on a more westerly boundary hereafter, although, partly for the purpose of establishing a more convenient natural boundary, and partly from their willingness to gratify the wish of the Venezuelan Government to possess the right bank of the Orinoco from its mouth, they are ready to come to an understanding with the Venezuelan Government, and are prepared to concede to Venezuela a portion of the disputed territory beyond the line now to be marked out, provided," etc.*

Points of special importance.

The facts so set forth, in the opinion of the Venezuelan Government, clearly establish the two points first mentioned with regard to the Orinoco Delta Region. These are:

1st. That *geographically* it is a unit, knit together by its net-work of connecting rivers and streams; and,

2nd. That *politically* it is likewise a unit; the commercial, political and military control of the entire Orinoco being necessarily dependent upon the exclusive possession and control of all its mouths, especially of its principal mouth.

2.—MORUCA-POMEROON REGION.

Moruca-Pomeroon Region.

The second tract into which the disputed territory may be divided, and which, for convenience, will here be designated as the *Moruca-Pomeroon Region*, has the Essequibo and the ocean for its eastern boundary; is separated on the west from the rest of the coast region by the water parting which divides the Orinoco delta from the region watered by the Moruca, Wacupo and Pome-

* Appendix to Case, iii, 160.

roon; and extends inland as far as the junction of the Essequibo with the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers. Moruca-Pomeroon Region.

Its general character near the coast is like the Orinoco Delta Region above described. There is a fringe of alluvial mud from one to four or five miles wide; back of that are the sand reefs, and yet farther back the lowest slopes of the Imatacas and the Blue mountains.

The point of special importance regarding this tract is its entire separation from the Orinoco, by natural barriers. Its separation from the Orinoco.

To make this clear, it is needful to understand the formation of the coast region in general, and in particular the conditions which divide the coast at the Moruca into two distinct parts.

The present coast is alluvial: it constitutes the delta or river-made land. An enquiry as to what preceded this made land reveals the fact that there was formerly a sand beach from which the ocean has gradually receded, but which, by reason of its still existing peculiar shape, has exercised an appreciable influence upon subsequent events.

Rodway, in his "*Hand-Book of British Guiana, 1893,*" says: The Sand Reefs.

"*The Sand-Reefs.* Behind the fringe of plantations, which rarely extend beyond three miles from the sea-shore, lie swamps choked with tall sedges, the soil being a kind of disintegrated peat, called pegass. Here and there an island of sand crops up, on which a few trees and bushes manage to exist, with grand clumps of the Eta palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*) scattered here and there, or perhaps surrounding what looks like an extensive meadow. Wherever the land begins to rise these magnificent palms rear their heads in the foreground, while behind, the wall of interminable forest closes the view. Here comes the white sand beach of long ages ago. Miles and miles of pure sand, washed as clean as driven snow, throw up a glare under the noonday sun which is dazzling to the eyes and sometimes quite pain-

The Sand Reefs.

ful. The barefooted Indian cuts two pieces of bark, and makes himself a pair of slippers when crossing the 'Mourie,' as it is called, and even the well-shod European feels it hot to the soles of his feet. But even here, where there is hardly a trace of mould, some hardy bushes manage to exist, their roots penetrating far below the surface where it is always cool and moist."*

Schomburgk, in his "*Description of British Guiana*," p. 3, says:

"This alluvial flat extends from ten to twenty, and in some instances (as between the rivers Berbice and Corentyn) even to forty miles inland, and is terminated by a range of sand-hills, from about 30 to 120 feet high, which approach the sea within two miles of the Arabisi coast of the Essequibo."†

Line of Old Beach.

The geological survey, made between 1867 and 1873, on behalf of the British Government by Messrs. Brown and Sawkins, has traced approximately the line of this old beach; that is to say, the line which divides the *firm* land from the *filled delta;* and where this line has not actually been followed out, it may nevertheless be traced by the places where the water-courses change from true flowing streams to interlacing bayous.

To map 4 of the Atlas accompanying this Case, the results of the survey by Brown and Sawkins have been transferred.

By reference to this map it will be seen that the old beach line, which in the Orinoco delta is now well inland, makes its nearest approach to the present seaboard near the mouth of the Moruca: it is now elevated land, according to the quotation from Schomburgk above given, and approaches the sea within about two miles.

A result of this is that the alluvial deposit at this point is, comparatively speaking, a mere strip which

* Rodway (J.) Hand-Book of British Guiana. 12°, Georgetown, 1893, p. 10.

† Schomburgk (R. H.) Description of British Guiana, etc. 12°, London, 1840, p. 3.

Line of Old Beach.

contains no natural waterways; and as a consequence there is no natural inland water communication between the Orinoco delta, on the west, and the Moruca, on the east.

Communication between Moruca and Orinoco Delta Region, difficult and limited.

The *practical* effect of this lack of natural water communication is that *actual* communication between the two regions has been very slight. The difficulty of crossing from the Moruca to the region west has been so great as to constitute an *actual* barrier between them, a barrier which, in the history of settlement has in fact served to keep the two regions apart.

Difficulty of this communication, according to im Thurn.

Mr. im Thurn, in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society and published in its *Proceedings* for October, 1892, gives the following account of a journey from the Moruca to the Waini:

"After five hours' boat journey up the Moruka, the country on each side of the river becoming gradually more and more open—the river at last winding through open savannahs, and broadening out here and there into pools so thickly set with water-lilies that it was difficult to force the boat through them—we reached the point where the waterway leaves the river and passes along a narrow itabbo, or artificial water-path, which connects the Moruka with the Waini River. This connecting passage is in all about 30 miles in length; but only about the first 10 miles of this is actually semi-artificial itabbo, made by the constant passage of the canoes of the Redmen through the swampy savannah. After that it runs into the Barabara and then into the Biara River, which latter runs into the Baramanni River, and that again into the Waini, at a point about 80 miles from its outflow into the sea.

We found the itabbo section of this passage very difficult to get through. Generally, it was hardly wider than the boat, and its many abrupt windings added to our difficulties. Again, the trees hang down so low over the water, that even after we had taken the tent off the boat, we had either to force the boat under the low-lying branches or make a passage by cutting them away. On either side of the channel the ground is so swampy as hardly anywhere to allow foothold of even a few inches in extent. The

Difficulty of communication between Moruca and Orinoco Delta Region, according to Im Thurn.

light hardly penetrates through the dense roof of leaves; and in the gloom under the roof only a few aroids, ferns, lilies, orchids, and great masses of a palm which had at the time of my journey not been described, * * * grew among the fantastically twisted tree-roots which rose from the bare mud. Only close to the channel itself, where just a little more light penetrated, did these same plants grow a little more densely.

This itabbo is quite dry in the longer dry seasons, and is then, of course, impassable; for walking along its banks is out of the question—a circumstance which has had a good deal to do with the fact that the parts beyond had up till then been almost completely shut off from the rest of the colony. Even now, though the overhanging trees have been cleared from this part of the waterway, it presents no slight obstacle to the swarm of gold boats which would press through it to the goldfields beyond." *

Physical Barrier between the two.

The above facts would seem to place beyond question the point of special importance regarding this *Moruca-Pomeroon Region;* viz., that a natural and effective physical barrier separates it from the *Orinoco Delta Region.*

3.—CUYUNI-MAZARUNI BASIN.

Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin.

The third of the tracts to be considered is the great interior Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin. The two rivers from which this basin derives its name unite and flow into the Essequibo—*this fact constitutes the sole connection between this and the Essequibo.* Except for this connection, a connection which in this instance is without *practical* importance, the interior basin, watered by the two streams, is a region quite separate and distinct from the Essequibo.

Its connection with the Orinoco.

The Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin is connected, geographically and historically with the *Orinoco*—not with the Essequibo: the approach to it is from the *west*—not from the east: its fluvial connection with the Essequibo, as will in a moment be made apparent, serves rather

*Royal Geog. Soc. Proc., London, 1892, Oct., vol. 14, p. 674.

to emphasize than to lessen their real separation. Nature has forced these two regions apart; and the fact that the waters of the one flow through the territory of the other has been entirely insufficient either to unite them, or to divorce the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin from the western regions upon which, geographically and politically, it naturally depends.

Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin distinct and separate from the Essequibo.

Hilhouse, the first Englishman to attempt the ascent of the Cuyuni, found the falls so perilous and insuperable a barrier that he declared it to be "evident that colonization could never be attempted on this river."*

Hilhouse's testimony.

This interior basin is bounded on the north by the same range of hills which, under the name of Piacoa, Imataca, and Blue mountains, forms the southern boundary of the coast region; on the south it is shut in by a range of mountains sufficiently high and rugged to make their crossing difficult at most places and impossible at others; on the east a spur of this same rugged range, under the name of the Ayangcanna mountains (at places nearly 5,000 feet high) runs north until it meets the Blue mountains, which, as a spur of the Imatacas, run south; these two ranges effectively separate the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin from the Essequibo. Near the point of junction of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni there is a break in these mountains, and through this break, over rapids and falls, the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni rivers pour their united waters into the Essequibo.

Boundaries of Basin.

* "When, in 1837, an Englishman (Hilhouse) first went up the Cuyuni, he wrote: 'I can find no traces of any one having preceded me in the survey of the lower part of this river.' And, having described in his journal the first day's ascent, to the head of the Camaria Falls—'we ascended this day,' he thinks, 'fully seventy-seven feet'—he declares that 'it is evident that colonization can never be attempted on this river: the first day's journal determines that.' 'Beyond all other rivers,' he avers, 'the Cuyuni is the most difficult and dangerous of ascent.'—*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 1837, pp. 446-454). Yet Hilhouse was no 'tenderfoot:' he had long been colonial surveyor and protector of the Indians. [Note by Prof. Burr, U. S. Commission, Report, i, 306].

Barriers separating interior basins from Essequibo.

These rapids and falls effectively bar the only eastern entrance to the interior basin; and thus, with the mountains on the north and south, constitute a natural physical barrier between the Essequibo and this inland region.

Schomburgk's testimony.

Of these rapids and falls Schomburgk thus speaks:

"The difficulties which the Cuyuni presents to navigation, and those tremendous falls which impede the river in the first day's ascent, will, I fear, prove a great obstacle to making the fertility of its banks available to the colony."*

Barriers separating basin from Essequibo.

The *Local Guide* of 1843, published at Demerara, says:

"A short distance above their junction, these rivers [the Mazaruni, Cuyuni and Essequibo] become impeded by rapids, above which they are frequented only by a few wandering Indians."†

Perkins' testimony.

Mr. H. I. Perkins says of the Cuyuni:

"It has long been known as amongst the most dangerous, if not *the* most dangerous, of all the larger rivers of British Guiana, and there are times when the height of its waters, either above or below a certain point, gives it every right to claim this unenviable notoriety. My first experience of it was a highly unpleasant one in 1877, when, with a brother surveyor, I spent about four weeks journeying up and down a portion of it, and surveying placer claims on its right bank. On this memorable occasion we lost two boat-hands from dysentery, a third dying on his return to Georgetown from the same disorder, and last but not least, in coming down stream our boat capsized at the Accaio — the lowest fall in the river — where one man was drowned and everything was lost." ‡

Rodway's testimony.

Rodway, speaking of English efforts, since 1884, to establish armed stations in the disputed district, says:

"Another move in the same direction was made in 1892, by establishing a boundary post up the Cuyuni near its junction with Yuruan. Except for its bearing upon the boundary this post is quite useless and might be abandoned if the question

* Appendix to Case, iii, 119-120.

† Local Guide to British Guiana. Demerara, 1843.

‡ Timehri. 12°, Demerara, 1893, June, vol. 7, p. 75.

were settled; under present circumstances however it is highly desirable that it be kept up notwithstanding the fact that the police who reside there have to perform a very hazardous and long journey of forty or fifty days to reach it and then are cut off from all communication until relieved." *

Rodway's testimony.

Mr. Geo. G. Dixon, who visited the recent British station on the Yuruan in 1894, thus contrasts the difficulty of reaching the center of the Cuyuni basin from the English settlements, and the ease with which the same point is reached from the Spanish Orinoco. He says:

Dixon's testimony.

Barriers separating interior basin from Essequibo.

"This made me, as an Englishman, feel considerably mortified to think that it takes our Government from five to six weeks to reach their frontier station, whereas the Venezuelan outpost was then being put, and by this time probably is, in direct communication with their capital by road and wire. Also, whereas it costs our Government an immense annual sum to maintain their small number of police at Yuruan on salt and tinned provisions (sent all the way from Bartica Grove, on the Essequibo, in paddled boats); within 200 yards on the other bank of Kuyuni is the Venezuelan outpost, supplied with all kinds of fresh food from their cattle farms and plantations." †

Dense forests as additional barriers on the east.

In further explanation of the difficulty of access to this region, it should be stated that its eastern part is covered with a dense forest which renders access to it, overland, well nigh impossible. A few paths or trails have been at times chopped out by the Indians, but these, under the stimulus of a tropical sun and abundant moisture, are speedily overgrown.

Easy entrance from the Orinoco.

In striking contrast with this difficulty of access from the *east* is the natural and easy entrance from the Orinoco on the *west*, by gentle slopes and over delightful pasture land.

Mission Savannas.

This region, which forms the real and only entrance to the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin, is usually spoken of as the Mission Savanna country. Every traveller has

* Appendix to Case, iii, 349.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 358.

Mission Savannas.

admired these savannas, and has noted the ease of travel over this open parklike country. The following is an extract from *Venezuela; a Visit to the Gold Mines of Guayana, etc., during 1886, by William Barry, C. E., London, 1886*, p. 128.*

"In the district of Upata, which forms a part of this great belt, the fertility of the land is said to be inferior to no part of South America, while the climate is deliciously temperate, at a height of 1,400 feet above the level of the sea. The traveller through this delightful region is perpetually meeting new beauties each time he passes through a belt of forest, where he is sheltered by overhanging trees, full of color; and, regaled with a hundred various perfumes of flowers, he emerges on open tracts of moderate extent not bare, but diversified by clumps of trees dotted about, while the rolling ground reminds him of the most beautiful parts of English country scenery. Park, as it were, succeeds park, till he is at last fairly puzzled where to select to encamp, among so much contended and rival loveliness, and here, at a nominal rent, the cattle breeder may come and establish himself, with the certainty of realizing thirty per cent. per annum on his outlay, and the possibility of very much more. Always on horseback, in a most lovely climate, and with pure air and clear blue skies, is it a wonder if I felt tempted to leave civilization, and remain in such a spot forever?"

* * * * *

"Upata is a considerable town standing in a plain surrounded by hills, and is 1,000 feet above the level of the sea.

"Here the climate is delicious, the air pure and cool, and the temperature perfectly endurable to Europeans (p. 98).

"Leaving Upata, on Saturday at five a. m., we rode through a delicious country, always ascending, until we reached the highest point of the range, 1,400 feet above sea level. On crossing this, a magnificent view burst upon us. Away below, as far as the eye could reach, stretched vast undulating plains of waving grass, dotted at intervals with clumps of splendid trees—some in bloom,

* Mr. Barry was an engineer sent out by Englishmen interested in the mines. He went in by the usual route from Las Tablas on the Orinoco. He rode back on horseback from the Callao mine south of Guacipati to Las Tablas in three days of ten hours each. This is the usual length of the journey.

Mission Savannas.

others in leaf, and of every tint of flower or leaf, from deepest crimson to palest yellow. Occasionally a thin belt of forest marked the course of a stream, or a denser mass of trees showed where lay a lagoon, while in the extreme distance, grey against the crimson dawn, rose the peaks of the distant mountains. This does not open by degrees, but, on turning a corner of the road, the whole panorama suddenly lies spread before you in all its impressive beauty. I can never forget it."

"It is at this point the watershed changes. On the Upata side, all the streams and rivers run to the north, and empty into the Orinoco; on the other side all the mountain streams run to the southward, emptying into the Yuruari, and eventually into the Essequibo" (pp. 99–100).

The general character of the basin further inland toward the Cuyuni may be stated in a word.

The upper parts of the various water courses probably run nearly or quite dry during the dry season, and the banks are usually free from trees. Further down stream a fringe of trees begins to appear, scattered at first, then continuous, and gradually increasing until these widening borders of woodland along the adjacent streams meet, and the savannas give place to forests, broken here and there by other savannas. The dividing line between the savannas and forrests is irregular, and not always sharply defined.

From the foregoing statements the following facts appear:

Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin a natural dependency of the Orinoco.

The Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin is an interior region, the eastern part of which is covered by dense tropical forests and is made inaccessible from that side by these forests, by mountains, and by falls and rapids. Toward the west its connection with the Orinoco is so intimate as to render the dividing line between the two scarcely perceptible. The open savannas of the Orinoco extend over the divide, and down *across* the great bend of the Cuyuni to the very center of the great basin *and even*

Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin.

beyond, thus making the entire valley a natural dependency of the Orinoco.

4.—UPPER ESSEQUIBO BASIN.

Upper Essequibo Basin.

The fourth and last of the tracts, which together constitute the territory in dispute, is what may be called the *Upper Essequibo Basin.* It comprises the region lying south of the Pacaraima mountains, and west of the Essequibo. It is a mountainous district of broken table-land; and is quite shut off, both from the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin and from the lower Essequibo. The falls and rapids which impede the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni are repeated in the case of the Upper Essequibo; and, beginning as these do, but a short distance above the confluence of the three rivers, they too serve as a barrier to separate this interior region from the coast.

III.—HISTORICAL SKETCH SHOWING BASIS OF SPAIN'S ORIGINAL TITLE TO GUIANA AND OF VENEZUELA'S TITLE TO THE DISPUTED TERRITORY.

Spain first discovered the New World, first explored its continents; first discovered, explored, possessed and settled Guiana; and first firmly established herself in that province as its sole and lawful owner.

1.—DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION.

Early discoveries and explorations.

The discovery of the New World by Spain, and her admitted right to be regarded as the first explorer of its continents, rests upon the following facts:

Columbus on his third voyage, coasting the southern shore of Trinidad, saw to the southward, on August 1, 1498, the main land which formed part of the delta of the Orinoco. The volume of fresh water was such that he wrote it must come from a land of "infinite" extent. In 1499 his lieutenants coasted the entire line from Surinam to Panama, sailing up the estuaries of the Essequibo and the Orinoco; and on this voyage the name of *Venezuela*, or "Little Venice," was given to the mainland, in consequence of the Indian dwellings, which they found constructed over the water and swampy lands. In 1500 Pinzon discovered the Amazon, and coasted the shore to the Orinoco, where he took in a cargo of Brazil wood. Other discoverers, Spanish and Portuguese, pushed south along the Brazilian coast. In 1519-1520, Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, sent by Charles V, touched at or near the Bay of Rio de Janeiro, followed down the coast, passed through the strait which now bears his name, went up the west

Early discoveries and explorations.

coast a considerable distance, and then crossed the Pacific to the Moluccas.

Meantime in 1513, Balboa, crossing the Isthmus of Darien, discovered the Pacific: this was followed by many Spanish expeditions to the Pacific coast, touching from Chili to upper California, so that, by 1535 or 1540, the west shore of America was known from upper California to Cape Horn, and its outlines were shown with respectable accuracy on maps.*

This was the work of Spain, by innumerable expeditions helped out at a few points by Portuguese navigators; and thus, within forty or fifty years from Columbus' first voyage, the nation which sent him had not only discovered the existence of the two Americas, but had explored and made known their entire coast line from Labrador, round Cape Horn, at least to upper California.†

2.—SETTLEMENT AND POSSESSION.

Spain followed exploration by settlement and effective possession.

The work of Spain did not stop with the discovery and exploration of America. This was at once followed by settlement; and, with regard to nearly all of South America, it was followed also by the formal taking and effective keeping of possession. The following facts will serve to support this statement:

Early charters.

Ferdinand granted colonizing charters before his death in 1516. Charles V followed with a considerable number of them from 1520 onward. Settlements were

Cumaná settled.

made at Cumaná by Ojèda and by the missionaries of Las Casas in 1520; these settlements were often devastated by the Indians; nevertheless they were renewed, and Cumaná is one of the most ancient cities on the continent.

In 1528 the Emperor made a large colonization con-

* Winsor (J.) Narrative and Critical History. Boston, ii, 177, vii, 889.
† Same, ii, 242.
‡ Fiske, ii, 459.

tract with the Velsers, rich merchants of Augsburg, granting them a right to the coast from Cabo de la Vela (near the western end of Venezuela) to Maracapana (close to Cumaná)—that is, over nearly the whole Caribbean sea-coast of Venezuela; while in 1530–31 a colonization grant was made to Diego de Ordaz, covering the shore from the Velsers' grant to the Amazon—that is, including the entire Guiana coast. The Velsers had a royal governor; and a Bull of July 21, 1531, made Venezuela a bishopric, for which a cathedral was erected at Coro.* Early grants.

Each of these grants also covered the interior as far inland as the grantees might go, and this led to a series of expeditions into the interior. In 1530 Pedro de Acosta founded a settlement at the mouth of the Orinoco, but was not long afterwards driven off by the Caribs. In 1531 Cornejo sailed up the Orinoco. In 1530–31 Ordaz, exploring under a grant, ascended the Orinoco to the Meta, near six hundred miles; and in 1537 another expedition commanded by Herrera, under the Ordaz grant, ascended both the Orinoco and its affluent the Meta, to its headwaters close to Bogotá, and marched to that city. Expeditions inland.

The account of Keymis, Raleigh's lieutenant, written in 1596, enumerates twenty expeditions down to 1560, all Spanish, taken from "*Primera Parte de las Elegias de Varones Illustres de Indias*," by Castellanos; and Raleigh's "*Discoverie of Guiana*" adds more. These expeditions were often of great size, The accounts of them mention 200 men; 400 men; 600 men.†

* Documentos para la Historia del Libertador, i, 35–37; also Bollaert (Wm.) Expedition of Pedro de Ursua, etc., with introduction by C. R. Markham. London, 1861, pp. iv–v.

† Hakluyt (R.) Principal navigations, etc.; edited by E. Goldsmid, Edinburgh, 1890, vol. xv, pp. 93–96; *see* also Rodway (J.) and Watt (T.) Annals of Guiana, 1888, vol. i, p. 12; also Raleigh (W.) Discovery of Guiana, edited by R. H. Schomburgk. London, 1848, p. 16 *et seq.*

Expeditions inland.

Spain continued her efforts. Not to speak of others, Berreo in 1582 started from New Grenada with 700 horsemen, 1,000 head of cattle, and a horde of Indian slaves; reached the Orinoco; went down to its mouth; and subdued or received the peaceful homage of the Indians of that region.*

Early settlements.

The confluence of the Caroni and the Orinoco was pointed out, by the nature of the land and by its position, as a place especially fitted for settlement; for both the river and the easy, open savannas which stretch far back from it mark it as the natural entrance to the interior of Guiana. In 1531–32 Ordaz had here found a settlement of Indians;† and about 1591 the Spanish

Santo Thomé founded.

town of Santo Thomé, and opposite, on an island, the Spanish fort or citadel of Faxardo, were regularly established.‡

Before the end of the 16th century, the Spaniards were seriously occupying themselves with the interior of Guiana.

Formal possession of Guiana taken by Spain.

In the year 1594 Captain George Popham captured, at sea, certain letters on their way to Spain. These letters have preserved to us an account of the formal act by which in 1593 Domingo de Vera, on behalf of Antonio de Berreo, "Governor and Captain-General for our Lord the King betwixt the rivers Orinoco and Amazon," took possession of the Province of Guiana for Spain.

One of these letters deserves to be quoted in full. It is as follows:

"Part of the Coppy that was sent to his Maiesty of the discovery of Nueuo Dorado.

In the riuer of *Pato* otherwise called *Orenoque*, the principall

*Raleigh's Guiana, Schomburgk, ed., pp. 26, 39.

†Raleigh's Guiana, Schomburgk ed., p. 79, note 2.

‡Simon (*Fray* Pedro). Noticias Historiales de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales. Cuenca, 1627; *see* also U. S. Commission, Report, i, 39.

part thereof called *Warismero*, the 23 of Aprill 1593. *Domingo de vera*, Master of the Campe and Generall for Anth. de Bereo Gouernour and Captaine generall for our Lorde the King, betwixt the riuers of *Pato* and *Papamene* alias *Orenoque*, and *Marannon*, and of the Iland of *Trinedado*, in presence of me *Rodrigo de Caranca* register for the sea, commanded all the soldiers to be drawne together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and soldiers, and master of the campe standing in the middest of them, said vnto them ; Sirs, Soldiers, and Captaines, you vnderstand long since that our Generall *Antho. de Berreo*, with the trauell of 11 yeares, and expence of more than 100000 pesoes of Gold, discouered the noble prouinces of *Guiana* and *Dorado:* Of the which hee tooke possession to gouerne the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessary munition, he issued at the Iland of *Marguarita*, and from thence peopled the *Trinedado*. But now they had sente me to learne out and discouer the ways most easily to enter, and to people the saide prouinces, and where the Campes and Armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I entend so to do in the name of his Maiesty, and the said gouernour *Antho: de Berreo*, and in token thereof I require you *Fran. Carillo* that you aide me to aduance this crosse that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towardes the east, and the said Master of the Campe, the Captains and soldiers kneeled down and did due reuerence vnto the said crosse, and thereupon the Master of the Campe tooke a bole of water and dranke it of, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drew out his sword and cut the grasse of the ground, and the boughs of the trees saying I take this possession in the name of the king *Don Phillip* our master, and of his gouernour *Antho: de Berreo:* and because some make question of this possession, to them I answere that in these our actions was present the *Casique* or principal *Don Antho.* otherwise called *Morequito*, whose land this was who yeelded consent to the said possession, was glad there of, and gaue his obedience to our Lord the King, and in his name to the said gouernour *Antho: de Berreo.* And the said Master of the Campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and soldiers saide that the possession was wel taken, and that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whosoeuer would say to the contrary. And the saide master of the Camp hauing his sword drawen in his hand

Formal Possession of Guiana taken by Spain.

Formal Possession of Guiana taken by Spain.

said vnto me, register that art here present, giue me an instrument or testimoniall to confirme me in this possession, which I haue taken of this land, for the gouernour *Antho. de Berreo* and if it be needfull I wil take it a new. And I require you all that are present to witnes the same, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the possession of all these landes wheresoeuer I shall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de vera *and vnderneath, Before me* Rodrigo de Caranca, *Register of the Army.*

And in prosecution of the said possession, and discouery of the way and prouinces, the 27 of April of the said yere, the Master of the Camp entred by little and little with all the Campe and men of warre, more than two leagues into the Inland, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderstand by meanes of *Antho: Bisante* the Interpretor that his Maiesty and *Antho: de Berreo* had sent him to take the said possession. And the said fryer *Francis Carillo* by the Interpretor, deliuered him certain thinges of our holy Catholique faith, to al which he answered, that they vnderstood him well and would becom Christians, and that with a very good wil they should aduance the crosse, in what part or place of the towne it pleased them, for he was for the gouernour *Antho: de Berreo,* who was his Master. Thereupon the said master of the Campe tooke a great crosse, and set it on ende toward the east, and requested the whole Campe to witnesse it and *Domingo de vera* firmed it thus.

It is well and firmly done, and vnderneath, before me Rodrigo Caranca, *Register of the Army.*

The first of May they prosecuted the saide possession and discouery to the towne of *Carapana.* From thence the said Master of the Camp passed to the towne of *Toroco* whose principall is called *Topiawary* beeing fiue leagues farther within the land then the first nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the interpretor they gaue to vnderstand that his Maiesty and the said *Corrigidor* commanded them to take the possession of that land, and that they should yeeld their obedience to his Maiesty, and to his Corrigidor, and to the Master of the Campe in his name, and that in token thereof he would place a crosse in the middle of his towne. Whereunto the said *Cassique* answered they should aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained

in the obedience of our Lorde the King, and of the saide Gouernour *Antho: de Berreo* whose vassale he would be."*

Formal Possession of Guiana taken by Spain.

This act of possession was no mere fiction. In 1595 Berreo followed it up by a colonizing expedition which started from Spain with 2,000 colonists.

In 1598 a Dutch visitor reported that the Spaniards "have begun, about six days journey to the south of the river Orinoco, at the mountains of Guiana, to make a road through the rocks and hills about 1,600 stadia (200 miles) long and wide enough for five horses to march abreast, and by these means they hope to conquer it."†

Mission work began with the beginning of Spanish settlement. When Domingo de Vera, in 1595, returned from Spain with re-enforcements for Berreo, he brought with him ten clergymen and twelve Franciscan friars. Seven of these went to Santo Thomé and found there *already established* a convent in charge of friars of their own order.‡ In 1617 this convent was transferred from the jurisdiction of the province of Santa Fé to that of the province of Caracas; and on April 25, 1618, the transfer was effected at Santo Thomé.§ Shortly after, in 1618 or 1619, another convent was founded there by the Dominicans.‖

Mission work began very early.

But it must not be supposed that the occupation of the Spaniards was limited to the Orinoco river, or to the interior, so rich in gold.

Spread of Spanish occupation.

In 1618, King James could say:

"It is confessed by all, that the parts of Guiana, where St. Thome was scituate, were planted by Spaniards, who had divers Townes in the same tract, with some Indians intermixed, that are their Vassals."¶

*Raleigh (*sir* W.) Discovery of Guiana; edited by R. H. Schomburgk. London, 1848, pp. 123–126.

†Appendix to Case, ii, 9.

‡Simon (*fray* P.) Noticias historiales, etc., Cuenca, 1627, pp. 599, 606.

§Caulin (*friar* A.) Historia corographica, etc., fol. Madrid, 1779, p. 180.

‖U. S. Commission, Report, i, 54, and authorities there cited.

¶"A declaration of the Demeanor and Cariage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, as well in his Voyage, as in, and sithence his Returne," p. 30.

Early Spanish exploration and occupation of the Essequibo.

The Essequibo was early explored and occupied by Spain.

Early Spanish exploration and occupation of the Essequibo.

As early as 1553 a Spanish explorer went up the Essequibo with four canoes, pushed up into the interior and crossing the divide, descended by the other slope into another river and so into the Amazon.*

1553. The map which records this expedition, the date of which cannot be much later, gives the courses not only of the Essequibo but of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni as well.* It also marks on the Pomeroon, the Amacura, the Waini and the Barima the name of the Indian Cacique there ruling.†

1591. De Laet, in his "Beschryvinghe van West Indien" says:

"The Spaniards had here (*i. e.*, in the Essequibo) some people in the year 1591."‡

1596. In 1596, Keymis, Sir Walter Raleigh's lieutenant, while asserting that "further to the eastward than Dessekebe (Essequibo) no Spaniard ever travelled," reports that "in this river, which wee now call Devoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne."§

1597. In 1597 the Spaniards were found in the Essequibo by the expedition sent out by Raleigh under the command of Captain Leonard Berrie. Thomas Masham, who accompanied him and wrote the account of the voyage, says, that he there learned from an Indian that in the Essequibo "there were some 300 Spaniards, which for the most part now are destroyed and dead."

He also adds:

"It was reported that the Spaniardes were gonne out of Desekebe, which was not so. . . . The next night wee had newes brought . . . that there were tenne canoas of Spaniardes in the mouth of Coritine . . . who went along the coast to buy

* U. S. Commission, Report, i, 175, 190.

† Appendix to Case, atlas, map 76.

‡ Laet (Jan de). Beschijvinghe van West Indien. Leyden, 1625, p. 474.

§ Keymis (L.) Relation, etc., London, 1596, fol. B 4 verso.

bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo and Desekebe." *

Early Spanish exploration and occupation of the Essequibo.

Unpublished Spanish documents tell of another expedition in 1597, led by Ibarguen, the camp master of Domingo de Vera.† 1597.

In 1608, Unton Fisher, an Englishman whom Harcourt had left in the Marowyn for exploration, reports that the Spaniards have "cleare left Dissikeebe, and not a Spaniard there."‡ 1608.

In 1615, however, the Duke of Lerma, writing to the Council of the Indies, speaks of the Essequibo *as a place peopled by Spaniards;* and mentions that they are settled there and *engaged in cultivating the soil.*§ 1615.

In 1617 Raleigh, speaking of the Essequibo, referred to it thus: 1617.

"I also gave them order to send into Dessekebe for I assured them that they could not want Pilotts ther for Orenoke, being the next great river adioyning vnto it, and to which the Spaniards of Orenoke had dayly recourse."‖

As a monument to the early Spanish occupation of the Essequibo, there still exist on the Island of Kykoveral the remains of an ancient fort, attributed formerly to the Portuguese, but which recent investigations clearly show to have been Spanish.¶

The facts which have thus been cited attest the discovery, possession, exploration and settlement of Guiana by Spain: more especially do they show the exploration and settlement of the western part of Guiana, that

Disputed territory was discovered, explored, settled, and possessed by Spain.

* Hakluyt (R.) Principal navigations, etc., 1811, iv, 193–194.

† Rodway; *in* Temehri, 1895, Dec., p. 325; *see* also U. S. Commission, Report, iii, 189, foot note.

‡ "Relation of the habitations and other observations of the river of Marwin and the adjoining regions," in Purchas, *Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), iv, 1285.

§ Appendix to Case, ii, 263–4.

‖ Raleigh (*sir* W.) Discovery of Guiana, Schomburgk edition, 1848, pp. 202, 203.

¶ U. S. Commission, Report, i, 185-187; and iii, 190–191.

Disputed Territory was discovered, explored, settled and possessed by Spain.

which comprises the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers and the region lying between.

3.—SPAIN'S EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF GUIANA.

Spain effectually controlled it.

While the above facts might safely be allowed to stand by themselves, the completeness and *effectiveness* of Spanish control in Guiana cannot fail to be emphasized if the ineffectual attempts of other nations to dispossess her be considered. At times these attempts were open, and were attended with bloodshed and loss of life; at other times they were surreptitious, those engaged in them limiting themselves to trading with the Indians and to the quiet occupation of a bit of coast or river bank. All these attempts were unavailing.

Foreign armies, foreign traders, and foreign settlers were all driven from Guiana, and though at times the Spaniards suffered defeat at the hands of these invaders, and though Santo Thomé was more than once taken pillaged and destroyed, yet, in the end, the invaders were invariably repulsed, and Spain remained mistress of the province.

She successfully repelled all invaders.

The strength of Spain in Guiana, her exercise of dominion there by the exclusion of other nations, and her subjugation of the native inhabitants, were facts—facts which in those days England attempted to dispute, but to the truth of which the strongest witnesses are the very Englishmen whom she put forward in that attempt, and who, at that time, represented the strength, the chivalry and the enterprise of that great nation.

Raleigh's expeditions.

Of all foreign adventurers, Raleigh was the most famous. His expeditions were the best planned and the best manned. His ambition, ability and resources were greater than those of any other foreigner who ever attempted to penetrate into the interior of Guiana, and

his failure to accomplish this was the most signal of which any record remains.

Raleigh's expeditions.

His expedition of 1595 was somewhat in the nature of a preliminary survey. He went quietly up the Orinoco as far as the Caroni, avoiding the Spaniards and intent merely upon reaching the fabled "Manoa del Dorado." In his enterprise he endeavored to enlist the Indians of that region, but he found that they had been so subdued by the Spaniards that they would not lift hand against them except by secret murder. A chief was found ready to guide him to the mines of Guiana, *provided Raleigh would leave in his town men enough to protect it against the Spaniards,* but this Raleigh was unable to do, as it would have required more than his entire force.*

1595.

Of another Indian town he says that ten Spaniards dwelt there; and that the Chief was, therefore, afraid to have anything to do with the English. Finally Raleigh was obliged to abandon his project of getting into the interior, because, having only fifty soldiers, "the rest being labourers and rowers," he could not leave a sufficient guard with proper equipment on the river; for that "without those thinges necessarie for their defence, they shoulde be in daunger of the Spaniardes in my absence."†

In 1596 Keymis visited this region, and talked with the Indian chiefs. From them he heard how they hated the Spaniards, but the Indians refused further intercourse than a little secret talk "least perhaps some Spie might inform the Spaniards thereof, whereby danger would grow to Carapana."

Keymis 1596.

Commenting upon this Keymis adds:

* Raleigh (*sir* W.) Discovery of Guiana. Schomburgk edition, London, 1848, pp. 92, 93, 98.

† Same, pp. 92, 149.

"By this I perceiued that to stay longer for him . . . . . would be purposelesse." *

Raleigh's expeditions.

Raleigh was never able to get assistance from the natives. In his last expedition he did not even try. Two Englishmen whom he left in Guiana in 1595 to foment friendship for England and hatred towards Spain, came to an untimely end: as soon as the Spaniards heard of them, an order was issued for their arrest; one of them was at once seized, and the other would doubtless have shared his fate had he not already been destroyed by a tiger.

Down on the coast Keymis found further proof of Spanish power over the Indians. Speaking of his experiences with the natives in that quarter he says:

"It was long time before wee could procure them [the Indians] to come neere vs, for they doubted least wee were Spanish."

And he adds that the Indian chief informed him that the Arwacas

"doe for the most part serue and follow the Spanyards."†

From Keymis, also, we have a statement showing the strength of Santo Thomé in 1597, and the character of the fortifications on the island of Faxardo.

Keymis states that on the approach of the Englishmen the Spaniards stationed themselves at the mouth of the Caroni

"to defend the passage to those mines from whence your Oare and white stones were taken the last yeere: Wee all not without griefe see ourselues thus defeated, and our hungry hopes thus made voyde."

Keymis concludes his account thus:

"Sorie I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniardes being there I found my defeat remedilesse."‡

* Hakluyt (R.) Principal navigations, etc., edited by E. Goldsmid. Edinburgh, 1890, vol. xv, p. 77.

† Same, xv, p. 60.

‡ Same, xv, pp. 69, 70, 80.

Immediately on his first return from Guiana, and planning for a second expedition, Raleigh wrote: Raleigh's expedition.

"For wee are not to goe as Cortez, Pisarro, or the other conquerors against a naked vnarmed people (whose warrs are resembled by some to the childrens play called Iogo di Canne [Juego de Cañas]). *Butt we are to encounter with the Spaniards*, armed in all respectes, and as well practised as ourselves".*

In 1611 he was engaged in preparing another expedition, and in his "Proposals" of that year he undertook to send Keymis with such men 1611.

"as should be able to defend him against the Spaniards inhabiting vpon Orenoke if they offered to assaile him (not that itt is meant to offend the Spaniards there or to beginne any quarrell with them except themselves shall beginne warre).

To knowe what number of men shall be sufficient may itt please your Lordshipps to informe your selves by Captaine More, a servant of Sir John Watts, who came from Orenoke this last spring, and was oftentimes ashore att St. Thome, where the Spaniards inhabite."†

This expedition, however, never took place. It was merged in the final one of 1617.‡ 1617.

This last expedition of 1617 carried 121 pieces of ordnance in one squadron of seven vessels, joined presently by seven more vessels; and 400 men were sent up the Orinoco to Santo Thomé.§

Raleigh noted that no small part of the Spanish strength was due to the ease with which the Commandant of Guiana could obtain reinforcements from Cumaná and the other provinces.‖

The expedition started up the river. Santo Thomé and a stronghold twenty-five miles below it, marked on

*Raleigh (*sir* W.) Discovery of Guiana. Schomburgk edition, London, 1848, p. 149.

†Same, pp. 165, 166; Rodway (J.) and Watt (T.) Annals of Guiana. Georgetown, 1888, vol. i, p. 57.

‡Same, pp. 167 *et seq.*

§Same, pp. 172–4.

‖Same, pp. 93, 149, 211–216.

Raleigh's expeditions.

the maps as "old Guayana," were the keys to the whole interior. The Santo Thomé which made Keymis retreat in 1596 was of itself a sufficient protection to the interior. Raleigh in 1595 had pointed out that two small forts on and near the bluff twenty-five miles below, at the place where old Guayana Castle still stands, would close both the river and the country to all commerce, no matter how strong.*

1617. When he started on his final expedition in 1617, Raleigh believed that the Spaniards had not occupied the latter place. His plan was to land at the lowest and nearest available point on the river, and thence push for the mines, thus avoiding Santo Thomé; but his forces found there a town of 140 houses, a church and two convents, defended by 57 men, well armed and with some ordnance, commanded by the Governor of the Province assisted by a valiant officer, Captain Geronimo de Grados. The English had 400 men. They took the place at the cost of young Raleigh's life; held it twenty-six days; heard that Spanish re-inforcements were approaching; plundered it; burned it, and retreated.†

Raleigh's defeat.

The expedition was ruined. Keymis, who commanded for Raleigh, committed suicide; and Raleigh went back to England, and to the block.‡

The most brilliant commander of England had tried for twenty years to penetrate Guiana. He had failed because the Spaniards held it, and held it too strongly for him.

Dutch witnesses of Spain's control of Guiana.

But witnesses to the strength of the Spaniards in Guiana and to their effective occupation of that province are not confined to Englishmen alone.

Cabeliau, clerk of the Dutch Expedition to the coast

* Raleigh (*Sir* W.) Discovery of Guiana. Schomburgk edition, London, 1848, p. 115.

† Same, pp. 210–216.

‡ Same, pp. 217, 222.

of Guayana in 1597–98, describes the strength of the Spaniards at that time as follows:

Dutch testimony as to Spanish control.

"We travelled . . . . up to the place or settlement where the Spaniards are, which is named St. Thomé, whereof Don Fernando de Berreo is Governor and also Marquis of Guiana. . . . . Their strength consists of about 60 horsemen and 100 musketeers, who daily seek to conquer the gold-land of Guiana." *

Further on Cabeliau says:

"To sum up briefly, there is up that river in the kingdom of Guiana certainly much gold, as we were told by the Indians from there as well as by our Indians here present, and the Spaniards themselves say so; but for people busied with trade it is not feasible to expect any good therefrom unless to that end considerable expeditions were equipped to attack the Spaniards. This is the only means of learning the whereabouts of any gold mines from the Indians; for whosoever are enemies, and bear enmity to the Spaniards, are friends with the Indians, and they hope steadily that they shall be delivered from the Spaniards by the Dutch and English, as they told us." †

Dutch trade to Orinoco prevented by Spain, 1602–3.

Cabeliau's statement with regard to the strength of the Spanish was put to a practical test by the Dutch in 1602–3 when Dutch vessels authorized by the States General attempted to penetrate up that river. But this was "prevented by the multitude of the Spaniards who were found there."‡

Santo Thomé in 1629.

In 1629 a Dutch fleet of a dozen ships, fitted out for a raid, attacked, sacked and burned Santo Thomé, but at once retired, attempting no permanent occupation. At that time Santo Thomé consisted of 130 or 140 houses, a church and a convent.§

Dutch unable to hold Santo Thomé in 1637.

In 1637 the Dutch once again attacked and plundered Santo Thomé, but they were not strong enough to hold

* Appendix to Case, ii, 9.
† Appendix to Case, ii, 10.
‡ U. S. Commission Report, ii, 25, 26.
§ Laet (Jan de) Bechrijvinghe van West Indien. Leyden, 1630, p. 593; *also* his Historie ofte Jaerlyck Verhael, p. 166.

Dutch unable to hold Santo Thomé in 1687.

the city; and the Spanish chronicler of this event states that,

"In their retreat we pursued them to the port, where they embarked, suffering the loss of a great number of their party, as also Flemish and Indians. The small force at our command is well known, but it pleased God to help us, and prevent them establishing themselves here, and so it happened that they retreated, with the loss of life referred to."*

The Spanish Colossus remained firm and unshaken.

A writer of seventy years ago, after pointing out the many defects in Spanish rule and Spanish administration, has, in a word, summed up the situation. He says:

"But notwithstanding all these defects, the Spanish colossus was firm and unshaken; its coasts were ravaged; its seaport towns burned, and its fortresses besieged, but its territory was still intact."†

What has been above set forth relates, in the main, to that region of Guiana which includes the present disputed territory; but it was not there alone that the Spaniards made their presence felt in those early days. In a remonstance, addressed in 1633 by the Dutch West India Company to the States-General, there is a description of *New Spain*, and of Guiana. That description concludes with the following words:

"The country is bounded by the great river of the Amazons, which also is not free from Spanish settlements, as our people have experienced to their damage."‡

Early Dutch attempts to gain foothold ended in failure.

The early attempts of the Dutch to gain a foothold at various points on the coast of Guiana ended invariably in failure.

In 1614 Juan Tostado, Acting Governor of Trinidad, hanged several Flemish seeking to reconnoitre that port; and in company with Antonio de Muxica Buitron, Lieutenant of Guiana, proceeded to the Corentine and there

* Blue Book, 3, 213.

† Mollien (G. T.), Travels in Colombia, 1822-23. London, 1824, p. 124,

‡ "Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York," Vol. I. p. 66; U. S. Commission Report, i, 356.

destroyed the fort and tobacco plantations which the Dutch had established there.*

Early Dutch attempts to gain foothold ended in failure.

Of an attempt in 1615 to found a Dutch settlement on the Cayenne, Major John Scott thus wrote:

"The fifth colony consisted of about 280 Zealanders, with two small ships, landed their men at Cayan, anno 1615, but could not bring the natives to a trade, were often gauled by the Indians, and were at length forced to quit their post. Returned to Zealand the same year.†

In this same year of 1615, the King of Spain issued a general order, directing that the coast of Guiana be cleared of any foreign settlements which might there be found.‡

Speaking of these early attempts at Dutch settlement in Guiana, Professor Burr, in his report to the United States Commission, writes as follows:

"This silence of the English explorers as to Dutch settlement in Guiana cannot weaken the force of the positive Spanish testimony, which makes it certain that as early as 1613, and at the least until 1615, the Dutch were settled on this coast. But, in view of it, it is very unlikely that, save in the Amazon, they were there much earlier, and both the English and the Spanish evidence, as well as the Dutch, suggest that these earliest Dutch settlements may have perished in their infancy, and in part or wholly at Spanish hands."§

Speaking in another place of other Dutch attempts at settlement, Professor Burr writes:

"Their duration, however, was probably but transient. When in 1621 there was created a Dutch West India Company, with monopoly of Dutch commercial and colonial interests on the coasts of America, the only claim for reimbursement mentioned anywhere in the records is that made by the Zeelanders for their 'tobacco plantation on the River Amazon.'"‖

* Appendix to Case, ii, 261, 262.
† U. S. Commission Report, i, 165.
‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 264.
§ U. S. Commission Report, i, 164-165.
‖ U. S. Commission Report, i, 159.

English view of Spanish rights in 1623.

The English view of Spanish rights in Guiana during this period is well illustrated by the consideration given to the protests of the Spanish Ambassador in England against any English settlements in that province. In a document addressed to King James, ascribed conjecturally to 1623, and intended to set forth "Briefe motives" to maintain the right of the English "vnto the river of Amazones and the coast of Guiana," certain English subjects petitioned the King as follows:

"Your Majesty's subjects, with the faire leave and good liking of the native inhabitants, have theis 13 or 14 yeares continuallie remayned in the said River and also in the River of Wiapoco, being upon the same Coaste." "Your Matie hath bine pleased to graunte severall Commissions for these parts, and (wth good advice of your Councell) hath granted two severall letters Pattents the one in the 11th of your Raigne of England, the other, the 17th." "The Count of Gondomer did bouldlie and most confidentlie affirme that his Master had the actuall and present possession of theis parts; whereupon he obtained from your Matie a suspence and stay of all our proceedings for a tyme. And two yeares and a halfe afterward the said Embassadour caused about 300 men to be sent into the River of Amazones, then to beginn the foresaid possession and to destroy the English and Dutch there abideinge."*

Summary of foregoing.

What has been set forth will amply support the statement first made to the effect that Spain was the first discoverer, explorer, possessor and settler of Guiana; and that she held the entire Province effectively against the attempted encroachments of other nations.

It is upon these facts that Venezuela relies to estab lish the original right of Spain—and of herself as Spain's successor—to the territory now in dispute.

* Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574–1660, pp. 36, 37.

IV.—HISTORICAL SKETCH SHOWING DERIVATION OF THE DUTCH-BRITISH TITLE TO ESSEQUIBO.

Dutch revolt against Spain.

In 1581 the Dutch renounced their allegiance to the King of Spain, and entered upon a war which finally resulted in their independence in 1648.

Their possessions in Guiana confirmed by Treaty of Munster.

Prior to the latter date they had obtained a certain foot-hold on the coast of Guiana, the extent and nature of which will be later considered. By the Treaty of Munster of January 30, 1648,* the right to such possessions as they at that time held was confirmed to them by Spain.

Dutch West India Company charter, 1621.

The Dutch West India Company† had, on June 3d

*Appendix to Case, iii, pp. 4-21.

†The Dutch West India Company, modeled after the older Dutch East India Company and after the government of the Netherlands, was made up of five local Chambers—Amsterdam, Zeeland, the Maas (Meuse), Friesland and Groningen, and "the Northern Quarter." In each of these the Chief-Shareholders (*Hoofdparticipanten*) chose a body of Directors (*Bewindhebberen*), who managed the affairs of the Chamber, and who were currently known as the Chamber itself. The policy of the Company as a whole was shaped by a Board, or Committee of Conference, made up of nineteen deputies from these local Chambers, and known as "the Nineteen." Of these the Amsterdam Directors chose eight; Zeeland, four; Maas, Friesland and Groningen, and the Northern Quarter each two; the nineteenth being named by the States-General. The Nineteen, however, was not a body of permanent membership or of stated meetings. It was convened at the will of the Chambers, though with a growing regularity. The Deputies were chosen afresh for its every session; and it dealt only with the topics for deliberation (*Poincten van Beschrijving*) drawn up for it by the Chambers. Its sessions were held alternately at Amsterdam and at the Zeeland capital, Middelburg (six years at the one, then two at the other); and the Chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland hence bore the honorary designation of "presidial" chambers. Besides the meetings of the Nineteen and of the local boards of Directors of each Chamber, the Chief-Shareholders of each Chamber came together at intervals, mainly for the election of Directors or the consideration of purely financial concerns; and there was also a commission of the Nineteen which sat in The Hague for the conduct of the Company's business at the seat of government. All these bodies have left more or less of record; but the only ones which have proved fruitful for the present research are those of the Nineteen and of the directors of the Zeeland Chamber. Those of the Zeeland Chamber, long in exclusive charge of the Guiana colonies, have been much the most prolific source.—(Note by Professor Burr, U. S. Commission Report, Vol. 2, pp. 38-39).

Dutch West India Company charter, 1621.

1621, been chartered by the States-General of the United Netherlands.*

The nature of the charter, and the extent of territory assigned to the operations of the Company, will appear from the following extract taken from the charter:

"We, therefore, being moved by many different and pregnant considerations, have, after mature deliberation of the Council and for very pressing causes, decided that the navigation, trade, and

*"[The United Provinces] were republics, they were the freest lands in the world, but they were anything but democracies. The governing body was, indeed, differently constituted in the different provinces. In Friesland and Groningen the provincial States were chosen by something closely approaching popular election. In some of the other provinces the nobility, and in one the clergy, enjoyed a greater or less degree of representation. But for the most part the provincial Estates consisted of deputies who represented the magistracies of the cities.

"The municipal councils were, then, in most cases the ultimate authority; and these were, under some limitations, self-electing. Friesland and Groningen excepted, nowhere, virtually, was there any provision for popular representation. The city council chose all the officers of the city, and sent, to represent it in the provincial States, most commonly one or two burgomasters, several councillors, and the pensionary or the secretary. The number of persons deputed might be greater or smaller, for in any case each city had but one vote. The States of the province of Holland may best be selected as an illustration. . . . That body consisted of nineteen members; the nobility of the province formed one and were represented by one of their number; and the others were the eighteen chief towns, each represented in the manner already mentioned. The pensionary or advocate of the province presided over their deliberations and arranged their business. Their meetings took place at the Hague. Through this assembly the sovereign powers of the province were exercised, but it should not be forgotten that the sovereignty itself resided in the nineteen members, and not in their deputies; and many of the most important matters of deliberation were subjected, as we shall see, to enormous delays, because the deputies in the provincial States must refer them to their principals, the city councils.

"The seven provinces were independent and sovereign States, but the loose union in which they were joined had as its organ an assembly long familiar in the affairs of Europe under the title of 'The High and Mighty Lords the Lords States General of the United Netherlands.' This assembly was not a sovereign legislative and executive body; rather was it a permanent congress of ambassadors, deputed by the provincial States to represent them in deliberations at the Hague upon common affairs, but with little power of concluding, save with the unanimous consent of the assemblies which deputed them, and of the city magistracies and other ultimate repositories of sovereignty which deputed those

commerce in the West Indies, Africa, and other countries hereafter enumerated, shall henceforth not be carried on otherwise than with the common united strength of the merchants and inhabitants of these lands, and that to this end there shall be established a General Company which, on account of our great love for the common welfare, and in order to preserve the inhabitants of these lands in full prosperity, we shall maintain and strengthen with our assistance, favour and help, so far as the present state and condition of this country will in any way allow, and which we shall furnish with a proper Charter, and endow with the privileges and exemptions hereafter enumerated, to wit:

Dutch West India Company charter, 1621.

I.

That for a period of twenty-four years no native or inhabitant of this country shall be permitted, except in the name of this United Company, either from the United Netherlands or from any place outside them, to sail upon or to trade with the coasts and lands of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, nor with the countries of America and the West Indies, beginning from the southern extremity of Newfoundland through the Straits of Magellan, Le Maire, and other straits and channels lying thereabouts, to the Strait of Anjan, neither on the North nor on the South Seas, nor with any of the islands situated either on the one side or the other, or between them both; nor with the Australian and southern lands extending and lying between the two meridians, reaching in the east to the Cape of Good Hope, and in the west to the east end of New Guinea, inclusive."*

Company vested with all Dutch rights to Guiana.

Pursuant to the terms of this charter, the Company became at once vested with whatever rights the States-General may have had in Guiana. The trade to that

assemblies. Each province fixed the form of its representation to suit itself, since the voting was by provinces. A general council of State also existed." (Jameson (J. F.) Willem Usselinx; in Amer. Hist. Assn. Papers. New York, 1887, vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 23–25.)

This was meant as an outline of the condition of things at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Stadhouderate was temporarily in eclipse. With the addition of that dignity, whose functions, though less important, were not wholly unlike those of the American Presidency, it is substantially correct for the whole history of the republic. (Note by Professor Burr; U. S. Commission Report, ii, 4.)

*Appendix to Case, ii, pp. 1–3.

Company vested all Dutch rights to Guiana.

country, so far as the Dutch were concerned, was thereafter for a long time exclusively in the hands of the Company; and such occupation of Guiana as the Dutch may have had in 1648 was limited to the possessions of the Company itself at that time.

Renewal of Charter, 1647.

The charter of 1621 expired in 1645. On March 22, 1647, the States-General renewed it for another quarter of a century.* The limits remained unchanged and were not restated.†

New Company chartered, 1674.

Towards the close of 1674 this Company, after three further brief renewals of its charter, expired; and a new Company, created by fresh charter in 1674, entered on the inheritance of the old at the beginning of 1675. The territorial limits of the old had included the entire coast of both North and South America; those of the new included, on the mainland of those continents, nothing but "the places of Isekepe [Essequibo] and Bauwmerona [Pomeroon]." The following is taken from the new charter:

Limits: Essequibo and Pomeroon.

Charter, 1674.

"We, therefore, having taken into due consideration that naught can be done, protected, and upheld in the districts hereafter mentioned without the usual aid, assistance, and resources of a General Company . . . . have determined that navigation, trade, and commerce in the districts of West India and Africa and other places hereafter mentioned, shall henceforth be carried on only by the common and united strength of the former shareholders and depositors of the aforesaid Company who are willing and shall be encouraged to do so . . . . and to this end a new General West India Company shall be established which we, out of particular affection for the common weal . . . . shall strengthen with our help, favour and assistance . . . . and provide with a proper Charter and with the following privileges and exemptions:

"To wit, that within the present century and to the year 1700

* Appendix to Case, ii, p. 4.

† U. S. Commission, Report, i, 102.

inclusive, none of the natives or inhabitants of this or any other country, shall be permitted other than in the name of this United Company to sail or trade upon the coasts and lands of Africa, reckoning from the Tropic of Cancer to the latitude of 30 degrees south of the Equator, with all the islands in that district lying off the aforesaid coasts, and particularly the Islands of St. Thomé, Annebon, Isle of Principe, and Fernando Polo, together with the places of Isekepe and Bauwmerona, situated on the continent of America, as well as the Islands of Curaçao, Aruba, and Buonaire. The former limits of the previous grant are to be open to all the inhabitants of our State without distinction, so that they may navigate and trade there as best they like."* Charter, 1674.

This charter had been long in process of creation. As early as June 7, 1669, it was under discussion in the provincial estates of Holland, the limits then suggested being precisely those later adopted. On April 2, 1674, this provincial body submitted to the States-General another draft, in which to Essequibo and Pomeroon was added New Netherland, and also a provision that the new West India Company might retain "such further places and districts on the American mainland as it should take actual possession of by the creation of forts, warehouses, or established trade." In the new draft, however, submitted by the estates of Holland on August 13, 1674, this supplementary clause was omitted.†

The charter of 1674 was renewed at various times; first on November 30, 1700;‡ again on August 8, 1730;§ once more in 1760; and finally on January 1, 1762. Each time the renewal was without change of limits. Charter renewed in 1700, 1730, 1760 and 1762.

The Company was dissolved at the close of the year 1791.‖ Company dissolved, 1791.

On the 1st of January, 1792, the States-General as- States-General assume control, 1792.

*Appendix to Case, iii, 22–23.
†U. S. Commission, Report, i, 103, note.
‡Groot Placaat-Boek, iv, pp. 1333, 1334.
§Groot Placaat-Boek, vi, pp. 1401–1407.
‖U. S. Commission, Report, i, 104.

States-General assume control 1792.

sumed control of Demerara and Essequibo. These colonies continued under State control until after the establishment of the Batavian Republic, which in 1795 replaced the government of the States-General.

British occupation 1796–1802.

In April, 1796, Great Britain and the Batavian Republic being at war, an English fleet appeared at Demerara and took possession of that river and of Essequibo. The British occupation continued from 1796 until 1802. In the latter year peace was restored in Europe; and by the Treaty of Amiens Great Britain returned to the Batavian Republic "all the possessions and colonies which belonged to" it, and which had "been occupied or conquered by British forces during the course of the war."*

Treaty of Amiens.

British occupation 1803–1814.

The peace of Amiens proved short-lived; and in June, 1803, war once more broke out in Europe. In September of that year the British again took possession of Essequibo; and this time they remained in occupation, until, by the Treaty of London, of August 13, 1814, the Netherlands finally ceded to Great Britain "the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice."

The following is taken from the treaty of cession:

Treaty of London.

"In consideration of the engagements above mentioned, the Prince Sovereign of the Netherlands consents to cede in all sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty the Cape of Good Hope and the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, on condition, however, that the subjects of H. R. H. the Prince Sovereign, who own property in said colonies or establishments, shall be at liberty (saving the regulations which shall be agreed upon in a supplementary convention) to navigate and trade between said establishments and the territories of said Prince Sovereign in Europe."†

Great Britain the successor of the Dutch.

Such rights as Great Britain has to-day in Guiana, she has acquired by virtue of the Treaty of London, and

* From this restoration were excepted the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon.

† For treaty in full, see Appendix to Case, iii, 43–48.

as the successor of the Dutch. It is the province of the Tribunal to determine the extent of those rights so far as they relate to the territory between the Orinoco and the Essequibo rivers.

Great Britain the successor of the Dutch.

Having set forth thus broadly: first, the basis of Venezuela's title to the entire disputed territory, and second the derivation of British title to that portion of Guiana which admittedly is hers, it becomes necessary to set forth in more detail the special facts upon which Venezuela relies for the substantiation of her claims.

Purpose of succeeding chapter.

This is the purpose of the succeeding chapter.

V.—EARLY DUTCH RELATIONS WITH GUIANA. 1597-1648.

Early relations of Dutch with Guiana, and extent of their possessions on January 30, 1648.

It is proposed to consider first the early relations of the Dutch with Guiana; and then to define the extent of Dutch possessions in the Essequibo on January 30, 1648, on which date in the shape of the Treaty of Munster, the Netherlands received from Spain a quit-claim deed for what they then held.

It would be difficult to formulate a clearer or more concise statement of these early relations than that contained in Professor Burr's report to the United States Commission.

The following is an extract from that report:

Prof. Burr's statement.

"The national existence of the Dutch began with the year 1579. In 1581 they formally renounced their allegiance to the King of Spain. Till then, however rebellious, they had been his subjects. Such title as their exploration or commerce could give was the King of Spain's title. Even the assertion of their independence brought with it no claim to lands outside the Netherlands; nor is there reason to suppose that the Dutch yet dreamed of such a claim. The King of Spain, indeed, was now their foe; and they knew well that he was not King of Spain alone. That realm but gave him his most familiar title. He was lord of Portugal as well, lord of the fairest lands of Italy, lord of the Mediterranean isles, lord still of half the Netherlands; but his proudest title was that of lord of the Indies. Thence he drew the treasures with which he dazzled and bullied the world. America was but a Spanish island. No other European State, save Portugal, had yet planted a colony on its shores; and Portugal was now one of the dominions of the King of Spain. Whatever cloud might rest on the exclusiveness of his right by discovery to the northern half of the continent, none now obscured his title to the southern. That this title had, further, the explicit approval of the Pope of Rome was hardly likely to give it added sanctity in the eyes of Protestant powers; but as yet that title, however its basis might

Prof. Burr's statement.

be questioned, was not attacked from any quarter. If Drake, the Englishman, and his fellow-freebooters made the Caribbean seas their own and took tribute of the treasures of Peru, it was confessedly but a raid into an enemy's territory; land they neither sought nor claimed.

Yet if the English, though in name at peace with the King of Spain, might thus singe his beard on these far shores, so with double warrant might the Dutch. And such, not conquest or settlement, was, so far as the records show, the aim of the first Dutch project for a visit to these coasts.(pp. 134–135.)

* * * * * * * * * * *

In March of 1595, the Estates of Zeeland granted freedom of convoy to one Balthazar de Moucheron for a cargo of goods to the Spanish Indies. This was, of course, for peaceful traffic, and his objective point would seem to have been the island of Margarita, long the leading Spanish entrepôt for these parts. It was just at this time that by a Zeeland ship, not impossibly this one, was discovered just south of that island of Margarita, on the Spanish mainland of South America, the remarkable deposit of salt which for years made Punta de Araya (or Punta del Rey, as the Dutch more often called it) one of the leading destinations of Dutch commerce; and the established route thither led along the whole length of the Guiana coast. In the same year there is record of a venture to Santo Domingo by a union of Holland and Zeeland merchants. In the following year we hear of another Zeeland expedition to the Spanish Indies, and there were not improbably many similar enterprises not mentioned in the records, for it was only when freedom from convoy dues was sought that legislative action was needed, and even after the establishment of the admiralties no ship need seek a commission unless it chose.

It was in 1591 or 1592, according to his own statement, that William Usselinx, the inspirer above all others of the West India trade, returning from the Spanish islands, began his agitation in the Netherlands in behalf of Dutch trade with South America. I have already spoken of Jan de Laet's statement as to Dutch trade with the Spaniards on the Orinoco even before Raleigh's expedition of 1595. Yet it is improbable that this trade to the West Indies antedates 1594; for to that year is ascribed the beginning of direct trade with Brazil, and all tradition and prob-

ability make Brazil the earliest, as it was the nearest, destination of Dutch trade in America.

Prof. Burr's statement.

It will be noted that as yet, so far as the records show, the trade is with recognized Spanish settlements, and therefore not of a sort to create a territorial title. Of Guiana or of direct trade with the Indians, there is thus far no mention.

But in 1596 there was published in England a book which set the imagination of all Europe on fire—Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*. It called universal attention to the wealth of these coasts and to the advantages of trade with the natives. The Netherlands were not the last to feel its influence. Already before the end of 1596 one begins to hear in the records of the States-General of the trade with the West Indies; and on March 24, 1597, the merchant-banker Hans van der Veken, of Rotterdam, was granted a commission for two vessels, "manned with Germans and other foreigners, to go to the coast of Guinea [in Africa], Peru and the West Indies, and there to trade and bargain with the savages," this commission "containing also request to all princes and potentates to let these ships and their crews pass freely and in peace thither and return again to these provinces." Guiana is not yet mentioned; but, in the children's phrase, we are growing warm. On September 3 of this same year (1597) the States-General were requested by Gerrit Bicker and his associates, merchants of Amsterdam, "who have it in mind to equip two ships, so as to send them to a certain coast and haven of *America Peruana*, being a place where never any from these [Nether]lands have been, and which is also not held by the Spaniards or the Portuguese," to grant them freedom of convoy both going and coming, "and this for two full voyages, if so be that God Almighty should be pleased to bless their first voyage as they hope,—and this out of regard to the great sums they will lay out on this voyage and the risk therein lying." Whereupon it was resolved to grant them the desired convoy "to a certain coast and haven of *America Peruana*, provided that they shall lade in the aforesaid ships no forbidden goods, and that they shall further be bound, on their return, to bring satisfactory evidence that never anybody from these lands has traded to the aforesaid haven, and shall make true report in the meeting of the States-General of their experiences, with specification of the places where they have been and have carried on their trade." And "it is

Prof. Burr's statement.

the understanding," goes on the record, "that like freedom shall be granted to others who shall likewise desire to go to other unknown havens." "But this," ends this significant passage, "the deputies of Zeeland declared themselves uninstructed to grant."

The encouragement was not lost; for but three months later, on December 15, 1597, Jan Cornelisz. Leyn, of Enkhuisen, and his partners, having it in mind with two ships "to sail to the land of Guiana, situate in the realm of Peru," sought freedom of convoy for their first six voyages, both going and returning. Whereupon it was voted to grant their request, but only for the two voyages "which they have it in mind to make with their two ships to the unknown and unnavigated havens of America, to wit, to the land of Guiana, situate in the Kingdom of Peru, as herein specified;" and this upon precisely the same conditions as to lading and report as in the preceding case. And a week later, on December 23, the Estates of Holland voted aid toward the arming of this expedition "to Guiana, in the Kingdom of Peru."

"*Het Landt van Guiana gelegen in het Coninckryck van Peru:*" clearly we have in these expeditions the very earliest Dutch voyages to the Guiana coast. And luckily, to make the matter doubly sure, we have left us from one of these voyages, and that the first, the stipulated final report to the States-General. At least, there is no reason to doubt that the ship's clerk, Cabeliau, whose "report concerning the unknown and unsailed course [*voiage*] of America, from the river Amazon as far as the island of Trinidad," still rests in the archives of the States-General, and who sailed from Holland in a squadron of two ships on December 3, 1597, was the scribe of this expedition to "America Peruana."

* * * * *

They were able to report that "in this voyage we have discovered, found, and navigated more than twenty-four rivers, many islands in the rivers, and various havens besides, which have hitherto neither been known in these provinces nor sailed to therefrom; nay, more, were before our voyage unknown to any map or geographer." And to this statement, Cabeliau, "as clerk of this expedition," makes affidavit. It was the certificate demanded by the States-General, and its validity was conceded, for on October 19, 1599, the freedom of convoy conditioned upon it was without protest awarded by the States-General to Gerrit Bicker and Company, "having made the voyage to America Peruana," as already

on August 11 it had been to their colleagues "returned from Guiana, in the Kingdom of Peru."

By these acts the supreme political authority of the Netherlands becomes a witness that the coast of Guiana was theretofore unvisited by the Dutch. An investigator of political titles may well be content with such evidence. Nor is there, so far as I can find, the slightest reason to question its truth.*

Dutch sought only to trade and plunder.

This admirable account of early Dutch relations with Guiana, with what else we know on the subject, makes it clear that the object of those early voyages to Guiana, was, in the first place to harass the Spaniards,† and, in the second place, to gain profit by trade and

* U. S. Commission, Report, i, 134, 135, 139-143, 144-145.

† Regarding the request of skipper Jan Cornelisz. Leyen, citizen of Enkhuizen, both for himself and in the name and on behalf of his Company, that in furtherance of their projected voyage to Guiana in the Kingdom of Peru, they be granted assistance by the loan of eight bronze guns, to wit, four of a weight of thirteen or fourteen hundred, and the other four of about two thousand pounds apiece, with all ammunition belonging thereto, for the defence of the ships, on like conditions as have been graciously granted to other laudable sea-voyages, it was Resolved as hereinafter follows:

The Estates of Holland and Westfriesland, having considered the petition and request made in this matter, have resolved that, in furtherance of navigation, the merchants petitioners, for their projected voyage, to be made with two ships to the land of Guiana situate in the realm of Peru, shall be assisted by the credit of the State for two pieces of ordnance, to be borrowed by the petitioners from the cities, each not to exceed two thousand pounds in weight. [Appendix to Case, ii, 5-6.]

* * * * *

It should perhaps be remembered that it was in this year 1599 that there sailed forth from the Zeeland port of Flushing the Dutch armada under Pieter van der Does, which, after taking a town in the Canaries and avenging at the Isle de Principe that unsuccessful enterprise of Balthazar de Moucheron in 1598 which Berg van Dussen Muilkerk calls the "earliest attempt at colonization from out the Netherlands," sent seven or eight of its ships across the Atlantic to ravage the coast of Brazil. They returned, with great booty of sugar, in the following year. [*Note by Prof. Burr in U. S. Commission Report, Vol.* 1, *p.* 147.]

* * * * *

Having, off and on for more than twenty-five years, as set forth in an earlier memorial to Your Princely Highness, sailed the seas to various places, namely, to Guinea, to the West Indies, and lastly with Commandeur Spilbergen through the strait of Magellan along the coast of Chili and Peru and around the world, I think I have during that time observed the right way of attacking the Spaniards where they are weakest and feeblest, as follows. [*Extract from memorial of C. J. Vianen of Jan.* 25, 1621, in Appendix to Case, ii, 17.]

plunder. Settlement upon Spanish soil, or the acquisition of territorial rights was hardly thought of.*

Early Dutch trade.

The trade then begun continued with more or less regularity during the early years of the 17th century, during which time Dutch vessels sailed along the Guiana coast, and ascended some of its rivers. They were at times driven off by the Spaniards,† but at other times they were successful in capturing Spanish booty, or in

* In the matter of the request of the Burgomaster of Middelburg, Adriaen ten Haeft, setting forth how that in the preceding year, 1598, at heavy cost to himself, he caused to be investigated on the continent of America many different rivers and islands,—and how that in this voyage were discovered various coasts and lands where one could do notable damage to the King of Spain,—and how that he is well minded to send out again two ships, in order, in the country's behalf, to discover certain places, a thing which can not be done so effectively with seafaring folk alone. Wherefore, and in view of the fact that in Holland for the encouragement of exceptional enterprises of this sort great favor is shown to the promoters of such voyages, such as the providing them with cannon, powder, and soldiers, he doth petition that there be granted to his ships from sixteen to twenty experienced soldiers, among them a good Commandant, and doth engage that he will himself provide their rations. Whereupon the representative of the nobility gave verdict that commerce ought here to receive the same favor as in Holland, and that therefore it ought to be learned through the deputies there [*i. e.*, to the States-General] what is done in Holland in this behalf, in order to be able to do the same here; the deputies of Middelburg, however, grant soldiers to the number of 16; those of Ziericzee likewise, to the number of 12, on half wages, subject to the approval of their constituents; those of Goes, Tholen, Flushing and Vere promise that they will send in at once their report to their town-councils on this point and that the councils will find out what is done in Holland in such cases. [*Extract from proceedings of Zeeland Estates, Nov.* 20, 1599, in Appendix to Case, ii, 12–13.]

Sixthly, regarding the opinion sometimes advanced, that notable profits might be obtained through diverse products and fruits which might be found or raised on the mainland of America, between Brazil on the east and the river Orinoco on the west, in and about the river Amazon.

I answer, that several of our Netherlanders have as yet attained little by the aforesaid means, although up to now they engage there in peaceful trade; and if an attempt were made with superior force to gain the land there and by such cultivation introduce the products of Brazil and the West Indies, the Spaniards would beyond doubt seek forcibly to prevent this, the more so as thereby their navigation to Brazil and the West Indies would be impeded. It therefore is my opinion that, in view of the imminent danger of war, little can be achieved there. [*From memorial of C. J. Vianen, Jan.* 25, 1621, in Appendix to Case, ii, 17.]

† Dutch vessels attempting to pass up the Orinoco in 1602–3, were

quietly trading with the natives at places from which the Spaniards were at the moment absent. Early Dutch trade.

The earliest date at which Dutch settlement in Guiana is known is 1613.* In that year they were established in the Corentyn; possibly also in the Amazon, the Wia- Earliest Dutch Settlements.

"prevented by the multitude of Spaniards whom they found there." [U. S. Commission Report, ii, 26].

* * * * *

To all this evidence drawn from other sources should be added that, positive and negative, of the English colonizers, Leigh, Harcourt, and their fellows, whose ventures about the Wiapoco were in precisely the region where Dutch settlements are earliest vouched for by the Spanish papers. Yet, though we have from these undertakings several reports of one sort or another, and though evidence of rival Dutch enterprises would unquestionably have been of value in allaying the hesitation caused by the Spanish sympathies of King James, we find in them no mention of Dutch settlements outside the Amazon. Harcourt in 1608 made a careful exploration of the coast as far west as the Marowyn, and in his detailed *Relation* (printed in 1613, and reprinted in Purchas's Pilgrimes, 1625, vol. iv, pp. 1267–1283), he expressly says (p. 1278 of Purchas):

. . . I took possession of the Land, by Turfe and Twigge, in behalfe of our Sovereigne Lord King James: I took the said possession of a part, in name of the whole Continent of *Guiana*, lying betwixt the rivers of *Amazones*, and *Orenoque*, not being actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State; wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased.

The territory granted him by the English King's charter stretched from the Amazon to the Essequibo. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 161.]

* This silence of the English explorers as to Dutch settlement in Guiana can not weaken the force of the positive Spanish testimony, which makes it certain that as early as 1613, and at least until 1615, the Dutch were settled on this coast. But, in view of it, it is very unlikely that, save in the Amazon, they were there much earlier; and both the English and the Spanish evidence, as well as the Dutch, suggest that these earliest Dutch settlements may have perished in their infancy, and in part or wholly at Spanish hands.

To these must be added the testimony of the later Englishman, Major John Scott, who, not far from 1670, in his account of the colonization of Guiana, wrote thus of what he thought the earliest Dutch settlement:

"The fifth colony consisted of about 280 Zealanders, with two small ships, landed their men at Cayan, anno 1615, but could not bring the natives to a trade; were often gauled by the Indians, and were at length forced to quit their post. Returned to Zealand the same year."—[U. S. Commission Report, i, 164–165.]

Teodoro Claessen, resident in Amsterdam outside the old "Haarlemmer Poort," at the sign of the town of Leyden, is establishing a settlement on the River Viapoco, and another on the River Caena (Cayenne), which have been started with a hundred men, divided between the two settlements, which are situated two degrees one from the other. Here the settlers collect a species of silk found on the tobacco plant, and "palo de litre," red with black spots. [Blue Book, Venezuela No. 3 (1896), p. 206.]

poco, the Cayenne, and in one or two of the neighboring rivers; but that on the Corentyn was the westernmost.*

Destroyed by the Spaniards.

As has already been shown, however, these settlements, whatever may have been their exact nature, number or location, were temporary. As soon as the Spaniards learned of them they attacked them, and drove them from Guiana.†

Truce of 1609.

In 1609 Spain and the Netherlands made a truce for twelve years. Article III of this provides that "Chacun demeurera saisi et jouira effectuellement des Pais, Villes, Places, Terres et Seigneuries qu'il tient et possède à present, sans y être troublé durant la dite tréve; en quoi on entend comprendre les Bourgs, Villages, Hameaux et plat Pais qui en dependent."‡

* From dispatches of the government of Trinidad and Spanish Guayana, reprinted by Great Britain from the Spanish archives of the Indies, we learn of a certainty that by June of 1613 the Dutch were established in the Corentyn, and, though they were driven from there the next year by the Spaniards, were alleged to have already three or four more settlements between the Amazon and the Orinoco—four from the Wiapoco to the Orinoco, says a later letter of the same year. Two of these, according to a letter of the year 1615, were on the Wiapoco and the Cayenne, having been established in 1614 (so the confused passage seems to mean) by Theodoor Claessen of Amsterdam—that on the Wiapoco, according to another letter, by two merchants of Flushing. It is probable that these others were on neighboring rivers, that on the Corentyn being the westernmost. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 159–160.]

On the map of Jan de Laet, first published in 1625, and probably drafted in 1624 (De Laet's preface is dated November 15, 1624), there appear along the coast and rivers east and west of the Wiapoco and Cayenne, as well as on these streams themselves, a number of the tiny circles which elsewhere on this map indicate villages, European or native. To most of them no names are attached, and they indicate possibly Indian towns, possibly settlements; but it is noticeable that the westernmost are on the Corentyn. (They are oddly retained, with no additions, in the maps of Blaeuw.) Quite apart from this, the interpretation of which is doubtful, it is highly probable that it was the westernmost settlement which would most attract Spanish notice and Spanish hostility; and this seems from the Spanish documents to have been just the case with that on the Corentyn. After the colony on the Essequibo is known to be established, we find all Spanish aggression directed against that. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 160, note.]

† Supra, pp. 50–51.

‡ Treaty of Antwerp, April 9, 1609; Dumont, *Traités*, vol. v. pt. ii, p. 99.

The Twelve Years' Truce with Spain, which in 1609 went into effect, embodied the provisions discussed by Usselinx. The Dutch might no

This truce stopped the formation of the Dutch West India Company, incipient steps towards which had been taken.*

In 1621, however, upon the expiration of the truce, the company was chartered;† and the trading theretofore carried on by the Dutch was thereafter controlled exclusively by the company.‡

Dutch West India Company chartered 1621.

The year 1626 brings us to the first mention of Dutch trade with the Essequibo.§

First Dutch trade in Essequibo, 1626.

As has already been shown, the Spaniards had had occupation of this river but a few years before. They

longer trade to the Spanish ports in the Indies, but were free to traffic, even there, with "all other princes, potentates, and peoples." To the Spaniards this can hardly have implied a permission to found colonies; but the Dutch, at least in private, were hardly likely to share this view, and in 1614 we find both the States-General and the provincial Estates of Holland seeking to encourage discovery and settlement by general provisions granting to the finders a temporary monopoly of trade. That such enterprises were, however, not wholly safe may be inferred from the fact that in 1618 the Zeelander Jan de Moor and his partners asked permission to arm their ships engaged in trade with the West Indies, and that the government was concerned to protect the truce is shown by its granting this only under pledge that they should not be used except in self-defense. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 157–158.]

* Jameson (J. F.), Willem Usselinx. *In* American Hist. Assn. Papers. 8°, New York, 1887, vol. ii, p. 46.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 1–3.

‡ In June, 1621, the truce with Spain having now expired, there came at last into existence the long-projected Dutch West India Company. Its charter granted it monopoly of trade over all the coasts of America, both Atlantic and Pacific, not to mention West Africa, the islands, and the Antarctic continent, and this without a suggestion of frontier within these bounds. All existing Dutch colonies on these coasts passed, therefore, into its hands. The only claim for reimbursement which finds mention in the official records is one made by the Zeelanders for their "tobacco-plantation on the Amazon." Of other establishments on the South American coast nothing is heard. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 177.]

§ And at last, on November 26, 1626, we find what I believe the earliest mention in extant records of any Dutch establishment on the Essequibo:

The committee on wares is authorized to make up a suitable cargo to the Amazons for the yacht *Arnemuyden*.

Resolved, To send with the aforesaid yacht *Arnemuyden* 20 ripening youths, in order to land them in the Amazon, the Wiapoco, or the Essequibo—wherever the folk of our Chamber may be found—for the purpose of being employed there. And each of them shall be granted 2, 3,

had erected a fort on the island subsequently known as Kykoveral; and a Spanish colony had, as late as 1615, been engaged here in the cultivation of the soil.*

First Dutch trade to Essequibo, 1626.

The river having been temporarily vacated by the Spaniards, the Dutch could enter there for trade with the natives; and towards the close of 1626 there is mention in the records of the Dutch West India Company of men sent "to lie in the river Essequibo."†

In 1632 Company decided to abandon Essequibo.

Trade, however, did not prosper here, and in 1632 the Nineteen [the governing body of the Company] decided to abandon it,‡ as they had already abandoned, in 1631, the settlement on the Cayenne.§

Jan Van der Goes, who had been in charge on the Essequibo, returned home with those who had accompanied him; and it looked as though Essequibo would be definitely given up. On April 8, 1632, however, the

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or 4 guilders a month, according to their capacities. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 179–180; see, also, *same*, ii, 42.]

Thereafter nothing more in 1627. But from these brief items out of the first year of its known existence I think it possible, if due weight be given to what is omitted as well as to what is said, to draw with safety two or three important inferences. First, that the establishment in the Essequibo antedates May, 1626. Second, that so late as 1627, it was still a trading post rather than a settlement, with not so much as a fort yet erected. Third, that its commander, as yet a mere agent without a title, had in August, 1627, not yet completed the third year of his service. It is of course possible to reconcile all these with a longer Dutch occupation; but, when taken in connection with the absence of all authentic evidence for their earlier presence in that river and with the purpose of the West India Company, so clearly implied in September, 1624, to plant new establishments on this coast, I think it not rash to conjecture that Jan van der Goes was at the head of the first Dutch occupation of the Essequibo, and that the beginning of that occupation was in or about the year 1625. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 181.]

* Supra, p. 43.

† *December* 12, 1626. Johannes Beverlander is taken into the service of the Company for three years, to lie in the river of Essequibo along with Jan Adriaansz. van der Goes; and that for twenty-one guilders a month. [Appendix to Case, ii, 19; see *also* entries of Nov. 26 and Dec. 10 of that year.]

‡ Nederlandsche Jaerboeken, 1750, p. 1494.

§ Nederlandsche Jaerboeken, 1751, p. 1090.

Zeeland Chamber of the Company voted not to abandon it,* and the trade was therefore continued.

Still the Essequibo did not pay; and on April 16, 1637, there was again discussion in the Zeeland Chamber as to its profitableness; and the matter was referred to the Committee on Commerce.†

Unprofitableness of Essequibo and its demoralized condition.

On August 17, 1637, the Zeeland Chamber adopted the following resolution:

Inasmuch as Jan van der Goes had written from Essequibo that he, with all the folk who were there with him, was minded to come home by the first ship, it was some time ago resolved to send thither in the place of the said Van der Goes, by the ship *de Jager*, Cornelis Pietersz. Hose; and on account of the great demoralization of the folk and their wish to come home, it is resolved that they shall be allowed to come home, and the colony provided anew with five-and-twenty other respectable persons, from whom the Company may receive more service and more edifying withal. And Confraters Lonissen and Van Pere are by a majority vote made a committee to engage the aforesaid persons, being requested to look for the discreetest persons, so far as shall be possible.‡

Thus did this Dutch trading post in the Essequibo continue oscillating between life and death during the few years which preceded the Treaty of Munster. During all of those years it was a trading post and nothing more; § its sole article of commerce was annato dye; ‖ and the Dutch occupation, such as it was, was limited exclusively to the Island of Kykoveral.¶

The Treaty of Munster of January 30, 1648, ended

* On the report of Messrs. de Moor and Eltsdyck, after speaking with Van der Goes, it was resolved not to abandon the colony at Essequibo. [Appendix to Case, ii, 19; *see*, also, note 2 on same page.]

† The Committee on Commerce and Finance was instructed to inspect and determine whether the trade to Essequibo is profitable to the Company or not, in order at an early day to make report, so as to know whether the wares for which they ask shall be ordered made or not. [Appendix to Case, ii, 20.]

‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 20.

§ Appendix to Case, ii, 27.

‖ U. S. Commission, Report, ii, 104–108, 110–112.

¶ That its center, if not its sole seat, was the island at the junction of Mazaruni and Cuyuni is, however, made nearly certain by several con

Treaty of Munster.

the war between Spain and the revolted Netherlands. By Article V of that Treaty the Netherlands obtained from Spain a title to what they at that time held upon the coasts of America. That treaty fixed the boundary of Dutch dominion at that time. British rights to-day, so far as the territory in dispute is concerned, are what Dutch rights were two hundred and fifty years ago—no more.

The following is a translation of Articles V and VI of the Treaty of Munster:

V.—The navigation and trade to the East and West Indies, shall be kept up according, and conformably to the grants made or to be made for that effect; for the security whereof the present treaty shall serve, and the Ratification thereof on both sides, which shall be obtained: and in the said treaty shall be comprehended all potentates, nations, and people, with whom the said Lords the States, or members of the East and West-India Companies in their name, within the limits of their said grants, or in friendship and alliance. And each one, that is to say, the said Lords the King and States respectively, shall remain in possession of and enjoy such lordships, towns, castles, fortresses, commerce and countries of the East and West Indies, as well as of Brazil, and on the coasts of Asia, Africa and America respectively, as the said Lords the King and States respectively hold and possess, in this being specially comprised the spots and places which the Portuguese since the year 1641, have taken from the said Lords the States and occupied; comprising also the spots and places which the said Lords the States hereafter without infraction of the present treaty shall come to conquer and possess. And the directors of the East and West India Companies of the United Provinces, as also the servants and officers high and low, the soldiers and seamen actually in the service of either of the said Companies, or such as have been in their service, as also such

siderations. In the first place, there is found nowhere in later records any tradition of another site or of a removal. In 1764 the Zeeland Chamber declared to the States-General that "from all old time" the fort had been at this place. Again, the island was the only natural stronghold of its sort. It was, moreover, probably suggested by a prior occupation—an occupation leaving a tangible inheritance in solid stone walls which to the end were utilized in the Dutch constructions here, and which in part remain to this day. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 185.]

Treaty of Munster.

who in this country or within the district of the said two companies, continue yet out of the service, but who may be employed afterwards, shall be and remain to be free and unmolested in all the countries under the obedience of the said Lord the King in Europe; and may sail, traffic and resort, like all the other inhabitants of the countries of the said Lords and States. Moreover it has been agreed and stipulated, That the Spaniards shall keep their navigation to the East Indies, in the same manner they hold it at present, without being at liberty to go further; and the inhabitants of those Low Countries shall not frequent the places which the Castilians have in the East Indies.

VI.—And as to the West Indies, the subjects and inhabitants of the kingdoms, provinces and lands of the said Lords, the King and States respectively, shall forbear sailing to, and trading in any of the harbours, places, forts, lodgments or castles, and all others possessed by the one or the other party, viz. the subjects of the said Lord the King shall not sail to, or trade in those held and possessed by the said Lords and States, nor the subjects of the said Lords and States sail to or trade in those held and possessed by the said Lord the King. And among the places held by the said Lords the States, shall be comprehended the places in Brazil, which the Portuguese took out of the hands of the States, and have been in possession of ever since the year 1641, as also all the other places which they possess at present, so long as they shall continue in the hands of the said Portuguese, anything contained in the preceding article notwithstanding.

Effect of Treaty.

The effect of this treaty was twofold: on the one hand it conferred upon the Dutch a title to territory which before belonged to Spain: on the other hand it constituted an engagement on the part of the Netherlands that, as against Spain, and at the cost of Spain, the Dutch would acquire nothing more than they then possessed.

It will serve to define and narrow the issues which subsequent events present, if, before proceeding to their consideration, the result of the examination thus far be repeated in a few words.

Situation at date of Treaty of Munster.

At the date of the Treaty of Munster the situation was briefly this:

Situation at date of Treaty of Munster.

Spain had discovered and explored America: she had discovered, explored, taken possession of, and settled Guiana: she held undisputed control of the Orinoco and of that coveted interior whose famed wealth had been the cause of so many foreign expeditions uselessly undertaken, and of so much blood uselessly spilt: the key to that interior was in her hands—alone: into the great interior Cuyuni Mazaruni basin she had pushed her roads and extended her conquests; and the entrance—the only entrance—to it, over the gentle rolling savannas of the Orinoco, was in her keeping: the Essequibo itself she had settled, cultivated, fortified: for the moment she had left its mouth unoccupied, thus permitting the Dutch to trade there: upon the restoration of peace she gave them a title to territory which up to that time they had held as mere trespassers.

The extent of the grant.

The extent of this grant cannot be difficult to define: the entire Dutch colony, if indeed it might be dignified by such a name, consisted of a body of two or three dozen unmarried employés of the West India Company, housed in a fort on a small island, and engaged in traffic with the Indians for the dyes of the forest: at the time when the treaty was signed, they were not cultivating an acre of land.* This and an establishment on the Berbice were the only Dutch settlements in Guiana in 1648. Neither then, nor at any time prior thereto, had the Dutch occupied or settled a foot of ground west of their Essequibo post.†

* *The only other avocation mentioned is that of fishing:* one Jan van Opstall, an employé of the Company in Essequibo, in 1644, complained of the loss of a finger while fishing for the Company, and asked compensation, but the Company could not find this in the contract. The fishing was probably for the food supply of the post—as often later. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 192.]

† Such as it was, the post on the Essequibo remained in 1648, as it had always been, the westernmost establishment of the Dutch on this coast, and was now, with the exception of Berbice, their only Guiana colony. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 193.]

VI.—HISTORY OF THE ESSEQUIBO DUTCH POST. 1648-1674.

Dutch West India Charter renewed 1647.

The charter of the Dutch West India Company having expired in 1645, was in 1647 renewed for 25 years more.*

Privateering, the Company's principal source of revenue.

But the West India Company was not founded for the sake of Guiana: that region always constituted its most insignificant field.† Its main business was privateering.‡ The peace with Spain therefore took from it its principal source of revenue; and the company, after the peace of Westphalia (Treaty of Munster), found itself in great danger of coming to an end.§

Discouragement of the Company.

The care of the Essequibo post was in the hands of the Zeeland Chamber of the Company, and for some years they struggled along hardly keeping their heads above water. The hope of recovering Brazil sustained them; but when that hope was gone, the company was driven to desperate expedients to keep the trade of Essequibo alive.

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* In thinking the charter "reaffirmed in 1637" the English Blue Book is in error. Granted for 24 years, it did not expire till 1645. Even then it was not at once renewed, for its friends sought strenuously the consolidation of the West India Company with the East, whose charter had also just run out. It was not until July 4, 1647, that the States-General promulgated the intelligence that on March 20 preceding they had prolonged for another quarter-century the charter of the West India Company. The limits were unchanged, and are not restated. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 102.]

† Note by Prof. Burr.—Even of their colonies it was by no means the chief. New Netherland by actual figures grew as much in five years as Essequibo in a hundred.

‡ Reprisals on Spanish commerce were the great object of the West India Company. . . . The Spanish prizes, taken by the chartered privateers, on a single occasion in 1628, were almost eighty-fold more valuable than the whole amount of exports from New Netherlands for the four preceding years.—[Bancroft (G.) History of the United States, 4th ed., Boston, 1839, ii, 277-278.]

§ With the conclusion of a lasting peace with Spain and with the renewal for another quarter century of the Dutch West India Company's charter, one might look for a rapid colonial development. But the company was now robbed of the privateering which had been its leading source of revenue, and bankrupted by the long and fruitless struggle for Brazil. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 193.]

Coast thrown open to colonization.

In 1656 they determined to try the result of throwing the coast open to colonization. The preamble of the resolution by which this act was accomplished is, of course, merely formal; yet it records the disappointment of the company; and serves to show the little that had been accomplished toward developing the Essequibo. This preamble and the introductory resolution are as follows:

> Whereas the directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company, for many years, by all conceivable means and ways, both by its, the Chamber's own means, and by contracting with private persons, have tried, not only to increase its trade and commerce from here to the coasts and islands situate under the charter, but also and especially have made it their aim to further the colonization and agriculture of the aforesaid lands, and yet without such success, results, and fruits as they could have hoped,
>
> *Therefore,* inasmuch as they have found by careful observation and long experience, that not only the islands lying in their district but also the mainland coasts, and especially the Wild Coast, extending from the river Amazon to . . . degrees northward, are of such situation and soil that one can there cultivate, plant, raise, and gather everything which it has been possible to cultivate and gather in the famous regions of Brazil, yet that there are needed, for the greater increase of population and agriculture, not only persons of reasonable means, skill, and experience, but also all others of lesser condition and ability; they are disposed to offer, and do hereby offer, with the knowledge and approval of the States General of the United Netherlands and of the General Chartered West India Company, in order thereby to encourage each and everyone, these following conditions: *

New "liberties and exemptions" offered.

Then follow tempting conditions; which, however, were apparently not tempting enough; for the following year new "liberties and exemptions" had to be offered before colonists could be induced to embark upon the uncertain undertaking.†

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* Appendix to Case, ii, 28–29.

† Appendix to Case, ii, 30–32.

First free colonists 1657.

As a result of all these efforts, on March 22, 1657, more than nine years after the treaty of Munster, the first free colonists, to the number of twelve persons, arrived in the Essequibo.*

Zeeland Chamber loath to continue direction of Colony.

Whether it was that this small number of colonists was not sufficient to insure success, or that for other reasons the Zeeland Chamber felt discouraged at the prospects, the fact is that it shrank from assuming the management of the Colony, and on June 9, 1657, petitioned the provincial Estates of Zeeland to themselves assume its control.†

The Estates of Zeeland did not regard the proposition with favor, and so it fell through.‡

Control assumed by Middelburg, Flushing and Vere.

Having been unable to get rid of its load in this direction, the Zeeland Chamber next turned to the Walcheren cities; and, towards the close of 1657, succeeded in inducing Middelburg, Flushing and Vere to assume the risks of the undertaking.§

The cities, however, recognizing the failure of the

* Nederlandsche Jaerboeken, 1751, p. 1093.

† Appendix to Case, ii, 33.

‡ U. S. Commission, Report, i, 195.

§ *From the Provisional Contract between the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) and the Walcheren Cities, December 24, 1657.*

The West India Company shall approve and so far as in it lies make effective this agreement, basis, and ordinance whereby the aforesaid cities, together with a committee from the aforesaid directors, are to establish and plant colonies on the continental Wild Coast between the first and the tenth degrees, and that in conformity with the liberties and exemptions granted or to be granted by the Board of Nineteen.

To the aforesaid cities, as founders and colonizers of the aforesaid Coast, the States-General shall concede and grant high, middle and low jurisdiction, in order the better to maintain the necessary authority over their subordinates.

The sovereignty and supremacy, with all that thereto belongs, remaining nevertheless to the States-General, and to the Company, in so far as the latter is by the charter entitled thereto.

From proceedings of committee governing for the Walcheren cities the colony of Nova Zeelandia, Monday, Dec. 24, 1657.—The provisional contract between the cities of Middelburg, Flushing, and Vere, and the Directors, having been submitted for approval, it was approved without change and signed by the respective members of the committee, and is entered in these minutes under date of January 21, 1658, following hereafter. [Appendix to Case, ii, 33–34.]

Pomeroon settlement *planned.*

efforts theretofore made to establish any settlement on the Essequibo itself, looked around for a more promising location; and, disregarding Spanish rights, planned a settlement on the Pomeroon and Moruca rivers.

Cornelis Goliat, an engineer, was sent out to survey the region and lay out the new colony. Great things were promised. "There was to be a town which should bear the name of Nieuw Middelburg. Above this was to be built an imposing fortress called, after the colony, Nova Zeelandia. Below the town, on the same side of the river, was to stand the 'House of the Height.'"*

What was actually done.

These proved to be mere air-castles. What actually happened was this:

The buildings planned were begun, but never completed; probably nothing was done beyond laying some of the foundations.† A few Portuguese Jew sugar-planters, driven from Brazil for their religion, were induced to settle on the Pomeroon.‡ The enterprise was neglected and soon languished. In September, 1660, the Jews complained, asking "whether the Commissioners [directors] propose to attend to the colony, since, if otherwise, they intended to depart and abandon it."§ In this same year, Vere was unable to pay its stipulated share of the costs. Before the end of 1663 the Managing Council in Zeeland had become so embarrassed that it broke up altogether.‖

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* U. S. Commission Report, i, 214–215.

† Netscher, taking the account from the Ryks Archief, says that they "at once began to fit up or build fort Nova Zeelandia, a few miles up the river, the village of New Middelburg and the Huis ter Hooge, which establishments, however, were probably never completed." [Geschiedenis van Essequebo, etc. 8°, 's Gravenhage, 1888, p. 73.]

‡ Netscher (P. M.) Geschiedenis van Essequebo, etc. 8°'s Gravenhage, 1888, pp. 74–75.

§ Rodway (J.) and Watt (T.) Annals of Guiana. Georgetown, 1888, i, 147.

‖ Appendix to Case, ii, 56; see *also* U. S. Commission Report, i, 215, note 3.

Colony attacked and destroyed in 1666.

But this attempt at a colony was not permitted to die the natural death that awaited it. The events of 1665–66, which put an end to its existence, are best told in the words of Professor Burr:

"In the winter of 1665–66 the English from Barbados, led by Major John Scott, after taking possession of the Essequibo, swooped down also on the Pomeroon, and left the colony in ruins. What was left was devoured by the military occupation of the French, who followed the English in its possession. It was an entire year before the invaders were here dispossessed, and the settlers had meanwhile scattered to the four winds. But, though thus destroyed prematurely from the earth, Nova Zeelandia still lived on paper. Even before the colony's ruin the chart of Goliat fell into the hands of his enterprising townsman, the geographer Arend Roggeveen of Middelburg, and when a little later that map-maker brought out his fine atlas of these coasts—the 'Burning Fen, lighting up all West India'—Nieuw Middelburg, with its fortress Nova Zeelandia and its Huis der Hoogte, took a handsome place on the map, which it did not lose till almost our own day."*

Thus, at the hands, first of the English,† and then

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* U. S. Commission, Report, i, 216.

† Scott himself says:

"Anno 1665, . . . in the month of October, the author having been commissionated Commander-in-chief of a small fleet and a regiment of soldiers, for the attack of the Island Tobago, and several other settlements in the hands of the Netherlanders in Guiana, as Moroco, Wacopow, Bowroome, and Dissekeeb, and having touched at Tobago, in less than six months had the good fortune to be in possession of those countries, and left them garrisoned for his majesty of Great Britain, and sailed thence for Barbados, where meeting with the news of the eruption of war between the two crowns of England and France, endeavoured to persuade Francis Lord Willoughby to reduce those several small garrisons into one stronghold, and offered that was the way to make good our post in those parts, having to do with two potent enemies, but his Lordship, that was his majesty's captain-general in those parts, was of another opinion, and before he embarked on the unfortunate voyage for the reducing of St. Christopher's, in which design he perished by a hurricane, the wages he had prescribed for supplies to the forementioned garrisons proved ineffectual; and they were lost the year following to the Dutch after they had endured great misery in a long siege by the French." [Appendix to Case, iii, 360-361.]

On the second page of his journal, Byam thus narrates the conquest and loss of the Dutch colonies:

Colony attacked and destroyed in 1666.

of the French,* did this proposed Pomeroon colony come to an end: it lasted hardly more than half a dozen years.

The result was tersely and graphically stated by the Zeeland Estates themselves: "Essequibo and Pome-

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"In Novem[r] [1665] here arrived from his Exc[llce] his Serj[t]. Maj[r] Jn[o] Scott after his victory at Tobago wth a smal Fleet & a regim[t] of Foote und[r] the Carrect[r] of Maj[r] Gen[ll] of Guiana, Cheife Commission[r] and Comandr in Cheife by Land & Sea in few months his great Fortune and gallantry prudent and Industrious Conduct made him master of all the great province new Zealand & Desseceub settled a peace wth the Arrowayes [*sic*] left both Collonys in a Flourishing Condition and well garrison'd for the King of England New Zealand und[r] the Conduct of one Captaine Boxlson [*sic*] and Dessecube und[r] the Comand of one Cap[t] Kenn, both old Soldiers and sober Gent.

"About two months after his arrivall at Barbados the Indians understanding he was not to returne withdrew all Commerce wth the English in the Forts. Many the Dutch French and Jews were soone upon y[e] Wing to the French Islands Martinico & St. Christophers &c. and those that remained grew discontent . . . and onely for want of supplies . . . after many brave defences [our men] were forced to submit themselves many to the merciless French and in April following the whole Colony to the Dutch." [Appendix to Case, iii, 363.]

A little further on in his narrative Byam goes into more detail as to this disaster:

"Nor was Cap[t] Rendar unsuccessful at leeward, having stormed two warehouses of the Arwacas and had other bickerings wth them wherin he slew about 30 men and took 70 captives. But for the releife of o[r] men at Dissekebe he came too late, who about 3 weeks before through want of ammunicion and iresistable hungar were forced to surrender themselves and 12 hundred slaves w[ch] they had taken to Burgunas a Dutch Gener[ll] who beseiged them, But on good articles, w[ch] those Complaine hee afterwards broke, And as for o[r] poore men at Bawrooma they were also for want of timely supplies destroyed by the French who most unhumanly (after they were starved out of the fort [)] delivered them to the cruelty of the Arwacasto at the mouth of that River to be massacred. This was informed me by one of that fort who was absent when it was taken, who learned it from the Indians: But since I understood the maine fort was not taken untill the coming of the Fleet from Zealand 1667." [Appendix to Case, iii, 363-364.]

* "During the war that followed, France employed her pirates and fllibusters against the Dutch colonies. These were authorised to attack the Spanish possessions as well, war having been also declared with Spain. The West India colonies of all nations were now in a most critical state, England and France being pitted against Spain and Holland, with 1,200 French pirates let loose to burn and plunder." [Rodway (J.) and Watt (T.) Annals of Guiana, Georgetown, 1888, ii, 15.]

roon, first taken by the English, then plundered by the French," and now "by the whole world abandoned."*

Essequibo and Pomeroon abandoned.

The Zeeland Estates took possession, but did nothing except maintain a small garrison at Kykoveral, abandoning the Pomeroon entirely. Two years passed, and yet no one could be found to again undertake the management of the "Colony." Late in 1668 it was offered to the three Walcheren cities, but they declined it.† Another two years elapsed and still no taker. Finally, in 1670, the Zeeland Chamber of the Dutch West India Company was induced to once more receive "the Fort and the Colony of Essequibo."‡

Zeeland Estates take possession.

Zeeland Chamber W. I. Co. again takes the Colony.

The outlook for the colony was now very gloomy. When Hendrik Rol, the new governor, arrived, in 1670, there appear to have been no private planters whatever.‖ During the first year of his administration three plantations were started.§ But Rol's energies seem to

Hendrik Rol's administration.

*"Just when the last European of the Nova Zelandia colony left the Pomeroon can not be learned. The Dutch admiral, Crynssen, on taking possession in 1667, is said to have left a garrison in that river as well as in Essequibo (Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, 224); but this was doubtless only until the wish of the Zeelanders could be learned as to the resumption of the colony. We hear no more of Europeans there." [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 218, note.]

"Essequibo and Pomeroon, first taken by the English, then plundered by the French," and now "by the whole world abandoned"—to use the phrases of the Zeeland Estates themselves—passed again into the hands of the Netherlands. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 197.]

† They [the Zeeland Estates] at last (late in 1668) offered them to the three cities; but these, dismayed at the expense of a fresh beginning, would no more of them, and thought of selling the colony. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 197–198.]

‡ U. S. Commission, Report, i, 198.

‖ "There does not appear to have been any private planters in Essequebo at the commencement of his administration [*Rol's, 1670*], but with the improved prospects two or three Zeelanders came to Essequebo and commenced clearing land. Rol proposed that estates should be cultivated on behalf of the Company. . . . On their arrival [arrival of some negro slaves], land was cleared and the Company's plantations were commenced, being principally laid out for cane cultivation." [Rodway (J.) History of British Guiana. 8°, Georgetown, 1891, i, 13, 14.]

§ U. S. Commission, Report, i, 199, 348.

Hendrik Rol's administration.

have been given to trade rather than to agriculture. This policy was in line with that which had first brought, and which still kept the Dutch in Essequibo. His policy was, therefore, not new. It differed from that of his predecessors merely in degree. He maintained the Essequibo as a trading post; but he also converted it into a trading center. He sought, beyond the confines of his island home, to attract and build up trade with the Spaniards and with remoter parts of Guiana. Pursuant to and as a result of this policy, trading stations came later to be established at points more or less distant from the Essequibo itself.‡

‡ But while the territory thus actually occupied by the colony for purposes of cultivation, whether in the neighborhood of Fort Kykoveral or in the coast district, was confined within such narrow bounds, there was another colonial activity, which laid far wider regions under tribute. This was the colony's trade; for this trade was mainly a trade with the natives.

As we have seen, this was at the outset and for more than a quarter century of its existence its exclusive function. Even after plantations had there been established by its proprietors and the colony thrown open to private planters, it was alone this trade with the Indians which the Company retained as its own monopoly; and for many decades this remained its chief source of income and the object of its most jealous care. This it was in defense of which it built its forts, planted its outposts, maintained its garrisons. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 203.]

The natural supply of these [dyes, oils, precious woods, balsam, etc.] was, therefore, at best, but constant, and the increasing demand made it necessary to seek them ever farther afield. The means employed to this end by the colonial authorities were of two sorts, which must be clearly distinguished. They had, first, the agents whom they called outrunners (*uitloopers*). These, who must have existed from the very beginning of the colony, scoured, by canoe or on foot, the whole country, stirring up the Indians to bring in their wares and barter them at the fort or themselves carrying into the wilderness the trinkets for exchange and bringing back the Indian produce. The outrunners were regular employés of the Company—in the later time usually half-breeds or old negroes familiar with the Indian dialects—and seem to have been sent on definite tasks. "All the old negroes," wrote the Essequibo governor to the Company in 1687, "are off for their several old trading-places among the Indians, to wit, six for annatto, two for balsam copaiba, and two for letter-wood and provisions." Later these outrunners regularly appear in the muster-rolls of the colony. The districts or routes of their activity are, however, never named. Occasionally in the correspondence of the colony one hears of them in this region or in that, but too vaguely to infer their exact whereabouts. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 204.]

Hendrik Rol's administration.

By 1673 Rol was trafficking in the Orinoco with the Spaniards as well as with the Caribs of Barima.*

Extent of Colony in 1674.

These efforts toward more extended commercial relations with the Spaniards and Indians, and the establishment of a few plantations in the immediate neighborhood of Kykoveral, constitute the only advance made by the Colony prior to the dissolution of the old Company in

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In addition their *outrunners* (*uitloopers*) they came also to have their *outliers* (*uitleggers*). It was by this title, as we have seen, that the employés first sent to the Essequibo were known; and, in truth, the relation later borne by the posts of the outliers to the central fort of the colony was not unlike that borne for long by the colony itself to the home land. It was somewhat more than half a century after the beginning of the colony when a beginning was made of this new method. The suggestion may very possibly have come from Berbice. In 1671, when the neighbor river of Demerara passed into the control of the Essequibo colony, the Berbice authorities had in that river a post of 15 or 16 men, and the commander of this force had been stationed there some fifteen or sixteen years. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 204–205.]

* The chief external trade of the colony, and the only one of interest to the present research was that with the Spaniards of the Orinoco. Begun as early as 1673, it seems always to have been carried on by that inland water route connecting the Moruca with the Barima and must have involved more or less of intercourse with the Indians of this region. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 210.]

But it is from that event and from the arrival of the energetic skipper, Hendrik Rol, in 1670, as the first governor under the new régime, that a new era of prosperity for the colony seems to date. In his first year there were but three private plantations in Essequibo, two of them worked by 12 or 14 slaves apiece, the third, lying an hour above Fort Kykoveral (doubtless on the Mazaruni), by 28 or 30. In 1671 he won from Berbice the control of the Demerara. By 1673, if not earlier, he was trafficking with the Caribs in the Barima, as well as with the Arawaks, and he was also just opening a trade with the Orinoco. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 199.]

July 20, 1673.—There was read the private or secret letter from the Commandeur Hendrik Rol, from Rio Essequibo under date of 16 March, 1673, wherein the following points were noticed, which it was resolved to insert here:

Peace had been made between the Caribs in Barima and the Arawaks, and they now had intercourse with each other, and he was going to send a boat after carap-oil, intending in the meantime to make trial of linseed oil.

He had sent some wares to Orinoco for the purpose of trade; by mistake these were carried to Trinidad, and, no opportunity being found to trade there, they had come back home.

Since that time the people of Orinoco have requested that we go there to trade, whereupon he has resolved to send thither Steven Tornaelje with an old negro who knows the language well. [Appendix to Case ii, 36.]

Extent of Colony in 1674.

1674. When that Company passed away, the Colony, with the exception of the plantations referred to, was still confined to a small island; its occupation was still limited to the very banks of the Essequibo; and its condition was little, if any, better than it had been in 1660.

Results of 26 years, 1674.

To summarize the results of 26 years (1648–1674): The Dutch, in an attempt to improve their precarious position on the Essequibo, had planned a settlement on the Pomeroon; had attempted it; had been too weak to maintain it, or even to complete the erection of its projected buildings; had abandoned it; had withdrawn to their little island on the Essequibo; and, except for a few plantations on the banks of that river in the immediate vicinity of the fort, found themselves, after the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, no further ahead than they had been when the treaty of Munster was signed in 1648.

VII.—HISTORY OF THE ESSEQUIBO DUTCH POST. 1674—1700.

End of the old and beginning of the new W. I. Co.

In 1674 the old Dutch West India Company was dissolved.* A wholly new West India Company took its place;† and with this infusion of new blood hopes for a brighter future were kindled.

The policy of trading to distant points, initiated by Hendrik Rol in 1670, was continued by his successor Abraham Beekman who, in 1679, sent one of his soldiers to the Pomeroon to barter for annatto dye.‡ At this time the Pomeroon was entirely deserted.§ For the purpose of facilitating this trade with the Pomeroon he built there a little hut as a shelter for two or three men.‖ As early as 1673 Hendrik Rol had, as already stated, begun to trade with the Spaniards and Caribs of the Orinoco,¶ a trade carried on *via* the Moruca, the

* In 1674, the old West India Company, so long in the agonies of death, at last expired. To take its place there had already been created (by charter of September 21, 1674) one wholly new, with territorial limits widely different. Instead of the entire coast of America, there were granted to the new one on that continent only "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon." Of the situation or limits of these places there was no other definition than the phrase "situate on the continent of America." [U. S. Commission Report, i, 199.]

† Appendix to Case, iii, 22.

‡ The river Pomeroon also promises some profit; for, in order to make trial of it, I sent thither in August last one of my soldiers to barter for annatto dye. [Appendix to Case, ii, 37.]

§ On receiving the aforesaid ill tidings I called in to the fort the above-mentioned outlier in Pomeroon, both to save him from being surprised, along with the Company's goods, by these savages and to strengthen ourselves in case of attack. Accordingly he came to the fort on the 8th inst. with all the goods, bringing with him a barrel of annatto dye which he had there bought up. [Appendix to Case, ii, 38.]

‖ If the trade prospers, it would not be a bad idea to build there a hut for two or three men, so that they may dwell permanently among the Indians and occupy that river. [Appendix to Case, ii, 38.] Of this post, which was speedily established, one hears often in the letters of the next few years. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 219.]

¶ Appendix to Case, ii, 36; *also* U. S. Commission Report, i, 260.

French and Surinam Dutch in the Barima, 1684.

Waini and the Barima.* But Beekman, continuing Rol's policy, found rivals in that quarter competing for the trade.† The Dutch from Surinam and the French were both strong competitors there; and in view of that fact, he determined, in 1684, to see whether he could not gain advantage by having one of the Company's servants take up his abode at Barima.

Barima shelter, 1684.

Accordingly, in 1684, he put up a "a small shelter"‡ there for the use of the Pomeroon outlier when he should from time to time visit the place.§ This action he re-

* U. S. Commission Report, i, 262.

† That this Carib traffic was not yet in Dutch hands is clear from Commandeur Beekman's letter of January, 1683, which cautions the Company that the Indians must not be repelled by too shrewd bargaining, since when offered trash for their wares they only meet you with the tart answer that they can swap for plenty of such things in Barima and elsewhere—"and there is some truth in this," he adds, "on account of the traffic which the French from the islands carry on there." [U. S. Commission Report, i, 262.] Beekman says: "This trade must as much as possible be kept secret that strangers may not spoil it." [Appendix to Case, ii, 38; also *same*, pp. 43–46, 51–52.]

‡ Note by Prof. Burr. As to what sort of a shelter (*pleisterhuisje*, literally "little resthouse") this probably was, we need not be in doubt. Adriaan van Berkel, writing of these Guiana colonies only a few years before (1672), gives us a vivid description of one (p. 16). He is speaking of a trip down the Berbice. "This night for the first time I slept on land, in the forest, with my hammock made fast to two trees. Just before I was ready to go to rest our slaves had built for me a *pleisterhuisje*—so called by both Christians and Indians—at the place where the hammock was to be stretched. There are four posts, the front ones somewhat higher than the rear ones, covered over with a roof of leaves, leaves uncommonly large, being usually 4 or 5 feet long and some 2 feet broad. Neither sun nor rain can here vex one, for the leaves lie so close upon each other that not even the rays of that great luminary can penetrate. Such *pleisterhuisjes* one sees along the entire river; and one has them built in a moment wherever one will, for an Indian is like the turtle—everywhere at home." And, for that matter, one meets them constantly in the records. (See, for example, the journals of the Surinam expedition of 1714, and of Hildebrandt, the mining engineer—U. S. Commission, Report, ii, pp. 224–228, 285–301.) Such one must have wherever one stayed over night. It is possibly worth noting that, while *pleisterhuisje* means a "little shelter," this on the Barima was only a "*small* pleisterhuisje"; yet it is quite as likely that the commandeur was only belittling the importance of his own action. On the other hand, when proposing a *dwelling* for a postholder he calls it a *huysken*, a hut. (See his letter of October 20, 1679, U. S. Commission, Report, ii, p. 145.) [U. S. Commission Report, i, 265, note.]

§ Pomeroon begins to furnish annually much and good annatto, and

ported to the Company; but for his pains he received a caustic reply attacking his financial honor and his good sense; and he was ordered by the Company to stop forthwith all trade to the Orinoco.* For years no more is heard of this trade.

Barima shelter 1684.

The year 1686 marks a second futile attempt by the Dutch to expand the limits of their Essequibo settlement beyond its original island home. In that year Jacob de Jonge, a planter of Essequibo, was appointed Commandeur of a proposed colony on the Pomeroon.† A beginning

Pomeroon Colony of 1686.

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much was brought from Barima, as appears from the enclosed list under No. 7, from which you will see how much has been got by barter here at the fort as well as by all the outliers. But Gabriel Biscop and other sea-rovers from Surinam not only spoil that trade, but buy up all the letter-wood, which is there fairly abundant and good, and also all the carap oil and hammocks, so that this year I have got only a very few, and they old and wretched. They traverse and scour the land even into the river Cuyuni. In order somewhat to check this, I have had a small shelter made in Barima: and Abraham Boudardt, who is stationed there [*i. e.*, in Pomeroon] as outlier in place of Daniel Galle, who is going home, shall sometimes visit that place, etc. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 263, and Appendix to Case, ii, 45.]

* The correspondence of the Zeeland Chamber, in whose hands was the immediate direction of the Guiana colonies, is preserved in full; but in their long reply to Beekman's letter there is from beginning to end no mention of Barima. That reply is, however, a mere string of reproaches. The poor commandeur's financial honor, his justice, his commercial good sense, are in turn discredited. He is accused of transcending his powers. Even the Dutch of his letters is found fault with. Amid this array of charges is one which may suggest why the matter of the Barima is ignored. "Concerning the trade to the Orinoco," which up to this time, as we have seen, had been constantly encouraged by the Company, they now write, "We find it advisable that you stop it, and neither trade thither yourself nor permit trade thither, directly or indirectly, until further orders—since we are of opinion that the Company bears all the expenses and burdens, while others help themselves to the profits." This charge of bad faith in his trade to the Orinoco is repeated in even more explicit terms in a later letter; and the reopening of this trade was not again urged until Abraham Beekman had given place to a successor. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 268; see *also* Appendix to Case, ii, 48–51.]

‡ There was read the petition of Jacob Pietersz. de Jongh, whereby he requests payment of a sum of £42 13s. 4d. Flemish, according to the balanced account given him by the Commandeur Abraham Beekman on April 10 in Rio Essequibo; and furthermore that he be allowed to settle as a free planter on the river Pomeroon, together with other planters who have also made a request to this effect, and that for this purpose the rivers Essequibo and Pomeroon be thrown open, * * * * *

Destruction of omeroon Colony by French and Caribs.

was made, but barely three years elapsed before this new colony was completely destroyed by the French. These, coming from Barima under the guidance of the Caribs, fell upon the colony and utterly dispersed it.* The French were at this time temporarily established on the Barima.† No attempt was made to re-establish this

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And it was furthermore resolved to throw open hereby the rivers of Essequibo and Pomeroon to each and everyone who shall desire to navigate and trade thither, or to settle and dwell there. [Appendix to Case, ii, 53.]

The Board of Ten has decided that the river of Essequibo, together with that of Pomeroon, shall be thrown open, and that henceforth each and everyone who shall desire to found plantations there shall be permitted to do so, and under not unfavorable conditions, as you will see from the missive written you by the Board of Ten aforesaid concerning this matter, and from the commission given to Jacob Pietersz. de Jonge as Commandeur of the river Pomeroon. [U. S. Commission Report, ii, 181.]

*Noble, Honourable, Worthy Lords,

My Lords, July 6, 1689.

This letter of mine humbly to service to make Y. N. acquainted with what has happened since my last, as to how that we in the River Bourona have been suddenly attacked and overpowered by 33 French and about 300 Caribs the one party by water with 10 canoes and 3 coriáls, and the other party by land out of the wood (since we had no cannon and were but six men strong), to wit, the last day of last April; but I effected my escape, accompanied by some red slaves. The Caribs of the French party pursued me vigorously, so that I was compelled to hurry through the wood to escape them with my clothes all thrown off, and came at last with great distress into Essequibo to the fort, to give them warning of our miserable experiences. They had on the next day, being the 1st May, taken their departure from there, and had taken, moreover, with them everything that was there, and had used strong threats to the people that they would burn everything, unless they sought me out. * * *

* * * A few days after this I left again for Bourona to inspect what was the state of things, because not otherwise did it appear whether they should have murdered everyone, since they had so many Caribs with them. But I found my people all still alive, and continued my sojourn with my people there, until I received a letter from the Commandeur of Essequebo telling how the French were in the River Berbice engaged in hostilities against the other settlements; whereupon I straightway determined with my people to hasten to Essequebo, since we besides had no provisions to live upon. The bread that the Caribs had left there, not cut level with the ground, was very little, so that we in a body have departed for Essequebo, since the people of Berbice had warned the people of Essequebo, that they firmly believed that the French would also make attack on Essequebo. [Appendix to Case, ii, 60–61.]

† But it is the French of the Caribbean islands who seem to have been, in the seventeenth century, the especial patrons and allies of the Caribs

Pomeroon colony; and in November, 1689, the Company formally resolved to abandon it, removing to Essequibo the employees, slaves and commodities, and leaving only two men at the former site.*

Pomeroon abandoned 1689.

Thus were the Dutch again driven back to the Essequibo. The year 1691 found them confined to its muddy banks, the whole colony containing not more than 100 Europeans, with their slaves.† This number re-

of the Barima. Father Pelleprat, the Jesuit missionary, tells us that they had invited the French to plant a colony there, and that in March, 1654, he was informed by Indians of that river "that they had already built a fort in which the French could be quartered as soon as they should arrive." And no sooner do we have reports from the Dutch colony of Essequebo than we find in them complaints of French rivalry in this region. It was, as will be seen, a rivalry not without results to the Dutch. In 1684, when the French of these neighboring West India Islands raided the Orinoco and occupied Santo Thomé, the Caribs in the Barima showed their loyalty by murdering the crew and scuttling the ship of a Dutchman from Surinam, who had come thither for trade; and already they threatened to come with the French and lay waste the Dutch colony of Essequebo. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 259.]

"The French come into the Barima, and fetch them [*sic*] to above on the Cayuni, and have burned there the houses of the Pariacots, and have driven them away; the latter collect the balsam from the trees, and this is the reason that Daentje, the negro, has come back two weeks ago without bringing with him a single pound of balsam (maraen)." [Blue Book, 8, 60.]

This undoubtedly, according to all indications, will happen, as the French are daily sojourning in Barima with the Caribs, often with two or three barques, and the English from the islands may do likewise. [Appendix to Case, ii, 59.]

* Appendix to Case, ii, 62; *also* U. S. Commission, Report, i, 207.

No attempt was ever made to re-establish it. The West India Company, on receiving full tidings, only instructed (November 15, 1689) the Essequibo commandeur to leave there the Company's flag, with three men, in order to retain possession. The post was established and maintained, though, as would appear, with but two men instead of three. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 219–220.]

The energy and perseverence of the founders of the Pomeroon colony had been entirely wasted, and now the few planters had abandoned the place in despair. [Rodway (J.) History of British Guiana, Georgetown, 1891, vol. i, p. 10.]

† Rodway (J.) and Watt (T.) Chronological History, etc., Georgetown, 1888, vol. ii, pp. 12, 86, 88.

His (Samuel Beekman's) first report, dated April 8 [1692], stated that there were at Kyk-over-al and on the three Company's plantations, 48 Europeans, including soldiers, 58 Indian slaves, 14 coloured people, and 165 negro slaves. On the private estates there were several hundred slaves. [Rodway (J.) History of British Guiana, Georgetown, 1891, vol. i, p. 48.]

Pomeroon abandoned, 1689.

mained the same through the remaining years of the 17th century.*

The desertion of the Pomeroon in 1689 was not merely temporary: that river was not again occupied during the 17th century. The light in which it was regarded by Samuel Beekman in 1695 is well illustrated by the fact that, on receiving intelligence in that year that the French were in the Pomeroon, he made no effort whatever to dislodge them; but limited himself to fortifying Kykoveral against a possible French attack there.†

Trade into the interior.

Before closing this period, from 1674 to 1700, it is proper to refer to the Dutch trade into the interior. Mention of this is first found in 1680.‡ Between 1680 and 1693, this trade seems to have been with the Indians and confined principally to "hammocks, balsam and other Indian products."§ It is to be noted, however, that this trade was in no sense exclusive, and that it was participated in not only by the Spaniards, but by the French as well.‖

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* The entire population in 1691–98 did not exceed one hundred Europeans and "several hundred slaves." [Rodway (J.) and Watt (T.) Chronological History, etc., Georgetown, 1888, vol. ii, pp. 12, 86, 88.]

† We have been kept here in continuous alarm, since at various times we have had tidings that some French, aided by Caribs from Bavima, are staying in the mouth of the river Pomeroon, who say that they will come here to visit us. In view of this I have at once sent order to all the planters to send down all the male slaves, in order to strengthen the fort, so that we may defend ourselves well in case of an attack. [Appendix to Case, ii, 64.]

‡ The earliest mention of the river I have found in the Dutch records is that in Commandeur Abraham Beekman's letter of June 28, 1680, when that river, temporarily closed by an Indian war, is called "our provision chamber." [Prof. Burr in U. S. Commission Report, i, 306; see *also* Appendix to Case, ii, 40–41.]

§ It appears that not provisions alone were gathered there by the Company's "old negroes," but hammocks, balsam and other Indian products. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 306.]

By reason of the Accoway war in Cuyuni, of which you know, the trade in hammocks, especially in new ones, has resulted badly, for no one dares venture among that faithless tribe. As a result, no more than six of the common kind could be sent; the others were too small and not fit for you. [Appendix to Case, ii, 41; see also *same*, pp. 52–53.]

‖ Just as I am closing this, Daentje, the Company's old negro, comes

Cuyuni horse trade.

In or about 1693 the Dutch began the trade in horses up in Cuyuni—a trade which could only have been carried on with the Spaniards;* and this trade was continued through the remaining years of the 17th century.

Results of twenty-six years. Condition in 1700.

The close of the century saw the following state of affairs:

All efforts of the Dutch to extend the area of their actual occupation had been foiled. A second attempt at establishing a colony on the Pomeroon had ended disastrously, owing to the weakness of the Dutch and their inability to defend their possessions against attack: having thus been driven back to the Essequibo, the Company had formally determined to acquiesce in its ejectment from the Pomeroon. It is true it made a pretence of keeping two men there; but, excepting for

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from the savanna up in Cuyuni, from the Pariacotten. He has been away for fully seven months, and was detained quite three months by the dryness of the river. Because the French scour the country up there and buy up everything, he was able to get but little carap-oil and a few hammocks. [Appendix to Case, ii, 58–59.]

The French in the Barima likewise come even to the upper Cuyuni to get them, and have there burnt the houses in the Pariacotten, [and] driven them away. These gather the copaiba from the trees, and [this] is the reason that Daentje, the negro, came back two weeks ago without bringing with him a single pound of copaiba, bringing only thirty hammocks, among them eight small new ones not fit to be used by any man, much less worthy of your service. [Appendix to Case, ii, 52.]

The copaiba and curcai are much bought up by the Spaniards. The war which various nations there carry on with one another has been the cause that Daentje the negro has not been able to get so far among that nation, and, therefore, has made a fruitless journey, and could get only a few bad hammocks for the negroes. [Appendix to Case, ii, 46; see *also* Blue Book, 3, 62.]

*No slight advantage, moreover, has been brought the Company through you [Samuel Beekman] by your having found out, up in the river of Cuyuni, a trade in horses, which here cost the Company much money for their purchase and involve it in heavy expenses for their transportation thither. We are confident, too, that the native horses are better used to the nature of the country. You are therefore most urgently recommended and instructed to retain this trade for the Company alone. We give you, however, permission to dispose of them to the private planters at a reasonable profit. [Appendix to Case, ii, 63–64.]

Results of twenty-six years. Conditions in 1700.

this, its actual occupation in 1700 did not go beyond Kykoveral and a few plantations on the adjacent banks. The Dutch trade to the Orinoco and to the regions forming its delta had been forbidden by the Company itself in 1684; and had not been thereafter resumed. Trade with the Cuyuni was being carried on; but, so far as the Indians were concerned, it was a trade shared in by both Spaniards and French; and as for the rest, it was a trade with the Spaniards themselves settled in that region.

Except, therefore, the two men in the Pomeroon, and the extension of plantations in the immediate vicinity of Kykoveral, the lapse of another twenty-six years (1674–1700) brought no change, and seems to have witnessed no enlargement of Dutch possession or control. After more than half a century the colony was little, if any, further ahead than it had been at the time when the Treaty of Munster was signed.

VIII.—HISTORY OF THE ESSEQUIBO DUTCH POST. 1700–1725.

It will be convenient to group the events of the next quarter of a century according to location and character.

Trade to points west of Essequibo.

First.—As to the trade of the Company to points west of the Essequibo.

No trade to Barima.

As regards the Barima, there is no record of any attempt whatever to trade there during this period.* The prohibition of 1684 against trading to the Orinoco continued in force, certainly until 1717, at least so far as private settlers were concerned, for in that year these settlers addressed a protest to the Company against its continuance.†

Suggestions regarding Barima ignored by W. I. Co.

The only other connection of the Essequibo Dutch with the Barima during this period seems to have been a suggestion made in 1722 by the Engineer Maurain-Saincterre‡ with regard to the establishment of planta-

* But the French seem to have maintained for years their alliance with the Barima Caribs against the Dutch, and no more is heard of the Barima in Dutch records of the seventeenth century.

In the muster-rolls of the Company's servants in Essequibo for 1691 and 1701 no Barima post appears among the others. And when, in 1703, he Essequibo commandeur had occasion to speak of the exclusion of Surinam traders "here in our district," he defined the phrase by "Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Demerara," with no mention of the Barima. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 270.]

The pay-rolls of the Essequibo colony, which from 1700 on give us, year by year, full information as to the staff of every outpost, know no post on the Barima. [Same, p. 272.]

† It is not till 1717 that I again find mention of that river in the documents of that colony. Then the private settlers of the colony addressed to the West India Company an indignant remonstrance against the restrictions put upon their freedom of trade, protesting that thus an unfair advantage is given the colonists of Berbice and Surinam, who may trade as they will, whether in Pomeroon, Moruca, Waini, Barima, Orinoco, or Trinidad. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 272.]

In October, 1701, the Essequibo Court of Policy justified the purchase of horses from a Rhode Island trader by the plea that "all the lands where we carry on our horse trade are under the King of Spain, as we know by experience from the prohibitions we have already met in the trade to Orinoco. [Same, p. 309; *see* also Appendix to Case, ii, 77–78.]

‡ U. S. Commission Report, i, 272–273.

Suggestions regarding Barima ignored by W. I. Co.

tions there, a suggestion never acted upon or even considered by the Company.* What does appear is that during the period referred to (1700–1725) the French and the Dutch from Surinam and Berbice were allowed by the Spaniards to trade in that region.† In 1711 a Surinam party passed that way and found it entirely deserted.‡

Attempt to trade to the Waini, 1699.

An ineffectual attempt at trade nearer home was made by the Essequibo Dutch late in 1699. In that year a bark was sent to the Waini to salt fish and to trade for victuals, but it returned six weeks later "without having done any trading."§ Coming

* Appendix to Case, ii, p. 79.

† But as regards the balsam oil, the same has, together with the trade in red slaves, according to the direction of the Noble Chamber of Zeeland, been first forbidden by me to the inhabitants of this Colony on the 24th July in the past year [1712], since this trade has been permitted to the free [inhabitants] because that it took place outside the district of the Noble Company, and was but carried on solely on Spanish ground in the River Orinoco, where likewise trade was done by the inhabitants of the Colonies of Berbice and Surinam. [Blue Book, 8, 74.]

Saint-Trond is the only one of our people who is capable and familiar with the Indians and acquainted with their language; also, although from Brabant, he is of proven fidelity, and this is the reason why he was employed. [U. S. Commission Report, ii, 229.]

No whites are allowed to enter the Orinoco except with a pass. The thing we have in view could be accomplished only under pretext of trading with the Indians, for which we would need the permission of the commander of the Orinoco. He was favorably inclined towards us, and if he had remained in command we might have expected everything from him; this was why Mollinay had orders to address himself to him. Now there is another commander, who is not willing to allow anyone there; but possibly this may change with time, and I shall therefore continue to exert myself elsewhere in order to attain our object. [Appendix to Case, ii, 73–74; *see* also, same, p. 75.]

‡ The Surinam expedition sent to the Orinoco in 1711, stopped at the mouth of the Barima, both in going and coming, and makes no mention of a shelter there, though its journal always mentions one when found. That site would have been a more natural one for the French, who, on their way from the islands to the Barima, would here first reach the mainland, than for the Dutch of the Guiana colonies, who came through the Moruca and reached the Barima by the Mora Passage. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 271, note.]

§ And because our barque which we sent to Waini on November 11 last, in order to salt fish and to trade for victuals, has arrived here on December 29 with a very bad catch and without having done any trading, etc. [Appendix to Case, ii, 65.]

nearer home still, even as far away only as the Pomeroon, trade was forbidden by the Company to private settlers of the colony at least as late as 1717.* On the other hand the French and Spanish had so little regard for any supposed Dutch jurisdiction there that, in 1712, a party of them in the Pomeroon, meeting a Dutch agent there, drove him away with impunity.† The shelter put up on the Pomeroon for two servants in 1689, when the attempt to establish a colony on that river was abandoned, was probably kept up as a matter of form. It later came to be known as the Wacupo post.‡ An attempt, however, to establish and maintain a post in that region higher up on the Pomeroon and nearer home came to naught; and if a post was in fact started there in 1703, as seems barely possible, its existence certainly came to an end not later than 1705.§ So much for trade with the Orinoco and the coast region generally.

Trade to Pomeroon forbidden.

French and Spanish in the Pomeroon.

Shelter at Pomeroon, 1703–1705.

As regards the interior, trade was hardly more flour-

Trade to the interior.

* Appendix to Case, ii, 77–78.

† Appendix to Case, ii, 75.

‡ The post was established and maintained, though, as would appear, with but two men instead of three. At least, according to the muster-roll of September 6, 1691, there were there only a postholder and a single assistant. In 1700 it was on the same footing; but in this year we begin to hear a new name for its site: where the pay-roll for this year makes Jan Debbaut "postholder in Pomeroon, at the Company's trade house," the muster-roll makes the same soldier "postholder in Wacupo." By 1704 the pay-roll, too, adopts the new title for the post, calling Jan Debbaut "postholder in Wacupo." [U. S. Commission Report, i, 220.]

§ It would appear, however, that there was now for a year or two a second post on the Pomeroon; for we learn from the pay-rolls that on July 14, 1703, Paulus Veefaart was made "postholder in Pomeroon," and both the pay-roll and the muster-roll for 1704 register him there, with an assistant, while Jan Debbaut and his assistant are still accredited to Wacupo. On April 6, 1705, however, he was discharged from the Company's service; and, although on the muster-roll for June 18, 1705, his assistant, Dirk Schey, still appears in the Pomeroon, it was perhaps only to finish out the year. In the following year we find him serving as bylier in Demerara, and the name Pomeroon does not again occur among those of the posts. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 221.]

Trade to the interior.

ishing. By 1701 the horse trade had begun to fall off.* By 1702 it had grown more difficult.† In 1703, probably with the idea of fostering this horse trade, it was proposed to establish a "post" up in the savannas of the Cuyuni, six weeks by water from Kykoveral. A "postholder" was actually appointed on May 20, but whether the post was ever established or not is very doubtful.‡ Certain it is that on the first of the following October, this same postholder was removed and nothing more is heard of any post. The trade gradually came to an end, and the year 1707 is the last in which mention is to be found of it.§ The reason is not hard to guess. Already the Dutch governor had written home:

End of Cuyuni horse trade, 1707

"I am very sorry to be obliged to inform you that, owing to the present war, no horses are to be got above here as hitherto, inasmuch as those Indians think themselves to stand under the crowns of Spain and France; and this trade is thereby crippled."‖

Even while it lasted it was carried on in what was confessedly Spanish territory.¶

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* The trade in horses up in Cuyuni does not go as briskly as it used to; still the negro traders brought, on March 24th of this year, 12 fine ones, 8 head of which I have disposed of to the plantation "de Vrijheid," and inclose the bills of exchange therefor. [Appendix to Case, ii, 65–66.]

† That truly is a great loss to the Colony, the more so since the Spaniards will no longer permit any trafficking for horses on their territory, so that I shall be perforce compelled to make use of an English barque, or other vessels such as those which came in this river, to go and fetch horses, or else Y. N. will be obliged to send out the same to me from the mother-country, because it is impossible to deliver sugar without horses. [Appendix to Case, ii, 68–69.]

‡ U. S. Commission Report, i, 312–316.

§ In October, 1707, the commandeur complained that they could no longer be got thus from above so conveniently and in such quantity as need required. It is the last mention I have found of the importation of horses by this route. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 316.]

‖ The mention of France here along with Spain is to be explained, doubtless, by the fact that under its Bourbon claimant Spain was now virtually in the hands of France. The phrasing is perhaps, only the commandeur's own, and chosen for Dutch ears.

¶ For long one hears no more of the upper Cuyuni, save now and

Extent of Settlement.

Second.—As to the extent of actual settlement during this period.

The only growth which the Essequibo colony enjoyed during the first quarter of the 18th century was confined exclusively to the banks of the Essequibo itself, and to those portions of the Mazaruni and Cuyuni which lie below the first falls of these latter rivers.*

Essequibo divided into two districts, 1701.

As showing the exact extent of the Colony in 1701 may be cited its division in that year into two districts for purposes of military organization; one district comprising the plantations on the Mazaruni, the highest of which was below its first falls; and the second comprising the plantations on the Essequibo, all on tide water.† The two districts comprised but a dozen plantations.

Extent of colony, 1706.

In 1706 we have another definition of limits in the map of Abraham Maas‡ sent to the Company by the governor Samuel Beekman. According to this the plantations at that date were all limited to the immedi-

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then of the pursuit and capture there of an escaping slave. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 316.]

That truly is a great loss to the Colony, the more so since the Spaniards will no longer permit any trafficking for horses in their territory. [Appendix to Case, ii, 68–69.]

The more so because all the lands where we carry on our horse-trade are under the King of Spain. [Appendix to Case, ii, 68.]

In October, 1701, the Essequibo Court of Policy justified the purchase of horses from a Rhode Island trader by the plea that "all the lands where we carry on our horse trade are under the King of Spain, as we know by experience from the prohibitions we have already met in the trade to Orinoco." [U. S. Commission Report, i., 309.]

* The attempt in 1704 to move the plantation of Poelwijk above the falls could not have been a success, since the map of 1706 shows it below them.

† Item, two Commissaries shall every one or two months, or at least four times a-year, time undefined, be sent off to go and visit all plantations, and to give instructions to the new planters, to wit, those dwellings in Maseroene; the plantations lying in the river being the first district: since they find it good to divide the Company's river into two districts: as from the plantation Poelwijk down as far as Van Rump's Court. The second district is the river Essequebo and stretches from the plantation Bosbeek to the plantation New Cortrijk. [Appendix to Case, ii, 66–67.]

‡ Appendix to Case, atlas, map 59.

Extent of colony, 1706.

ate banks of the Mazaruni and Essequibo, and were all below the first falls of those rivers.

Cartabo, 1716.

"In 1716 the Commandeur got permission to build a new government house on the mainland just opposite the island, on the Mazaruni side of the point formed by the two streams."* The hamlet of 12 or 15 houses which grew up around it came later to be known as Cartabo.†

Colony in 1722.

By 1722, the Colony had not materially changed, and we have the evidence of the engineer Maurain-Saincterre that up to that time no European had established a sugar plantation above the falls.‡

Results of 25 years, 1700–1725.

To sum up the results of 25 years from 1700 to 1725:

Trade to the Orinoco, the Barima and even the Pomeroon had been forbidden to the Dutch of Essequibo and no attempt was made to undertake it. In the Cuyuni the horse buying station of 1703, after a possible existence of a few months had been abandoned and forgotten, the Indians there claiming to be Spanish, and little or no thought was given to that region.

The only posts west of the Essequibo were those on the Wacupo and the Pomeroon. The first of these, composed of two servants and a shanty, served to prevent the running away of slaves; the second lasted but two years and was then abandoned. The colony itself spread along the banks of the Essequibo, the Mazaruni and the Cuyuni, but did not go beyond tide-water.

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* U. S. Commission, Report, i, 202.

† U. S. Commission, Report, i, 202.

‡ The ground is even better above in the rivers Essequibo, Mazaruni, and Cuyuni than below; but because they are full of rocks, falls, and islands, and much danger is to be feared for large sugar canoes, this is the reason why up to this time the Europeans have not been willing to establish sugar plantations there. [Appendix to Case, ii, 79.]

IX.—HISTORY OF SPANISH SETTLEMENT BY WAY OF ORINOCO. 1648-1725.

Introduction.

The history of the Dutch Colony for three-quarters of a century has thus been sketched: it will be well to consider the progress made by the Orinoco Spaniards during the same period.

To properly appreciate this progress it is necessary to distinguish between the character, purposes and methods of the Dutch and of the Spanish respectively.

Dutch methods and purposes.

As has been before stated, the objects which first brought the Dutch to America, were to plunder the Spanish settlements, and to rob the Spanish treasure on its way across the ocean. When the treaty of Munster put an end to this system of robbery, the Dutch relations with Guiana became those of mere trade; and the possessions of the Dutch on the Guiana coast stood out as merely so many trading establishments. The Spaniards, on the contrary, came to America to conquer the land, to found an empire, to gather its treasure, to christianize and civilize its people. The history of Spanish settlement on the Orinoco is therefore a history, first, of political control over all the surrounding region, and second, of missionary activity and settlement among the Indians.

Purposes and character of Spanish colonies.

Spanish control of the Orinoco Delta Region.

As to political control, it was general throughout the territory now in dispute. In proof of this let us look first at the Orinoco delta region between the main mouth of that river and the Moruca. The trading of the Surinam Dutch and of the French in and about Barima during the closing years of the 17th century, the continued trading of these two and of the Dutch

Spanish control of the Orinoco Delta Region.

from Berbice during the first quarter of the 18th century, like trading on the part of the Essequibo Dutch from 1673 to 1684, the sojourn of the French at Barima in 1689, and the ineffectual attempt of the Essequibo Dutch for a few weeks in 1700 to trade in the Waini, are the only known instances of the presence of foreigners in the Orinoco delta between 1648 and 1725.

Spanish control recognized by the Dutch.

As to the sovereignty and exclusive political control by the Spaniards in that region, it was distinctly and repeatedly recognized by the Dutch.*

Seizure of Dutch vessels by Spain.

During this period the Spaniards repeatedly seized and confiscated Dutch vessels in that region; and the Dutch submitted to these acts without protest.†

Spanish presence between Moruca and Essequibo.

Beyond the Moruca, and between that river and the Essequibo, the Spaniards constantly made their presence felt; driving out Dutch agents, and attacking the embryo colonies which the Dutch attempted to plant, but which they finally abandoned.‡

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* Thus, *e. g.*, in 1685 and in 1712:

The Spaniards have resumed possession of Oronoque. The dispersed and hunted-away Caribs from the Copename River are flying to leeward near about Barima, Weyni, Amacoora, often alarming the coast, and sometimes slaying some unlucky Arowaka Indians or Christians, as happened to Bishop and the men from Berbice. [Blue-Book 3, p. 60.]

Concerning the 600 to 700 stoops of balsam (oil), of which I spoke in my former despatch that I would have in readiness with this same merchandize, I am obliged, to my vexation, to say that this past year not a single pound has been procured for the Noble Company, since they in Orinoco had all at once prohibited the traffic in it to the Hollanders, these changes having come to pass with the arrival of a new Governor at Trinidad, who, with this object, has caused several manned vessels to cruise in the River Orinoco, so as to confiscate and bring in as good prizes all Dutch vessels who should wish to come thither; that has forced me to put a stop to the journey, since of necessity, I dared not hazard and put in danger on such like a journey the Company's cargoes, slaves, vessels, and other goods, the which I hope Y. N. will take well; yet some however, have undertaken to send thither with small vessels, but at how great risk! But at the present moment the traffic is again free, so that shortly I shall send thither, as before, a proper vessel, and I think that next year I shall have about 600 stoops ready for the Noble Company. [Appendix to Case, ii, 74.]

† Appendix to Case, ii, 74.

‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 74–76; *also* U. S. Commission Report, i, 229–230.

French and Dutch trade in Cuyuni.

In the interior Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin, the Spaniards for a time permitted both the French* and the Dutch to trade.

Spanish settlement and missionary activity.

Turning now to the question of settlement and missionary activity, we find a growth and development which is in marked contrast with the weakness of the hemmed-in Dutch post on Kykoveral.

Even as early as the Treaty of Munster we find the Jesuits active in this region. In their "Annual Letters" for 1652, recounting the history of this province during the decade preceding, they write:

> "In the Mission of Guayana, where scarcely any harvest responds to labor, however distressing, Father Andreas Ignatius, head of that mission, a man of obedience and heroic zeal, and a professed of the four vows, fell at that glorious and most destitute post."†

Missions in the *llanos* in 1659.

As early as 1659 missions were already established in the *llanos*, that is to say in the savannas of the upper Cuyuni.

In that same year Father Antonio de Monteverde persuaded the provincial authorities in Santa Fe to take religious possession of the lower Orinoco; and in consequence Fathers Vergara and Llauri were sent there.‡

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* Appendix to Case, ii, 45–46, 52, 58–59.

† U. S. Commission Report, i, 55.

‡ Cassani, the historian of the Jesuit province, begins the story of Jesuit activity in the regions of the lower Orinoco with the year 1659. He relates how in that year Father Antonio de Monteverde, a Fleming, came from Cayenne to the Orinoco and then made his way up the river to the mission of his order in the llanos. He persuaded the provincial authorities in Santa Fé to take religious possession of the lower Orinoco, and Fathers Vergara and Llauri were sent thither in 1664. Monteverde and Mesland, "a tried man," were in the same year assigned to the mission in the llanos. Llauri and Vergara found the Spaniards of Guiana in a condition of spiritual destitution. (Cassani, "Historia de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesus del Nuevo Reyno de Granada," 1741, pp. 81, 82, 110, 114, 128.) Gumilla, in his "El Orinoco Ilustrado" (p. 11), also a Jesuit, has no earlier origin of Jesuit missions in Guiana to suggest. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 55–56.]

Spanish missions, 1664.

By 1664 the missions had so far advanced that registers of baptisms began to be regularly kept.

From this time on Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits and Capuchins vied with each other in their efforts at christianizing the natives, and in their willingness to die for the cause.*

Spanish missions, 1677.

In 1677 the Governor General of Trinidad and Guayana asked the Prefect of the Missions of Cumaná if he could send him missionaries; to which the Prefect answered that he had eight priests only, but was expecting ten more from Spain, and would gladly do as requested.†

Spanish missions, 1680.

In 1680 ten Capuchins arrived from Spain for the missions of Trinidad; that island and Guayana constituting, at that time, a single government.‡

Spanish missions, 1681.

By 1681, work had progressed so far that the Indians had begun to form regular settlements; and there is

* They [the missions] were *established* in the year 1724, notwithstanding that other Missioners had undertaken the same work before. This conclusion is derived from the contents of a book of baptisms, showing that from the year 1664 several other Priests at different times had tried the pacification and reduction of these Indians, such as Father Joseph Sanpayo, a Reverend Father of the Dominican order, and Father Manuel de la Purification, of the Bare-footed order (descalzos) of Saint Augustine; the Clergymen Don Francisco de Rojas, Don Miguel de Angulo, Don Joseph de Figueroa, and the ration canon, Don Andres Fernandez; the Father Jesuit Juan de Vergara, Dionisio Mestand, Francisco de Ellauri and Ignacio Cano, the Catalan Capuchin Father Angel de Mataro and Father Pablo de Blanes, the Capauchins and others. The Fathers of the Company made an assignment of said Missions, and the act was authorized by the Governor of Trinidad, Don Tiburcio de Harpe y Zúñiga, in the year 1681, as shown by the Royal Cedule of the 7th of February, 1686, and the 29th of April, 1687, by which His Majesty approves the assignment made by the Jesuits, and sends the Catalan Capuchin Fathers to attend the Missions of the Province of Guayana. These two Cedules are kept in the Archives of the Community. From said year 1687 they took charge of the Missions and commenced their work, but the miseries and deaths, without any help in their wants, were so discouraging, having nobody to replace those who died, many long interruptions of the Apostolic ministry followed, losing at the same time whatever advancement had been made previously for the good of the souls and the pacification of the natives. [Appendix to Case, ii, 344.]

† Appendix to Case, ii, 270.

‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 268.

record of at least two villages with their churches near Santo Thomé: these were under the care of the Jesuits of the Province of the New Kingdom of Granada.* In addition to these, the Jesuits had other missions higher up on the Orinoco.† Spanish missions, 1681.

In the same year, the Jesuits, finding their hands full with their missions on the Upper Orinoco, transferred to the Capuchins the missions in the vicinity of Santo Thomé.‡

By 1682 the Governor General of Trinidad and Guayana could state, in a formal official document, that there were 24,000 Indians who had been subjected to Spanish rule in Guayana and Trinidad.¶ Spanish missions, 1682.

In that year two Capuchins arrived at Trinidad to take part in the missionary work in Tierra Firme; and having made objection to Guayana as a destination, because of their ignorance of the Spanish language, were informed by the Governor that the Indians there were in general familiar with Spanish; and that such as could not understand it could be reached through other Indians who spoke it. The friars accordingly went to Guayana.§

In 1686 twelve Capuchins arrived from Spain for the missions of Cumaná, and twelve more for Trinidad and Guayana.‖ Spanish missions, 1686.

* Appendix to Case, ii, 269.

† Appendix to Case, ii, 269.

‡ The Jesuits solemnly renounced these Missions in favour of the two aforesaid Capuchins and others on the authority of the Governor of Trinidad, Don Tiburcio Arpe y Zuñiga, in the year 1681, and he intrusted them to the aforesaid Capuchins of Catalonia, being commissioned by the Royal Audiencia of Sante Fé to provide missionaries for the Province of Guayana, as appears from the Decrees which remain in the Government Office of Trinidad, as also the Royal "Cedulas" of the 7th of February, 1686, and 29th April, 1687, by which His Majesty grants the Missions of the Provinces of Guayana to the said Catalonian Capuchins, who took charge of them from thenceforth. [Appendix to Case, ii, 338–339.]

¶ Appendix to Case, ii, 269–270.

§ Appendix to Case, ii, 270.

‖ Appendix to Case, ii, 271.

Spanish missions, 1693.

By 1693, the stock raising had grown to such proportions, that the Essequibo Dutch were travelling six weeks up from Kykoveral to the savannas of the Cuyuni to buy horses.*

Spanish missions. General results.

The result of all this missionary activity was that roads were opened through apparently impenetrable forests; towns and churches were founded; plantations laid out, and stock farms established.†

Dutch Cuyuni horse-trade prohibited by Spain, and abandoned.

This trade in horses in the Cuyuni continued without restriction until 1702. In that year the Spaniards prohibited it; and though it was attempted to be kept up by the Dutch, they were compelled to abandon it altogether by 1707.‡

Spanish missions. Results in fifteen years.

All this time missionaries continued to pour in; and as a result of the settlement in Guiana in 1686–87 of a number of Capuchin Fathers, five thousand Indians were baptized in fifteen years, five towns were founded in Trinidad and three more in Guiana.§

Spanish missions, 1724.

Finally in 1724 an entire reorganization of the missions was effected, and the plan of specific missions, each with a definite foundation, was initiated.¶

Suay and Caroni, 1724.

In accordance with this reorganization, two missions were formally "founded" in this year, Suay and Caroni.‖

* Appendix to Case, ii, 63–64.

† Strickland (*Rev.* J.) Boundary question, Rome, 1896, Appendix, p. 72.

‡ In October, 1707, the commandeur complained that they could no longer be got thus from above so conveniently and in such quantity as need required. It is the last mention I have found of the importation of horses by this route. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 316.]

§ Caulin (*friar* A.) Historia, etc., Madrid, 1779, p. 9; see *also* Rodway (J.) and Watt (T.) Annals of Guiana, Georgetown, 1888. ii, 64; and Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del Libertador. [Bolivar]. 4°, Caracas, 1875, vol. i, p. 421.

¶ It is true that ever since the year 1724 the Indians of the Province of Guayana began to show some perseverance in the Catholic Faith preached to them by the Capuchin Missionaries of Catalonia, and it may therefore be said that their true foundation dates from that time. Although the preaching of the Gospel in that Province was not begun in that year, it may be inferred from the old register of Baptisms that from the year 1664 various priests at different times attempted their pacification and conversion. [Appendix to Case, ii, 338.]

‖ U. S. Commission, Report, iii, 215.

Summing up and contrast with Dutch.

To sum up the results of Spanish growth from 1648 to 1725:

In the delta of the Orinoco and in the interior Cuyuni basin there had been trading both by French and Dutch, the latter principally from Surinam and Berbice; but the Spaniards had throughout maintained exclusive political control of both regions. Over by the Moruca and Pomeroon they had made their presence effectively felt, and Spain claimed both of these rivers as her own. Along the Orinoco, and over the sloping savannas of the Cuyuni, Spanish missions had gradually spread, their stock farms raising horses in such numbers that they not only supplied the home needs but had a surplus for export.

The Dutch Essequibo post, on the other hand, scarcely maintained itself at Kykoveral and on the adjacent banks.

X.—HISTORY OF THE ESSEQUIBO COLONY. 1725-1803.

History of Essequibo colony.

Returning to the Essequibo, the story of that colony, from 1725 until it was finally taken by the British in 1803, will now be taken up.

Dutch possessions in 1725.

In 1725, as has before been seen, the Dutch possessions were limited to the Island of Kykoveral, to a few plantations on the adjacent banks of the Essequibo, Mazaruni and Cuyuni, and to a shanty on the Wacupo.

Prior to 1725, such limited tendency to growth as the Essequibo colony may have had, had been up-stream from Kykoveral, on the Essequibo, the Mazaruni and the Cuyuni: there had, however, never been any plantations above the first falls of those rivers.

Tendency of colony down-stream.

Subsequent to 1725 the tendency was all the other way. Indeed, this tendency became so marked that, little by little, the whole colony moved down nearer the mouth of the Essequibo, abandoning Kykoveral, deserting former plantations, and apparently giving up all thought of the interior except as a place for trade with the Spaniards and Indians.

Garrison transferred to Flag island.

In 1739-40* the garrison and seat of government were transferred from Kykoveral to Flag island (afterwards known as Fort island)† at the mouth of the Essequibo.‡

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* Appendix to Case, ii, 89; *also* U. S. Commission Report, i, 201; ii, 283.

† On Flag Island, now coming to be called Fort Island, there likewise grew up a cluster of buildings; the fort, the public offices and warehouses, the quarters of the garrison, the dwellings of the officers. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 202.]

‡ But as these upper lands became exhausted, the more fertile lower reaches tempted even those who were already established above; and at

Cartabo abandoned.

In 1740 the dozen houses which composed the hamlet of Cartabo were abandoned and fell to ruin.*

By 1748 the Cuyuni could be counted very remote.†

As early as 1764, Storm van 's Gravesande could speak of "the few colonists who still live up the river,"‡ meaning, as the context shows, at the old site of the colony, about the junction of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni.§

By 1773 all demands for grants of land up the river at the former site of the colony had ceased.‖

No plantations above Flag Island in 1777.

By 1777, there was, with one exception, not a sugar, coffee, or cotton plantation above Flag island; in fact, no culture whatever except a few cassava grounds.¶

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the completion of the new fort on Flag Island, near the mouth of the river, and the transfer thither from Kykoveral (in 1739–40) of the garrison and the seat of government, the exodus had already become general. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 201.]

* After 1740, when the colonial government was removed to the new fort on Flag Island, Cartabo fell to ruin. According to Hartsinck [*Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 263], writing in 1770, when it was "now in ruins," it had consisted of "twelve or fifteen houses." [U. S. Commission Report, i, 202.]

† We have the honor to report that in fulfillment of your salutary intention, we have caused to be posted everywhere the announcements of the sale, on January 8 last, of the burdensome and unprofitable indigo plantation. But, to our sorrow, we must report that in this matter we could in no way attain the desired end, inasmuch as, although the conditions were arranged very favorably, not one person was willing to bid a single stiver thereon, presumably on account of the great distance and the insalubrity of the river Cuyuni. We had therefore to keep it for the Company, to whom, even for bread-grounds alone, it is worth at least two hundred rix-dollars and more. [Appendix to Case, ii, 100.]

‡ "Nog boven in de riviere wonen." [U. S. Commission Report, i, 201, note.]

§ I have received a report from the few colonists who still reside in the upper reaches of the rivers that a few weeks ago they had seen a white man with a few Indians proceeding down the falls of the River Cajoeny and proceeding up the River Masserouny. I reproached them very much for not apprehending and sending the man to the fort, and expressly charged them that if they caught sight of others they should immediately apprehend them and send them to me, which they promised to do. [Appendix to Case, ii, 158–159; *also*, atlas, maps 66 and 67.]

‖ It is now an opportune moment for closing the Court, because there are no longer any grants of land to be made; no one will ask for lands in the upper reaches of the river, and most of them are already annexed as timber grounds for the plantations below. [Appendix to Case, ii, 221.]

¶ Thus one finds above this island (which is distant only one tide from

By the close of the century the original site of the colony had become a wilderness.*

Original site of Colony a wilderness.

But while the movement of the colony was thus downstream, the general movement was also toward the *east* bank and around the coast *toward Demerara.*†

With the exception of a single transient squatter on the Pomeroon, and an isolated short-lived plantation on the Moruca, there were no settlements upon those rivers, or on the Wacupo, at any time during the 18th century.‡

The year 1800 found them in practically the same condition that the year 1700 had left them.

1700–1800 remained in *statu quo.*

Except for purposes of trade, for the intercepting of runaway slaves, for fishing, for occasional wood cutting, and, from time to time, for the temporary sojourn of a Dutchman, these rivers were in no way utilized by the Dutch. Indeed, the Essequibo colonists, so far from needing more land, were not sufficiently numerous to

Pomeroon region not utilized by the Dutch, except for trade, etc.

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the mouth) not one sugar, coffee or cotton plantation except only that of the ex-Councilor, S. G. van der Heyden, situated a great tide above this island, at the mouths of the two rivers Mazaruni and Cuyuni.

In these rivers, likewise, just as in the river of Essequibo, properly so-called, there can be found not one plantation which furnishes any products except a little cassava bread, and this of so slight importance as not to deserve mention. [Appendix to Case, ii, 233.]

* U. S. Commission Report, i, 201.

† Flag Island hugs the east of the river, and whether it was due to this fact or to the opening and rapid colonization of the Demerara, while the Pomeroon remained closed, or only to the greater attractiveness of the lands, the center of gravity speedily transferred itself to the east of the Essequibo. Before the plantations on the west had reached the mouth of that river, those on the east formed a solid row clear around to the Demerara. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 201; *see* also Appendix to Case, atlas, maps 66, 67, 68, 70.]

‡ After lying a score of years unpeopled, it [the Pomeroon] was again colonized in 1686; but only to be laid desolate by the French in 1689. Thereafter the river was never again thrown open to settlement until the very last years of Dutch occupation. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 226.]

From the seventeenth century until the very end of the eighteenth it [Moruca] had no settlers, save for a single plantation during a few years; but before its final loss to the Dutch its lands may have been once more coming into occupancy. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 247; *see* also U. S. Commission Report, i, 201, 222, 224, 226, 243, 244; *also* same, ii, 612–632; *also* Appendix to Case, atlas, map 69.]

Pomeroon region not utilized by the Dutch, except for trade, etc.

take up the land immediately available on the banks of the Essequibo and Demerara.*

In 1794 there was some talk about establishing settlements on the Pomeroon: the river and adjacent territory were surveyed, and a map of them prepared;† but it was not until after the close of the eighteenth century, and after the British had taken possession of the colony, that cultivation extended as far as the Pomeroon.‡

In delta region, between Moruca and Orinoco, Dutch were mere traders.

As for the delta region beyond the Moruca, between that river and the main mouth of the Orinoco, the only relations of the Dutch to it, during the eighteenth century, were the relations of traders; and even these relations ceased soon after the middle of the century.§

There should possibly be excepted from this last statement a gang of Essequibo thieves who sojourned in Barima about 1766; yet their presence in that region, for a brief period, can be of no possible importance. They were denounced by the Dutch Governor himself; and shortly after were cleared out of the river entirely.‖

Summary of preceding.

It has been stated that, except for purposes of trade;

*. . . [I regard] the river of Pomeroon as a district bringing no earthly profit to the Company; and I am, moreover, convinced that, if once we should be so fortunate as to have this river [Essequibo] and Demerara completely settled (which cannot be expected inside of fifty years, for a considerable number, possibly even more than 300 plantations, can still be laid out if some pains be taken), no one would then be kept from settling in Pomeroon by the fact that there is no bourewey wood left there. [Appendix to Case, ii, 120.] As to the cessation of Dutch trade, see U. S. Commission Report, i, 210, 211.

† Appendix to Case, atlas, map 69.

‡ Appendix to Case, atlas, map 70. See also U. S. Commission Report, i, 225.

§ Down to this time (1764), indeed, there is in the records no mention of any Dutchman's sojourning in the Barima for any purpose save that of trade. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 283.]

‖ At the same time I shall write to the Governor of Orinoco concerning the state of affairs in Barima, which would become a den of thieves, a gang, rag-tag and bobtail, of our colonists staying there under pretense of salting, trading with the Indians, felling timber, etc. They live there like savages, burning each other's huts and putting each other in chains, and I fear that bloodshed and murder will yet come of it. [Appendix to Case, ii, 164–165.]

for the intercepting of runaway slaves; for fishing; for occasional wood-cutting; and for the temporary sojourn of some Dutchman; the Orinoco delta, from the main or "Great" mouth as far as the Moruca, and even the region beyond, between the Moruca and the mouth of the Essequibo itself, was in no way utilized by the Dutch. In order to show how entirely this statement is borne out by the facts it may be well to refer to this in rather more detail.

Summary of preceding.

1. As to Trade.

Trade with the Spanish colonists of the Orinoco, though forbidden by the laws of Spain, began in the last quarter of the 17th century to be encouraged by the Dutch authorities. For a brief period (1684–1690) it was forbidden on account of distrust of their own governor; but it was resumed after his dismissal.* At first the conduct of this trade may have been largely in the hands of the Dutch; and their passage through the rivers—the Moruca, the Waini, the Barima—which were its route, must have resulted in considerable traffic with the Indians of that quarter. But the Dutch of Essequibo had serious rivals in their neighbors of Berbice and Surinam;† and yet

Dutch trade to the Orinoco.

* U. S. Commission Report, i, 260–270.

† Puzzling questions are raised as to the notions of the West India Company regarding the district lying beyond its northwestern post of Wacupo by its attitude toward the traders of the neighboring Dutch colonies of Berbice and Surinam, whose trade "in the district lying under the charter" they restricted or forbade, while their trade west of this post was tolerated, and it was even proposed to legalize it by a toll The Surinam traders carried on, indeed, on the testimony of the Essequibo governors, a larger trade with the Indians west of the Moruca than did the Company's colony itself. What bearing, if any, this fact may have upon the territorial claims there of the Company or of the Dutch is a problem. Not to be overlooked in this connection is the evidence from a later period that the passes granted by the Surinam governors for this trade were recognized by the Essequibo postholders. To be noted, too, is the Company's assertion, in answer to the request of the Essequibo col-

French trade to the Orinoco.

more serious in the French of the islands, who from 1685 to 1700 cut off this trade altogether, and continued thereafter to be troublesome competitors.* Before the middle of the eighteenth century the Spaniards themselves were beginning to take this trade into their hands.†

Spanish trade to the Essequibo.

By this time, too, and perhaps long before, these Spanish

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onists to be allowed freedom of trade in the neighboring Spanish territory, that "although Orinoco, Trinidad, etc., is under the power of the Spaniards, still it also lies within the charter of the Company, where nobody has the right to trade except the Company and those to whom the Company gives permission to do so—so that it all is the territory of the Company, even though we have no forts there." It is, of course, the trade provisions of the charter which are here in thought. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 362–363; see *also* same, pp. 271, 272.]

* But it is the French of the Caribbean islands who seem to have been, in the seventeenth century, the especial patrons and allies of the Caribs of the Barima. Father Pelleprat, the Jesuit missionary, tells us that they had invited the French to plant a colony there, and that in March, 1654, he was informed by Indians of that river "that they had already built a fort in which the French could be quartered as soon as they should arrive." And no sooner did we have reports from the Dutch colony of Essequibo than we find in them complaints of French rivalry in this region. It was, as will be seen, a rivalry not without results to the Dutch. In 1684, when the French of these neighboring West India Islands raided the Orinoco and occupied Santo Thomé, the Caribs in the Barima showed their loyalty by murdering the crew and scuttling the ship of a Dutchman from Surinam, who had come thither for trade; and already they threatened to come with the French and lay waste the Dutch colony of Essequibo. The threat was no vain one, for in 1689 the French, aided by the Caribs of the Barima, made their way in canoes from that river through the Moruca passage and utterly destroyed the new Dutch colony on the Pomeroon; then, returning to the Barima, fortified themselves in that river. In 1695, aided by the Caribs of the Barima, they were even stationed in the mouth of the Pomeroon. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 259-260; see *also* same, pp. 274, 275.]

† Business with the Spaniard begins to grow better as time progresses, and we should have advanced somewhat better if the absence of goods through the long-deferred arrival of ships had not been a very great obstacle thereto. Some Spanish merchants have been obliged to wait here nine, ten, yea eleven months, to their great inconvenience. [Blue Book, 3, p. 90.]

There should sometime be some profit gained with the Spaniards, though the attempt is made as far as possible to pay attention thereto. But many Spaniards, come and go out of the river without coming under my observation. [Appendix to Case, ii, 102.]

It gave us especial pleasure to learn through a subsequent letter from you, dated September 9, how, by the zeal you have shown, the trade of the Spaniards in the river of Essequibo begins to develop more and

traders were making their way into the Dutch colony via the Cuyuni.*

Spanish trade to the Essequibo.

The Orinoco authorities found it easy to favor their own people in this competition by merely enforcing against the Dutch traders the Spanish laws and thus making the Orinoco too hot for them.† Both to avoid this danger and to lessen the risk of smuggling on their own side, the Dutch West India Company and the Essequibo government made it, from the middle of the 18th century, their settled policy to transfer this trade to Spanish hands.‡

From about 1761 on, the trade was exclusively in the hands of the Spaniards; and from this time forward one scarcely hears of Dutch traders to the Orinoco; the current was all the other way; and the Spaniards were induced to come to the Essequibo to sell their products there. ¶

No Dutch trade to Orinoco after 1761.

By 1794 the Governor-General, though himself a son

more, and we hope that all further means will be put in operation to make it altogether flourish there. [Appendix to Case, ii, 101.]

* That furthermore they, the members of the Committee, were of opinion, that the Company's shop there should again be started especially if some new colonists were to be sent thither, because not only would it in that case be extremely necessary for supplying the needs of those colonists, but also in view of the increasing Spanish trade it was not unlikely that a reasonable profit might be made by it; especially so, if it could be brought about that the Spaniards no longer, as heretofore has usually happened, tarry with their wares and articles of trade among the private settlers living up the river, but come with them farther down and as far as to the fort. [U. S. Commission, Report, ii, 333.]

† See *e. g.* U. S. Commission Report, ii, 335, 336.

‡ I have always imagined that it was best for our inhabitants to send few or no boats to Orinoco, and so compel the Spaniards to come here with their merchandise; in this way our people would not be exposed to the least danger, and the arrangement began to work very well. [Appendix to Case, ii, 120.]

¶ Not even a Dutch trader is again heard of in the Barima. The West India Company, which theretofore had always encouraged the colonial trade to the Orinoco, issued in 1761 its instructions that so far as possible this trade be transferred to the Spaniards and carried on, not from Essequibo to Orinoco, but from Orinoco to Essequibo. This policy was loyally and effectively carried out; and within two years the current of trade was flowing the other way. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 289.]

No Dutch trade to Orinoco after 1761.

of the colony, was seemingly ignorant that this trade had ever been in other than Spanish hands. *

Former Dutch trade relations with Barima a tradition by 1800.

By the end of the century the former trade relations of the Dutch with the Barima had become a mere tradition, subsequently distorted, knowingly or ignorantly, to serve as a supposed justification for a claim to territory far beyond the limits which Dutch occupation ever reached.

2. Capture of Runaways.

Dutch slave trade.

Slaves were extensively used by the Dutch, and it was essential to the life of the Essequibo Colony: *first*, to obtain them; and *second*, to prevent their escape.

The demand for Indian slaves, which had been great and constant ever since the beginning of Dutch plantations in Essequibo, was much increased toward the middle of the 18th century by the influx of planters of other nationalities to whom the colony was now opened. In order to obtain these slaves the Caribs were induced to make raids into Spanish territory through the country in the immediate vicinity of the Spanish Mis-

Dutch slave raids into Spanish territory.

* A very noteworthy thing is that in the rainy season the Spanish lanchas come from Orinoco as far as Moruca by an inland way, passing from one creek into another, and they transport in this fashion their horned cattle and mules, and find on the way the necessary sustenance for the cattle, both grass and water.

Those inland voyages are made through the following creeks and rivers: from Moruca one comes into the creek Habon [Itaboe?] and Barimani, then into the river of Waini, which, from the point where one reaches it, is as large and deep as the river of Demerara. Two tides away from the mouth of the river Waini, to wit, on the southwestern side one finds a creek named Moera which one goes up a couple of hours, when one passes into Rio Barima, about three tides from the mouth of the sea. That river is much larger than Rio Demerara and is reckoned twenty hours distant from the post of Moruca. From the mouth of the Rio Barima to Rio Orinoco one counts 3 [Dutch] miles distance; between these two rivers there is again a creek named Amacura.

This report was made to us by the postholder Bartholy, who in for-

sions.* The Dutch themselves assisted in these raids, disguising themselves for that purpose as Indians.† Dutch slave raids into Spanish territory.

The trade became so all-absorbing to the Caribs that in 1746 the Dutch Governor could say that their whole livelihood depended on it.‡ In 1758, the Prefect of the Spanish Missions wrote:

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mer times has made various voyages to Orinoco. The navigation of the Spanish lanchas being disposed of, I shall again go on with my journal. [Appendix to Case, ii, 248; see, *also*, U. S. Commission, Report, i, 211, 289.]

*After invoking the name of God, the Commandeur Laurens d'Heere, informed the Court that, according to reports received, the Magnouw nation were killing all whom they could lay hands on up in Essequebo, and that they were driving away all other nations who were our friends. His Honour maintained that it was very necessary for the protection of the whole Colony to extirpate and annihilate these rebels if possible. This having been taken into consideration, it was unanimously agreed to order Jan Batiste, the Postholder at the Company's trading-place, Wacquepo, to come up the river about the beginning of next month, December, with as great a force of Indians, well armed with bows and arrows and the necessary ammunition of war, as he shall be able to collect, and that he shall be ordered by the Commandeur and Court to proceed against the said Magnouws, and to kill or capture all he can find, on the condition that for each head which he and his men take they shall receive two large axes, and for every slave taken and brought here as much in cash as such slaves are worth in public sale. [Blue Book, 3, 78.]

†Sire, the harvest is great, the soil of many pagan nations well-disposed and fertile for the reception of the Holy Gospel, and the labourers (though few) would produce much fruit if the enemy of souls did not avail himself of the avarice of the Dutch, and the bloodthirsty and inhuman character of the Caribs, to destroy in a day the apostolic labour of a whole year. They come up from the sea (both these nations) to rob and burn the villages of the Missions and carry off as many captives as they can, and sell them at Essequibo, Berbice, and Surinam, colonies of the aforesaid Republic established (not on the Orinoco), but a good distance to the east of its mouths. Besides the profit from slaves the Dutch are moved to keep up their strong alliance with the Caribs, by the value of the balsam of Tolu (Aceite de Maria), and of a species of bixwort found on the Orinoco. To procure these some Dutch introduce themselves among the fleets of these Indians, painted according to the custom of the said savages, by which they encourage them, and add boldness to the lamentable destruction which they work. Added to which many Caribs receive a great supply of arms, ammunition, glass beads and other trifles, with the understanding that they are to be paid for within a certain time with Indians, which they must take prisoners on the Orinoco. And when the time has elapsed, the Dutch creditors encourage and even oblige the Caribs to their bloody raids against the defenceless Indians of the Orinoco. [Appendix to Case, ii, 294–295.]

‡I have it from a reliable source that they have been thinking of founding next year yet another nearer, whereat the inhabitants are much

Dutch slave raids into Spanish territory.

"it will not be an exaggeration to estimate the yearly sale by the Caribs at more than 300 young Indians, killing the old ones, over 400, which are not salable to the Hollanders, because they run away." *

These slave raids were not confined to the region between the Essequibo and the Orinoco, but extended into the very heart of Spanish territory, into the Caroni, the Caura, and even north of the Orinoco.†

Measures for retention of slaves.

The slaves once captured, it became necessary to adopt measures for their retention. From Essequibo

aggrieved, and the Carib Indians much more still, since thereby the slave trade in that quarter, from which alone that nation derives its livelihood, is wholly shut off. [Appendix to Case, ii, 97.]

* Appendix to Case, ii, 305.

† On these occasions Aruacas, Caribs and Dutchmen disguised come, for they are not likely to be detected. These last-named are accustomed to go ashore at the River Caura, and whilst the others are engaged in fishing for turtle, they occupy themselves in buying from the Caribs, in that and other rivers, Indian slaves. The fishermen also engage in the same traffic, and buy from our Indians other Indian slaves, and both the one and the other take a large number with them on their return journey. [Blue Book, 1, p. 89.]

It is not unlikely that the Hollanders stopped their purchase of Poytos at Cuyuni, because they do not hesitate to continue doing this illicit trade in the neighborhood of the Missions. Your Honor knows well that Captain Bonalde, within a day's journey from the Missions, arrested a Hollander who used to buy Poytos or Indians, who were sold to them by the Caribs, and although he was not actually found in the Carib's house, three Indian Poytos were rescued and several machetes and bugles were found in his ranch and distributed among the Miamo Indians. We know, besides, that very often the Hollanders pass by Paraba, Caura, and the sources of the Carony. They do that every year. [Appendix to Case, ii, 304–305.]

Tolerated now on the Maruca, they will next pass on to Barima, which empties into the same mouth, and later on they will come to the Aquire river, whose mouth is on the Orinoco itself, some leagues from the ocean. By this river the neighborhood of the Palmar Missions is reached, and by it they accomplish free communication with the other Missions in the interior of the country, as they have already done, owing to the indifference of Father Friar Bruno, of Barcelona, who for this reason was removed therefrom by his Prefect, and reduced to serve as a companion in another Mission, and deprived of active or passive part in the meetings. [Appendix to Case, ii, 301.]

On such occasions Aroacas, Caribs and Dutch come registered in order not to be molested. The latter are accustomed to land on the Caura river and other rivers to buy Indian slaves from the Caribs while the others fish for turtle. These fishermen also buy Indian slaves from our Caribs, and they all on the return take a large number of them. U. S. Commission Report, vol. viii (3), p. 167.]

there were two roads by which these unfortunates might make their way back to liberty. One was by the Cuyuni, the other by the inland waterway *via* the Pomeroon, Moruca, Waini and Barima.* For the purpose of capturing these runaways, the Dutch stationed sometimes one man, sometimes two or three, at strategic points.† Measures for retention of slaves.

In March, 1767, Storm had earnestly suggested the advisability of putting "two good, armed, and well-manned coast-guards, one in the mouth and one outside the river, to put an end to all the desertions."‡

In 1726 or 1727, for example, the shanty on the Wacupo was moved to the Moruca, as a more suitable location for this purpose.§ (In April, 1770, Centurion Moruca shanty

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*As to taking efficacious measures against the running away of slaves to Orinoco and elsewhere, we are as much as anybody convinced of the necessity thereof. [Appendix to Case, ii, 172.]

With much greater sorrow we have learned of the outcome of the Mission on which the Secretary Rousselet de la Jarie was sent to Orinoco, so little advantageous to the colony, in spite of the hope of a favorable result which Don Hieronimo Fernandez de la Penna, Secretary to the Governor of Guayana, had so shortly before given you; and we with you fully appreciate the unpleasant results which sooner or later are to be expected therefrom, to the ruin perhaps of the whole colony, or at least of many planters in it, if the running away of the slaves cannot in some way be effectually stopped and prevented. [U. S. Commission Report, ii, 422–423.]

†Following the example of the States General, we hereby ask that you give us, at earliest opportunity, your detailed considerations in regard to this point—in the same way as you have already proposed to us, as an efficacious means against the desertion of the slaves, the manning of an outlier, which, as in Surinam, would have to remain lying outside to cut off their way on that side just as the postholders do on land. We confess that this expedient seems to us very apt, and in case of necessity it will be only a question of finding the amount required for its cost. [U. S. Commission, Report, ii, 424–425.]

And as regards the means of prevention to be set on foot yonder, namely, the fitting out and manning of two outliers, to wit, one in the mouth of the river and one outside, we refer you in this connection to what in our aforesaid missive we said in relation to an outlier, which we consider as here repeated. [U. S. Commission, Report, ii, 435.]

‡Appendix to Case, ii, 170.

§In October last the Commandeur informed the Court of his intention to Proceed to the Post of Wacquepo, lying between Orinocque and this river, at the end of the aforesaid month, and to inspect the same in com-

Moruca shanty.

spoke of this post on the Moruca as having been tolerated 40 years).*

By 1754 these runaway slaves had discovered a new route from Essequibo back to their Orinoco home. It was by the outside sea current, which, running always along the coast from southeast to northwest, could carry their boats along with ease and safety.† The Dutch accordingly, in 1757, built a new watch-house at the mouth of the Moruca river.

It was a mere shelter, unmanned; but by granting land to one Beissenteufel, he was induced to settle at this place, and to take charge of this lookout.‡ His stay was short, for only a year or two after his arrival he had the misfortune to blow himself up with gunpowder, and the watch-house then fell into decay.§

Moruca hut abandoned.

The station at the mouth of the Moruca having thus come to an end, the older station, higher up on the

pany with the Councillor and Secretary; knowing that the said Post lies far out of the ordinary course of boats which come hither through the inland waters, it was his intention to choose a fit place in the River of Marocco to which he might transplant the house and Post, since all vessels which come through the inland waters must pass that way. Everything having been closely examined by the said gentlemen, they decided that the fittest place was where the horse-dealers from Orinocque generally moor their boats in the River of Marocco (called in the Indian language Accoujere), it being possible to build a house there so close to the river side that a hand grenade can be thrown into the boats, the river being at its narrowest there. The unfortunate state of affairs in Europe having been taken into consideration, it was resolved to establish the house and Post of Wacquepo upon the aforementioned site as soon as possible, and thus have an opportunity of being kept well informed of the hostile boats that had any intention of coming to disturb this river, and so enable us to place ourselves in a position to resist the same. [Appendix to Case, ii, 80.]

* For, as it appears from Document No. 1 of the "Autos," the Dutch are not, nor have they ever been, in possession of the rivers nor of the creeks which flow into the sea from Essequibo to the Orinoco. Nor have they any other settlement there than a guard in a thatch-covered house on the east bank of the River Maruca which they established there, and has been tolerated since about forty years, for the purpose of preventing the desertion of their slaves. [Blue Book, 1, p. 114.]

† U. S. Commission Report, i, 232-233

‡ U. S. Commission Report, i, 236.

§ U. S. Commission Report, i, 236.

river, continued for some time to serve the purpose, the postholder going down from time to time to the coast to intercept fugitives.* Moruca shanty.

In 1783, however, this higher station, too, during the occupation of the Colony by the French, was entirely abandoned; and it was not thereafter occupied.† Abandoned in 1783.

About 1785, after the restoration of the colony to the Dutch, a new station was put up at the mouth of the Moruca. After the expiration of the West India Company, in 1792, this was the only Dutch station which continued to appear on pay or muster rolls.‡ The British, during their occupation of the colony allowed it to fall into a very dilapidated state. In 1802 it was resumed by the Dutch during their brief occupation of the colony.§ Moruca trading station of 1785.

* Yet in 1765 the Moruca postholder, who had apparently come down to the coast in the effort to intercept certain fugitives, could report, "I am lying between the mouth of Moruca and Pomeroon, so that I can see everything that passes the seacoast"—language which certainly does not imply the presence there, at that date, of a regular lookout. And the historian Hartsinck, writing in 1770, after mentioning the post's erection there in 1757 at the joint cost of the Company and the planters, declares that [*Beschryving van Guiana*, i, 258-9] "it has since fallen to ruin." [U. S. Commission Report, i, 236; see *also* Blue Book, 3, 137.]

† Whether or no the English maintained the post, the French, who succeeded them in the possession of the colony, abandoned it; for on December 5, 1783, the Spanish officer, Inciarte, who had made so successful a reconnoissance here in 1779, reported the abandonment to his superiors, urging them to take advantage of the opportunity by occupying the place. This, however, so far as is known, was never done. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 238; see *also* Appendix to Case, ii, 440.]

‡ After the expiration of the West India Company and the assumption of the colonies by the State, in 1792, the only post which continues to appear on pay and muster rolls is that of Moruca. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 242.]

§ While I am finishing this letter, the Postholder of the post of Moruca comes to report that the detachment for that post arrived there three days ago, but that everything is in ruins and that the battery cannot stand for six weeks more; that an entirely new dike of some sort must be made there and all the buildings set back; that the few cannons found there are lying flat on the ground; that the gun-carriages are rotten, and that the English have cut and slashed everything to pieces; in a word, that things are in a hopeless state. I have not yet received a report from the officer who was ordered thither, and we shall have to await it;

No Dutch occupation of the interior.

As to the interior, apart from the ineffectual attempts of the Dutch in 1754–58 and in 1766–72, (to be referred to later), there was at no time any Dutch occupation whatever above the lowest falls of the Cuyuni.*

Dutch pursuit of fugitive slaves.

Of course the pursuit of runaways and their capture

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but according to these details there is not much of good to be expected. [Appendix to Case, ii, 254.]

* Turning now, my Lords, to the matter of the River Essequebo, it is now about two years since I myself with Mr. van der Kaey proceeded up the river to find out whether it was not in any way possible to successfully set on foot some enterprise up above the falls, but we found the river very dangerous, so that in some places we were obliged to be drawn up in a corrial through the falls, with great danger to our lives. It is absolutely impossible to navigate the river with large boats, such as canoes, and it is equally impossible with barques, because above the plantation Nieuw Cortrijk there is fall upon fall. With regard to the land out there, it seems to me very good, but having inquired how high the water rose in those parts, it was pointed out to me in different places that it rose in the rainy season between 25 and 30 feet, so that nearly all the land is then under water, and there are also many great hills there which are nearly all rocky and very steep at the river side.

I have also carefully inquired, my Lords, what kind of trade might be done there with the Indians, and have up to the present not been able to discover any other trade but a little maraen which is brought thence, and sometimes a few red slaves. To this end two creoles went up the river only last year, who, having been out for seven or eight months, brought very little home. The only profit that this Colony derives from the River Essequebo is that the latter is very rich in fish, and is therefore visited annually both by the Company and by the private colonists for the purpose of salting, to which end two boats have again been prepared for your Lordships, which will be ready to depart in the month of October. I see no profit for your Lordships in sending any man up the river, because I can discover nothing of the savage nation. [Appendix to Case, ii, 81.]

Concerning the advantages of the trade in the rivers of Masseroeny and Cajoeny for the Honourable Company alone, this consists only in red slaves, and the order has been renewed because the veto was one kept up by all former Commandeurs. But most of the Indians having left those parts that trade is now of less profit, except for the orange dye. The plantation Poelwijk, lying up in the first-mentioned river, sometimes buys one or two red slaves in a whole year, but they are mostly children of about 8 or 10 years old, who are bought for about twelve or thirteen axes and choppers, together with a few provisions. The red slaves, too, cannot work together with a black slave, and are mostly used on the plantations for hunting and fishing, the women looking after the cassava for the daily consumption of the plantation. The great number of rocks which lie in these two rivers, and which occasion the falls by reason of the strong stream rushing over them, makes these rivers unnavigable for large vessels, wherefore it is impossible to establish any plantations there, although the soil is very well fitted for it. [Appendix to Case, i, 84–85.]

extended beyond the Moruca on the coast, and beyond Kykoveral in the interior; but such captures were always effected either without the knowledge, with the connivance, or by the express permission of the Spaniards.

Dutch pursuit of fugitive slaves.

SLAVE-TRADING CUYUNI STATIONS OF 1754 AND 1766.

The two ineffectual attempts of the Dutch in 1754, and again in 1766, to establish slave and trading stations on the Cuyuni merit more than passing notice—not because of any importance on the part of the stations themselves, but merely because they furnished to the Spaniards signal opportunities for proving to the Dutch how thoroughly Spain was mistress of the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin.

Failure of the Dutch to occupy interior.

In 1750 the acting Dutch Governor in speaking of the Spanish missions deprecated the opening of the trade in cattle with them "unless a good post were established" on the route.* In 1754 or 1755 such a station was actually established at some place on the lower Cuyuni, possibly as high up as the mouth of the Quive-kuru creek.

Proposal in 1750 to establish a trading post.

Its purpose was threefold: 1st, to foster trade with Indians and Spaniards; 2d, to capture new slaves, and

Purpose of the post.

* The aforesaid Persik has also informed me that the Fathers up in Orinoco were inclined to open a trade with this colony in cattle, which they, if able to obtain permission, could transport overland. If permission be asked and the Commandeur be still absent, I shall refuse it, until you shall be pleased to frame the necessary orders thereon, which I hereby request. On the one hand, this would contribute very much to the encouragement and stimulation of trade, but on the other hand it would be a safe and open way (not to mention times of war) for the slaves who might come to run away from this colony, unless a good post were established thereon. On account of the consequences, I have thought it best simply to mention this to you, that you may be pleased to deliberate thereon in your high wisdom as you may deem most proper, trusting that, as the Commandeur in person is with you, he will doubtless have spoken thereof also. [U. S. Commission, Report, ii, 385.]

Purpose of the post.

intercept runaways; and 3d, to keep an eye upon Spanish movements in that quarter.*

Post destroyed by the Spaniards in 1758.

When its purposes became known to the Spaniards, in 1758, they quickly descended from the savannas, made prisoners of the few persons whom they found, and laid waste everything about the post.†

No attempt to re-establish it.

No attempt was made by the Dutch to re-establish the post, and their remonstrances upon the subject remained unheeded by the Spaniards.‡

Some post required.

The importance of *some* post in the Cuyuni for the prevention of smuggling and for intercepting runaway slaves became each year more urgent.§ In 1763 the

* Appendix to Case, ii, 118–119.

† Having had the honour of writing to your Lordships but a short time ago respecting the state of affairs in Essequibo, I should have very little to say in this letter were I not obliged to inform your Lordships at the earliest opportunity of an occurrence that caused me not only great surprise but also great embarrassment. Nearly all the Caraiban Indians living on the River Cuyuni came down the stream last week, and informed the creoles of your Lordships' living just below the great fall of that river that the Spaniards of Orinoco, according to their computation about 100 strong, had come down the stream, and made a successful raid upon your Lordships' Post; that they had carried off as prisoners the Post-holder and his assistant, and a creole belonging to your Lordships, together with his wife and children; that they had laid waste the Post and all round it, and had threatened to come down stream again and serve the whole Colony in the same way. [Appendix to Case, ii, 125.]

‡ The destroyed post was not at once restored. Both the colonial authorities and the West India Company hoped that the Spanish Government would make reparation for the act of violence. But they waited in vain. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 336–337.]

The extract from the map of Mr. D'Anville, enriched by you with indication of the post in question and of many other places, and transmitted with your letter of March 18th, pleases us exceedingly. We shall not fail, when opportunity offers, to make the necessary use of it in the affair of Rio Cuyuni, of which we are by no means losing sight. [Appendix to Case, ii, 146.]

Concerning the affairs of Cuyuni we shall in the near future present a further memorial to the States-General. [Appendix to Case, ii, 147.]

Up to this time not the least answer has been received from the Court of Madrid to the memorial about Cuyuni presented by us to the States-General. In view of this, it is our intention to present one of these days a further memorial upon that subject to the States-General, with addition of what has happened since, and especially of the matter of the colonist I. Dudonjon. This further memorial will probably now be of more influence and effect, because of the war with England. [Appendix to Case, ii, 149.]

§ The Cuyuni was now, however, too familiar a route to be left open

Dutch Governor suggested to the Company that quietly and "without exercising the least violence," possession should be again taken of the post in Cuyuni.*

Some post required.

This suggestion was approved.†

In 1766 a new post with three, soon after reduced to two, and finally to a single man, was established on the Cuyuni, probably at a different site from the post of 1758, but certainly not above Tokoro island.

Cuyuni trading post of 1766.

The Dutch were, however, too weak, and the Spaniards too strong for this post to continue.‡ In 1769 it

First site abandoned and post moved down in 1769.

with impunity. A rascally colonist went up the river and misused the Indians under pretence of authority. Spaniards or Spanish Indians repeatedly came all the way down to the Dutch plantations. The Caribs, in dismay, were all withdrawing to the Essequibo. Smugglers availed themselves of this door. Runaway slaves found the river an open road; they even began establishing themselves there. [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 337.]

* "I could greatly wish that your further memorial to the States-General might finally have the desired effect, and that an end might be reached of that matter, for which I very much long. But could you not find it good that meanwhile, without use of the least violence, possession should be again taken of the post in Cuyuni?" [U. S. Commission, Report, i, 337–338, note 10.]

† U. S. Commission, Report, i, 338.

‡ As early as March, 1767, there was a rumor that the post had been sacked by the Spaniards. This proved a false alarm; but Spanish influence over the Indians was such that they would do nothing for the postholder, and even passed the post in their canoes in defiance of his summons to lie to for inspection. In September there was again rumor that the post had been raided. This was again an error; but the governor a few weeks later declared to the militia officers of the colony that there were no Indians left there, and that the new postholder could scarcely maintain himself. In December the postholder, who had suffered much there from illness, asked on this pretext to be relieved; and in February, 1768, on the ground that the Indians would have nothing to do with a Frenchman, he was allowed to withdraw, and was stationed elsewhere. His place was never filled, nor were soldiers found for the post; the two byliers alone remained there, the elder in charge. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 339.]

I am anxious [writes Gravesande, March 23, 1767,] to have some tidings from Cajoeny, because I received a note from Director Van der Heyde yesterday in which he informs me that the creole, Tampoko, had been to see his son at Old Duynenburg, and had reported that he had heard from a few Indians that a party of Indians had been sent by the Spanish Mission to make a raid upon the Post, and had completely sacked it, and that he was going to find out how true that was. That Post is a terrible eyesore to the Spaniards, and there is no doubt that it stands in the way of their attaining some important aims. As soon as I

Cuyuni abandoned by the Dutch.

was abandoned; and the bylier in charge moved down to a place among the lower falls of the Cuyuni, at least as far down as Tonoma rapids. At this place the byliers led a solitary life until 1772, when the senior died. With his death all thought of posts on the Cuyuni was forever and definitely abandoned by the Dutch.*

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have reliable tidings I shall deliberate with the Court what is to be done in the matter. [Appendix to Case, i, 169.]

At the same time [again wrote Gravesande, June 27, 1767,] I received a report from the Post in Cajoeny that the Indians are being bribed and incited to such a degree that they are unwilling to do the least thing for the Postholder, and that even when he orders the passing boats to lie to to see whether there are any runaways in them, they obstinately refuse to do so, and when he threatens to shoot upon them they reply that they have bows and arrows with which to answer. [Appendix to Case, ii, 170–171.]

The Assistant Gerrit Van Leuwen [again writes Gravesande, February 9, 1769,] has reported to me concerning the Post in Cajoeny, that he had heard from the fugitive Indians that a detachment of Spaniards had come to just above the Post, and had captured and taken away a whole party of Indians; that they had threatened to come again during the next dry season and proceed as far as Masseroeny to capture a party of Caraibans there, and that they would then sail down the Masseroeny and again up the Cajoeny and visit the Post on their way. I immediately sent him back again (after having provided him with gunpowder and other things), and charged him to use the oars as much as possible, and to find out through the medium of the Indians the time about which they would commence their expedition and to inform me of the same, when, in order that they may have a fitting reception, I will send a commando to Mr. Van der Heyden upon Old Duynenburg (with whom I have already spoken on the matter and arranged what measures are to be taken), past which plantation they must go. [Blue Book, 3, 158.]

* Anxiety was now constant; and early in May [1769] there came once more tidings of a Spanish attack on the Post. This news was speedily corrected by a letter from the senior bylier, reporting not an actual but only a threatened attack. There was added the important information that he intended to remove the Post to an island named Toenamoeto, lying between two falls, where it would be better and healthier, and that he had already begun a clearing there; and he inclosed a bill for the expenses of this clearing. Though both the Company and the governor were annoyed at this high-handed action of the bylier, the step was not reversed. Fear, remarked the governor, often leads to mistakes; but "he is now there, and is much better protected against surprises"—though he adds, "this is wholly contrary to my intention, since for good reasons I would gladly have had that post gradually farther up the river." In June, 1770, the senior bylier, Jan van Witting, announced that the Indians were still drawing off from the Cuyuni; and in the same note asked for his own discharge at New Year's, when his time would be up. He remained there, however, through the following year and into

These ephemeral attempts at establishing posts on the Cuyuni, and an unsuccessful attempt in 1741–3 to mine for copper in the Cuyuni below Moroko creek, located somewhere near the head of what is now known as Suwaraima island, were the only attempts made by the Dutch during the 18th century to actually occupy land in the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin above the lowest falls of those rivers.*

These, the only attempts at Dutch occupation of Cuyuni.

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the next, apparently undisturbed by the Spaniards. Then his service was cut short by death; in the pay-roll for 1772 his decease is chronicled by the secretary, who adds that he could not learn the exact day of its occurrence. The second bylier, Gerrit von Leeuwen, seems to have served out his year and then returned to the ranks of the garrison. Thus quietly, but forever, the post in the Cuyuni disappeared from the records of the colony. [U. S. Commission Report, ii, 340–341.]

Yesterday evening Bont received a letter from Mr. Van der Heyde, in which that gentleman informs him that the Indians up there have told him that the Post in Cajoeny had been attacked by the Spaniards; that Jan Wittinge had been killed, and Van Leuwen carried off. Mr. Van der Heyde at the same time states that he is doing his best every day to hire Indians to send up the river in order to see whether this is true, but has up to the present not been able to persuade any Indians to go. If this be true it is insufferable, and it is too bad that a cat should allow itself to be eaten up by a small mouse. If we only had the soldiers we would make them pay for it well. [Appendix to Case, ii, 189.]

I shall not dwell upon this further, and shall try to obtain full information concerning it. I shall send the Postholder, G. Jansse, to Demerary as soon as possible. [Blue Book, 3, 166.]

* Early in 1741 this miner, one Thomas Hildebrandt, arrived; and until the middle of 1743 investigations were carried on vigorously under his direction, both in the Mazaruni and in the Cuyuni. His letters, and especially his journals, transmitted to the Company, give with prolix minuteness the method and the place of his researches. In the Mazaruni he went no further up than a little above the plantation Poelwijk, scarcely to the lowest rapids. In the Cuyuni, which promised better, he pushed his explorations much farther. The highest point reached by him was a creek called "Moroko-Eykoeroe" (Moroko Creek), where he opened a copper mine. The place was some two days distant from Kykoveral, and, so nearly as can be determined from his description, was on the right or south bank of the river, probably somewhere near the head of what appears in modern maps as the island of Suwaraima.

To facilitate his work and "to escape the great danger of the falls," Hildebrandt constructed a road through the forest from the indigo plantation, at the head of tide-water, to the still water above the first great series of rapids, and planned to build another stretch yet higher up stream.

The mines, however, did not speedily pay. Hildebrandt's brutal manners alienated superiors and subordinates, and drove the slaves to desertion. In 1743, after an alleged attempt to run away himself, bag and baggage, up the Cuyuni to Orinoco, he was packed off home to

Results of three-quarters of a century.

To sum up the results of three-quarters of a century: The colony, which in 1725 had clustered about Kykoveral, had abandoned that site and had moved down to the very mouth of the river, spreading little by little along the eastern bank of that river, and finally stretching over into the Demerara. The interior had been entirely abandoned except for purposes of trade and slave raiding. Two efforts at actual occupation in the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin had proved failures, and that region had been abandoned to the Spaniards. The only Dutch post west of the Essequibo was at the mouth of the Moruca; but, except for that post, the Moruca, the Wacupo and the Pomeroon were entirely deserted.*

Europe. This was the first and the last of Dutch attempts at mining in the Cuyuni. [U. S. Commission Report, i, 317–318.]

That it is not true that the Hollanders had had, nor have now possession of the Cuyuni river (called by them Cayoeny), because when they established a Guard and Barrack, like that of Maruca, in the year seventeen hundred and forty-seven (1747), to facilitate the inhuman traffic and capture of Indians, whom they surreptitiously enslaved, within the dominions of the King our Lord, for the culture of the plantations and improvement of their Colony, as soon as it came to our knowledge, in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-seven (1757), they were dislodged from there, so that neither in the Cuyuni, Maserony, Apanony nor any other rivers emptying into the Esquivo, have the Hollanders any possession; nor could it be tolerated that they should have it, because those rivers embrace almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana in their course from their western termini, where their headwaters originate, down to the eastern limit emptying into the Esquivo river. From that fancied possession it should result that the Hollanders would be the owners of the extensive Province of Guayana and that we, the Spaniards, had no more part of it than the said margin of Orinoco, which is an absurdity. [Appendix to Case, ii, 372.]

* Surinam, belonging to the Dutch, borders Berbische, on our right, and a little further up the coast is the French colony of Cayenne. With such restless neighbors about us we shall require to be watchful and alert. On our left we *approach* the river Orinoco, and what is termed the Spanish main. [Pinckard (*Dr.* Geo.) Notes on the West Indies. 2nd ed. London, 1816, i, 357.]

By inspecting the map you will find that our situation upon this coast is now rendered peculiarly interesting. The Spaniards are on our left, to leeward; the Dutch and French to windward on our right;—close in our rear are heavy and impenetrable forests, inhabited by wild and naked tribes; and our whole front is bounded by the open sea. [Same, ii, 115.]

Demerara, Feb. 11, 1797. A considerable time has now passed since

DUTCH WEAKNESS AND SPANISH CONTROL.

Effects of Spanish control.

But what has been said shows merely the *limits* of Dutch *occupation*. It gives no idea of the weakness of the colony, nor of the frequent danger it was in of total extinction at the hands of the Spaniards, nor of the political control which Spain exercised throughout the region now in dispute up to the very banks of the Essequibo. It was a control which served to limit the growth of the Dutch colony; which, in great measure, shaped its policy; and which confined it always to the mouth of the Essequibo and to the region east of that stream.

Causes of Dutch weakness.

The weakness of the colony and its danger of extinction was due mainly to three causes: 1st, to lack of population; 2d, to military weakness; and 3d, to fear of the Spaniards.

Population.

1ST—POPULATION.—In 1733, after a century's existence, the colony numbered less than two hundred Europeans.*

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our arrival upon this coast, and, having remained so long without any interruption, we had almost believed that the many foes upon our borders meant to leave us in quiet possession of the colonies we had taken; but we have, at length, been assailed from the quarter, whence we least expected it, having had a skirmish with the Spaniards to leeward, instead of the Dutch or French, who in more imposing aspect, threatened us from windward. Fixing upon a favorable moment when they expected that the garrison might be sunk in repose, after the festivities of the Queen's birthday, a party of Spaniards crossed [over from] the river Oronoko in the night of the 19th inst. and made an attack upon our outpost at Moroko, the remotest point of the colony of Essequibo. [Same, ii, 165.]

Pinckard, whose writings should have authority, and who came to Guiana in 1781, in the fleet under Sir George Rodney, which took Guiana from the Dutch, distinctly says, in his admirable letters on Guiana, that the most northern outpost of the Dutch colonies at the time of their first capture by the English was on the Morooca. [im Thurn (E. F.) Boundary pamphlet of 1879, in U. S. Commission Report, ii, 716; see *also* Appendix to Case, iii, 152.]

* There were then in Essequibo 66 Europeans, servants of the Company, and 854 slaves, distributed at the fort, Cartabo, the five Company's plantations, and the trading posts. The private estates numbered 25 to 30, averaging three Europeans and about sixty slaves on each; the whole population may therefore be estimated at about three thousand, besides the free Indians. [Rodway (J.) History of British Guiana. Georgetown, 1891, i, 73.]

Military weakness.

2D—MILITARY WEAKNESS.—The military condition of the Dutch is thus referred to in letters of the Essequibo Governor:

June 8, 1734

In a letter to the West India Company, written on June 8, 1734, the Commandeur in Essequibo speaks of the Spaniards as "formidable" and of the Dutch as "very feeble." He submits the following question for their Lordships' consideration:

"First, as the Spaniards are making themselves so formidable by the collection of a considerable number of troops, and we on the contrary are very feeble here, whether it is not of the greatest necessity to send a militia reinforcement hither, since the real design of the Spaniards is unknown to us."*

Sept. 2, 1754.

Again on September 2, 1754, Gravesande, then Commandeur in Essequibo, wrote to the Company:

"With the small number of soldiers I cannot repel the least aggression in those quarters. It is even impossible for me (however necessary at this conjuncture) to detach eight or ten men to garrison and defend as far as possible the post of Moruca, which will, I fear, see trouble. All that I can do is, with the aid of the Carib nation, whose flight from Barima I daily expect, to cause all possible hindrance to the undertaking; but then I should want ammunition and food and have none of either."†

Aug. 15, 1758.

In 1758, August 15, Gravesande writes to the Company:

"In the current year many people have died in this Colony, and the garrison is in a very lamentable state; one soldier dies after another, and, of those who fall ill, there is scarcely one who recovers. We have, therefore, not more than fourteen men at present who are capable of doing duty, none at all in Fort Kijkoveral, which I have had to leave unprotected, and one solitary man in Demerary."‡

* Appendix to Case, ii, 86.
† Appendix to Case, ii, 112–118.
‡ Blue Book, 3, 109.

Again in 1760, October 24, he writes to the Company: Oct. 24, 1760.

"The River Cajoeny is still unguarded, and presents an easy road to fugitive slaves." *

In 1761, May 28, he writes to the Company: May 28, 1761.

"The two soldiers there (in Demerara) could not prevent him from going, and I could not send more because I have only seventeen more privates here, of whom but very few remain when there is some patrol to be sent out, as has frequently been the case lately." †

In 1764, December 28, after describing some details of the plans and acts of the French on the east (i. e., on the Amazon side of the Dutch colony) and the Spaniards on the west, he says: Dec. 28, 1764.

"Thus, what with the French on the east and the Spaniards on the west, we are really like a little boat between two men-of-war.

I shall not attempt to give my masters advice in a matter which it is in no one's power to prevent or to circumvent. My only aim in this is to respectfully submit to your Lordships what is our humble opinion concerning this in all our Colonies situated on the mainland, and our well-grounded fears concerning the consequences.

I, for my part, see no remedy for this matter except by populating the Colony and establishing good Posts in the interior, from which a sharp and careful lookout can be kept upon all movements." ‡

In 1766, December 8, speaking of the soldiers, he says: Dec. 8, 1766.

"Herewith I will again reiterate my request that no French or Flemish be sent, but as many Protestants as possible. The proximity of the Spaniards, and especially of the Spanish Missions, renders it impossible to place the slightest trust in Catholics." §

* Appendix to Case, ii, 143.

† Blue Book 3, 116-117.

‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 159.

§ Appendix to Case, ii, 168.

Feb. 18, 1768. In 1768, February 18, he writes to the company thus:

"I was very pleased, my lords, on reporting the arrival of the twelve men to the Director-General to hear from him that, according to your lordships' letter, they were all Protestants and that there was not a Frenchman, Fleming, Portuguese, or Spaniard amongst them. But when I mustered them I found to my great surprise that out of these twelve men there were only three who were not French, these being the corporal, who comes from Utrecht, and has served in the State troops for some years, and a German, a native of Zweibrucken, and a French deserter. The others are all French deserters, so that I conclude that your lordships have been scandalously deceived by the recruiting agents, who are infamous scoundrels."*

Sept. 15 1768. In 1768, September 15, speaking of the desertions of the soldiers in considerable bodies, he says:

"Even if they went away before our eyes, in a manner of speaking, what could we do? To have them pursued would be going *ex Scilla in Charibdim*, for the pursuers would very probably join them, and the more so because they would be well armed and well furnished with provisions.

"Therefore, my Lords, be pleased not to take it amiss if as long as I have the honour to be in your Lordships' service (which I trust will be but a short time) I send back to Europe by the first ship all recruits who come here and turn out to be French. Necessity compels me to do this, and I would no longer be answerable to God or man for the danger into which the Colony would be brought by this."†

In this same letter he protests again his weakness, and says:

"Must we, my lords, regard all this quietly and endure all these insults and hostile acts? Must we see our posts raided and ruined and our boats attacked upon our own coasts?"

March 15, 1769. In 1769, March 15, speaking of the Spanish attacks, he asks:

"May I ask once more whether all this must be borne quietly

* Appendix to Case, ii, 175.
† Appendix to Case, ii, 178.

and whether your lordships' patience has not yet come to an end? With me it is *Patientia lesa tandem furor fit.* March 15, 1769.

What can I do with such a small garrison? The burghers are not yet ready for service—the letters to the burgher officers calling them together on the last day of March have been sent off—the general meeting is at hand, and there is *periculum in mora*—three clerks are continually at work writing commissions, instructions, and orders, but everything is so spread about that it will take twelve or fourteen days before everyone can be warned.

With the exception of the rebellion of Berbices this is one of the most critical matters I have been in during my long years of service. Had I the power and were my hands free I should not feel embarrassed and would be quite willing to risk my grey head in the affair."*

In 1769, May 12, he again writes: May 12, 1769.

"According to the last reports from the Postholder and from the Caraibans, they are still all in Barima, having sent their prisoners to Orinocque, and they threaten to come again at an early date, and not only carry off all the Indians from Powaron, but even to attack and plunder our plantations." †

On July 26, 1769, the company wrote to the Commandeur that they were willing that he should secretly incite the Caribs to murder the Spanish missionaries and their flocks, but added, July 26, 1769.

"We do not as yet think it advisable to use direct retaliation, for more than one reason, but especially on account of the weakness of the garrison."‡

Finally came this wail from the Governor:

"It is finished now, my lords; neither Postholders nor Posts are of any use now. The slaves can now proceed at their ease to the Missions without fear of being pursued, and we shall in a short time have entirely lost possession of the river Cajoeny." §

It is not strange that a Colony so inherently weak Relations of the Dutch with the Caribs.

* Appendix to Case, ii, 184.
† Appendix to Case, ii, 190.
‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 197.
§ Appendix to Case, ii, 180.

Relations of the Dutch with the Caribs.

should endeavor to strengthen itself by getting outside assistance. This, and the slave trade, explain the relations of the Dutch with the Carib Indians, whom they bribed, coaxed and incited into becoming at times their slave catchers, and at times their protectors against the Spaniards.

In 1748, December 2, Storm van 's Gravesande wrote:

"The Spaniards were beginning to approach more and more up in Cuyuni but a war having some weeks ago arisen between the Carib nation and that of the Warrows, which is carried on very obstinately, this will stop their further progress, and possibly, if the Caribs obtain the upper hand, they will be driven somewhat farther away, without our having in the least degree to meddle therewith."*

The "Chief of the Spaniards" he quotes as saying

"That the whole of America belonged to the King of Spain, and that he should do what suited himself without troubling about us;"

And then adds:

"Seeing that all my remonstrances and letters to the Spaniards are of no avail, and that no redress is obtainable, I intend to tell the chiefs of the Indians, when they come to me, that I can provide no redress for them, and that they must take measures for their own security. Then I feel assured that in a short time no Spaniard will be visible any more above in Cuyuni."†

In 1754, September 2, Gravesande, writing of reported silver mines between the Orinoco and Moruca, and possible aggression there, says:

"I cannot repel the least aggression in those quarters. It is even impossible for me (however necessary at this conjuncture) to detach eight or ten men to garrison and defend as far as possible the post of Moruca, which will, I fear, see trouble. All that I can do is, with the aid of the Carib nation, whose flight from Barima I daily expect, to cause all possible hindrance to the undertaking."‡

* Appendix to Case, ii, 101.
† Appendix to Case, ii,102.
‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 112–113.

Relations of the Dutch with the Caribs.

Again in 1754, October 12, writing of the attack of the Caribs upon the Spanish Cuyuni missions, he says that this attack "has covered us on that side, so that we have nothing to fear from that direction."*

In 1755, Gravesande, to protect himself against the Acuway Indians, thought his only recourse might be to fan the standing feud between them and the Caribs.†

In 1764, February 28, he wrote:

"The Caraibans, about whom mention is made above, have come back, bringing with them a large quantity of right hands from the rebels whom they killed, for which I paid them this morning, it being the custom in the Colonies to pay as much for a runaway's head or hand as for a slave." ‡

In 1768 he wrote:

"The expedition of the Caraibans, thank God, turned out very successfully. * * * The negroes were attacked and seven, together with two women, were killed, whilst three men and four women escaped; the Acuways are after these. §

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* Appendix to Case, ii, 115.

† The nation of the Acuways, which is very strong in the interior, and some of whose villages both in Essequebo and in Mazaruni and Demerary are situated next to our plantations, commenced [the war] with attacking the dwellings of some free creoles belonging to the plantation Oosterbeek, and massacreing those they found there. Thereupon they spread themselves and caused terror everywhere. Most of the planters living in Masseroeny retired to an island with their slaves and their most valuable goods, and none of them dared to stay at night on their plantations. A few days after that the aforesaid Acuways attacked the plantation of a certain Pieter Marchal (who, according to general report, is the chief cause of this revolt) at half-past five in the morning, killing two of his people and wounding five, most of whom have since died.

Many of the colonists, and amongst them several Councillors, have requested me to send out an invitation to the Caraiban Indians to take the field against the Acuways, but as there are many difficulties connected with this, I have not yet decided to do so, and am of opinion that such measures should not be taken until absolutely necessary. Because, if the Caraibans come (which they will certainly do at the first invitation), they will come several hundred strong, and ask for bread and other provisions, of which we have none.

But if I am unable to succeed in so doing, and if, as I hear, they assemble in large numbers and persist in their hostilities, I shall be compelled to choose the lesser of two evils and set the Caraiban nation at work, which I cordially hope will not be necessary, and which step I shall only take in the last extremity. [Blue Book, 3, 104–105.]

‡ Blue Book, 3, 127.

§ Blue Book, 3, 152.

Relations of the Dutch with the Caribs.

"The Caraibans were not at work very long, having killed seven men, one woman and one girl. * * * They have brought the seven right hands to me, and I am just now occupied in paying them."*

The Dutch dependence upon the Caribs is excellently depicted in a letter written by Gravesande on May 12, 1769, in which he says "the outlook is daily becoming blacker for the colony," and adds:

"I asked the Caraiban Owl this morning whether the Caraibans were no longer men and whether they had no hands with which to defend themselves, whereupon he replied, 'Indeed, they have; but the Spaniards have guns, and we only bows and arrows. Give us rifles, powder, and shot, and we will show you what we are.' Even had I been inclined to do so I could not, having no further supply of these than just sufficient for the garrison."†

Dependence of the Colony on its Indian allies.

This dependence of the colony on its Indian allies and the submission of the latter to the Spaniards, is shown by the following extract from a letter of Gravesande, January 6, 1772. He says:

"The former Postholders in Maroco were able to do something to arrest the progress of this evil, they having at least six or seven hundred Indians around that post, some of whom they could always have out at sea, but the unauthorized attacks of the Spaniards have driven these natives away, and the Spaniards even came to the post, as your lordships know, sword in hand, to drive away or carry off the few that still remained, and succeeded only too well in doing so."‡

* Blue Book, 3, 154.

† Appendix to Case, ii, 191.

‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 218.

XI.—SPANISH CONTROL AND SETTLEMENT IN THE DISPUTED TERRITORY. 1725-1800.

Dutch fear of the Spaniards.

With such scanty defence no wonder that the Dutch were in fear of the Spaniards. No doubt they had reason for this: a statement of Spanish strength and activity during this period will show it.

Turning to this it will be convenient to consider:

1.—THE COAST REGION.

Spanish control of disputed territory.

From the Orinoco to the Essequibo the Spaniards claimed dominion. They also exercised exclusive control there.

Spanish control of the Orinoco.

This control of the Orinoco itself, which can hardly need demonstration, is evidenced by their repeated seizure of Dutch craft found trespassing there—both those entering for the purposes of trade and those attempting to carry on fishing at the mouth of the river.

Thus, in 1701, the Dutch Governor mentions, as a thing well known by experience, "the prohibitions we have already met in the trade to Orinoco."*

In 1712 his successor in this governorship reported that the Spaniards would not allow the Dutch to enter the Orinoco;† and in the following year he wrote of the Dutch traffic there that "it took place outside the district of the Noble Company, and was but carried on

* U. S. Commission, Report, ii, 201.

† Blue Book 3, 74.

Spanish control of the Orinoco.

solely on Spanish ground in the River Orinoco."* And commenting again on this subject in 1714, he admitted that "Orinoco, Trinidad, etc., is [*sic*] under the power of the Spaniards."†

In 1717 the Dutch colonists of Essequibo begged to be allowed to trade there, declaring that "the Orinoco is a river which is accounted as the property of the King or Crown of Spain, and hence that nation master there."‡

In 1719 the Spanish Commandant in the Orinoco arrested a Dutch trader who attempted to pass up the river; and the Dutch authorities of Essequibo were so sensible of the justice of Spanish complaints on this point that they not only made stricter the passes granted for this trade but thought of prohibiting it altogether.§ In 1727 a Dutch trader from Essequibo was seized by the Spaniards, who told him that "they had orders from the Governer of Trinidad to stop the trade in that river."‖ In the following year the same fate befell a Surinam Dutchman who was but fishing in the neighborhood of that river.¶

Policy of the Dutch to change current of trade.

In fact, this danger came to be so well understood as to terrify Dutch commerce, and from the middle of

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* Blue Book 3, 74.

† U. S. Commission, Report, ii, 241.

‡ Blue Book 3, 76.

§ U. S. Commission, Report, ii, 245–247.

‖ Blue Book 3, 80.

At the end of August last year twenty-three red slaves ran away from the plantation belonging to Pieter la Rivière to Orinocque, and he having sent his son there to claim them, but without any results, resolved to go there in person, but on arriving at the usual mooring place in that river he was attacked by a vessel flying the Spanish flag, and was unfortunate enough to be killed. Those with him begged for quarter, whereupon the Spaniards took all their merchandize, and told them that they had orders from the Governor of Trinidad to stop the trade in that river. [Appendix to Case, ii, 80-81.]

¶ Blue Book 3, 81.

The Secretary, H. Gelskerke, having communicated to us a certain

Policy of the Dutch to change current of trade.

the century it was the Dutch policy to transfer this intercolonial trade to Spanish hands. Yet the Dutch smugglers were still often seized there.*

Spanish seizures in the Orinoco.

During 1767 the following property was seized and confiscated by the Spanish: A launch and contents from Essequibo, a boat and contents from the same, 4 mules loaded with foreign goods, several goods, 16 small barrels of brandy, an Indian boat with Dutch goods from Essequibo, one English sloop and Spanish schooner, 2 Spanish launches, an English boat and French schooner and French sloop, another French schooner. These were all tried and adjudged good prizes at Guayana. †

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letter written by Jan Batiste from the Post in Wacquepo, and opened by him (the Secretary) in the absence of the Commandeur, in which information was given that the Spaniards of the Orinocque had with armed force taken possession of a Suriname vessel fishing in the neighborhood of the aforesaid river. [Appendix to Case, ii, 82.]

* See, *e. g.*, the list of such seizures reported by the Spanish Contador of Guayana on Jan. 28, 1769. [Appendix to Case, ii, 366–368.]

† Don Andres de Oleaga, Official Royal Accountant of this City of Guayana and its Province for his Majesty (whom God preserve), etc.

I certify in the best manner I can, for whatever purpose, and before the Señores that may see it, how, after the arrival of Señor Don Manuel Centurion, Captain of the Royal Corps of Artillery, and Commandant General of this said Province, pursuant to his great energy and zeal in the Royal service, the following confiscations and seizures were made: On the twenty-seventh of January of the past year of seven-seen hundred and sixty-seven, in a closed port of the Presidio of old Guayana, a launch coming from Esquivo, Dutch Colony, with two slaves, and cargo of Taphia rum and merchandise, from Don Vicente Franco. On the sixth of March of said year, at the same Presidio, various goods from Bernardo Montes, who was coming from the same Colony in a felucca. On the eleventh of April of the said year, on the land within the said Presidio, four mules loaded with different kinds of foreign clothing, without permit or license. On the twenty-second of said month and year, above the port of this city, different articles, without permit or license, from Lorenzo Yeguas. On June sixteenth of the said year, at the Presidio aforesaid of old Guayana, sixteen kegs of brandy, from Master Gazpar Vidal, who was introducing them clandestinely and left them buried on an islet in the Orinoco. On September twenty-eighth of the same year, at the port of Piacoa, below the aforesaid Presidio, a canoe laden with Dutch goods from Esquibo, from Pedro Sanchez.

And by the Sergeant of the Company of Pioneers, Cipriano Maiorga,

Dutch prevented from fishing in Orinoco.

The Dutch effort to fish in the mouth of the Orinoco was more persistent; and was the cause of repeated arrests by the Spanish officials. In November, 1769, the Dutch Governor reported the ruin of their fisheries; and before 1770 the Essequibo Dutch finally abandoned them.*

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with the pirogue he commanded, one of the Orinoco corsair canoes from the aliens engaged in the clandestine extraction of mules, horses, cattle, and other products, through the Guarapiche and Theresen rivers, which empty in the interior of the Golpho Triste de la Paria. An English sloop named the *Sevillana*; a Spanish schooner, the *Esperanza*; two launches, also Spanish; an English boat with four lately-imported negroes, some animals, and different foreign articles, besides (in the same campaign and before returning to this city) a French schooner named *Maria Louisa*, with two newly-imported negroes; two barrels, one of claret and the other of *Taphia* rum, and ten *arrobas* (250 lbs.) of *chinchorro* thread; and, also, on the same occasion, in company with the cruiser armed at the Island of Trinidad, a French sloop and schooner with various goods and newly-imported negroes, of which, after deducting all expenses and the sixth part, which the officials retained, they delivered to him the half, which amounts to seventeen hundred and ninety-two *pesos*, twenty-four *maravedis*, which brought in this place two-thousand and eighty-five *pesos*, three *reals*, one and two-fourths *maravedis*. Which seizures were declared to be legal and belonging to His Majesty on March 26th, April 30th, and July 29th of last year—1768. [Appendix to Case, ii, 366–367.]

* Appendix to Case, ii, 216.

The principal fishery, my Lords, has always been in the mouth and between the islands of Orinoque, near the Warouws, to which we send salting markott twice every year. This has never been prevented until recently, to the inexpressible injury of the Company's plantations and Colony, because there now being a want of that fish, and the slaves being obliged to have their rations, salt cod has continually to be bought, which even in one year runs pretty high, and sometimes brings me into difficulties with the payment. Only this week I paid over 300 guilders to Captain Andrew; the twelve casks of meat which each plantation gets annually are of little use, and 1,000 lbs. of fish is soon gone. [Appendix to Case, ii, 176.]

A report which I received after the closing of my letters compels me to add these few lines. A Spanish privateer from Orinocque cruising along our coast made an attempt to capture your lordships' salter before the River Wayni (indisputably the Company's territory) and fired very strongly upon him. The latter was cautious enough (not being able to escape otherwise) to run his boat high and dry upon the bank so that he could not be reached by the privateer who, having continued to fire upon him for some time, and seeing that he could do nothing, finally departed.

They are not content with most unreasonably keeping our runaway slaves and with hindering us from carrying on the fishery in Orinocque, which we have always been free to do, but they now wish to prevent us from salting along our own coasts, and will in this manner end by closing our river and no boats will dare to go out any more. Is this proper

Assertion of Spanish authority in coast region.

In the coast region between the main mouth of the Orinoco and the Essequibo the Spanish assertion of authority was not less clear. In 1732 the Swedes conceived a project of settling in the Barima. This being reported by the colonial authorities to Spain, a royal order enjoined prompt and thorough resistence. Careful investigation was made, and a force of soldiers was gathered for the purpose of expelling the intruders. All this was communicated by the Spanish governor to the governor of Essequibo, who not only made no protest, but furnished supplies to the Spaniards; and the Dutch West India Company, to whom the matter was reported with a request for instructions, did not so much as deign to reply.*

In 1755 the Spanish Prefect of the Capuchin missions, in whose province this district lay, demanded of the Dutch postholder of Moruca some Indians who had for "already over ten years been dwelling under the Post; adding that, in case of reluctance, he would come

behaviour on the part of our neighbours and allies? [Appendix to Case, ii, 177–178.]

Meanwhile our fisheries are ruined, and we have lost all our runaway slaves. [Appendix to Case ii, 213.]

The fishery in Orinocque still being closed, I am compelled to buy cod for the plantations and for the rations of the slaves." [Appendix to Case, i, 216.]

* On his return he reported that he had put to sea by the principal river of the Orinoco, and entered the creek called Barima, where, according to the Caribs, the Swedes were established. Having considered this matter in my Council of the Indies, and taken the advice of my Attorney-General, and deliberated thereupon, seeing that the information sent by the aforesaid Alcaldes, though not to be despised, is not full enough to warrant my making any order in the matter, I have resolved to command, and hereby do command, that soon as you receive these despatches you do forthwith verify the facts of the matter, and, in case any orders should be necessary, you do forthwith make such orders as you think advisable, giving me an account of your proceedings in this matter with all dispatch, remembering that I have also instructed the Governors of Caràcas and Margarita by despatches sent this day. [Appendix to Case, ii, 283. See *also* same, ii, 257–266; *also* Blue Book 1, 64–65; 3, 84–85, 224–226.]

Assertion of Spanish authority in coast region.

with sufficient force to fetch them, and take them away in chains."*

Two years later, in 1757, there came to the Spanish general commanding in the Orinoco tidings that the Dutch were building a new fort on the Moruca. He at once ordered a reconnoissance to be made. The new fort proved to be only a watch-house at the mouth of the river to prevent the escape of slaves, and it was not interfered with.† But the occurrence gave occasion for vigorous protest to the governor of Guayana against the toleration of the Dutch in this quarter, lest, being suffered to stay in the Moruca, they pass on to the Barima, and even to the Aguire.‡

Barima ordered to be cleared of Dutch slave traders.

In 1760 the Spanish Governor ordered the arrest of certain Dutch slave traders whom he learned were lurking in the Barima.§

*After the despatch of my last, the Postholder of Marocco has come, and has brought me a letter from a missionary Father written to him from Oronoque, wherein he has requested him to deliver up and send to him some Indians of the Chiama nation, by us called Shiamacotte, and who have already (over ten years) been dwelling under the Post, adding that, in case of reluctance, he would come with sufficient force to fetch them, and take them away in chains. [Appendix to Case, ii, 119; see *also* Blue Book, 3, 105.]

†I inform Y. H. that I have performed the duty entrusted to me to reconnoitre the waters of the Moroca channel, and the fortification you were informed of, from which reconnoissance it results that the information is incorrect, for on the whole of that channel and the other channels communicating therewith there is no fortification to be found, and all there is is the news that the Dutch of the Esquivo Colony intend to move the guard which, under the name of post, they maintain on the Moroca channel, taking it down to the mouth thereof, emptying into the ocean, which will be about a distance of six leagues, for which purpose they have cut down trees and made many clearings for sowing that site, and built the houses necessary for the Aruaca Indians and the Dutch, which news I have been unable to verify with certainty, and I have only heard it said that the purpose is to prevent the negro slaves of the Company and residents of the said Colony from running away so easily to these Dominions, for the said guard being at the mouth of the Moroca, it can watch the boats that, without entering it, may pass by the coast to take the main mouth of this river. [Apppendix to Case, ii, 301-302.]

‡U. S. Commission Report, viii (3), 175.

§Whereas, on account of a report received from the Most Reverend Prefect of the Missions of this Province, I have become aware of the information received by him from four fugitive Poyto Indians about the tyrannic power of the Hollanders inhabiting the neighboring Colonies of Esquivo and

As a result of this two launches and two Indian boats were captured.*

Barima ordered to be cleared of Dutch slave traders.

The officer in charge of the expedition also reported that near the point between Waini mouth and Barima,

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Surinam, at the mouth of the Barima creek, coming out from this river, where five Hollanders from said colony are staying and carrying out the inhuman and lucrative commerce they maintain with the wild Indian tribes who trade in the Orinoco, buying from them the infidels taken in their wars, making them prisoners and trading them for iron utensils, clothing, and munitions of war; and as said Hollanders are awaiting for a party of Indians, they have sent Carib agents to purchase said Indians and bring them to their Colony.

Such an illicit traffic in human beings is already going on. The four Indians who escaped were included as victims and came in quest of protection to the said Missions. As the service of our Lord and of His Catholic Majesty requires the stopping of this illicit trade, and the punishment of the Hollanders of the above-mentioned Colony, who possessed them in their own country, (if they had any right for this kind of possession), [a better translation would be: *to keep the Dutch of the said colonies by chastisement within their own possessions (if so be that they can hold them lawfully)*], they ought not to be allowed to communicate through the rivers and dominions of the King. Therefore, in virtue of the powers granted to me, I order and command that the Lieutenant of Infantry and second officer of this place, Don Juan de Dios Gonzales de Flores, without any delay whatever, depart on board the Royal vessel that he will find in Port Royal with a crew of ten men and manned in the ordinary way, armed with two light guns, and the necessary stores for twenty days. He will take Spanish river pilots and the fugitive Indians, and go to the place where said Hollanders are staying. He will proceed straightway, navigating night and day, and as soon as he reaches the place, he will attack the ranch, after having surrounded it. He will imprison the Hollanders, French and Spaniards found there, at the words, "Long live the King!" and will employ his arms in punishing and apprehending the same persons, as well as the Caribs that he may find in their company, carrying out this inhuman trade. He will likewise seize every vessel he may meet, going up or down the river, and the foreigners as well as Spaniards unprovided with the lawful and proper papers of navigation. The masters and crews of the same will be brought along to this place, well secured. The full cargoes as well, without allowing the least fraud or disorder by the troops of his command. [Appendix to Case, ii, 327–328.]

*As a consequence, said Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores has seized and brought along with him a schooner and two launches which were anchored under the artillery of the Castle of San Francisco de Asis, which is the chief port of this city. [Appendix to Case, ii, 328.]

Inventory of Seizures.—In the first place, there was a schooner with her main and foremast, and rigging without sails.

One small anchor, with its corresponding rope.

Five barrels of salt fish.

One launch, with a mast, canvas shrouds and a round sail of coarse cloth.

Four barrels of powdered salt.

One curiara (a small Indian boat) for the service of the launch, with wash boards. Six hatchets, ten short coarse Indian drawers, eight knives, six bundles of beads and an old case.

Barima cleared of Dutch traders.

he had captured one vessel with ten Arawak Indians from Essequibo colony on their way to fish in the Orinoco.*

In 1761 the Spaniards cleared the Barima of Surinam traders. †

In this same year, 1768, the Spanish marine police cleared out, by order of the Spanish authorities, certain Dutch plantations which, without the knowledge of the Dutch Government of Essequibo, had just been established in the Barima. Their occupants escaped by flight; but the property was confiscated and sold at auction by the Spanish officials.‡

Another launch, with its mast, canvas shroud and a round sail.
A small anchor with its corresponding hemp rope.
One curiara, answering as a boat. [Appendix to Case, ii, 329.]

*Lieutenant Don Juan de Dios Flores testified, that having left this port, under orders of the Commander, to proceed to the Barima creek, and having reached and tacked about the mouth of it, on the eleventh instant [Sept., 1760] at about four o'clock in the afternoon, he descried a sail towards the point of Guani, that was coming in the direction of the mouth of the Orinoco, and he went after it and having met her and fired a small gun, she stopped immediately, and having boarded her he found ten Aruaca Indians who came from the Esquivo Colony to fish in the river, three of whom ran away, throwing themselves into the river, and on the following day he continued his journey and went through the mouth of Barima, going up the creek for about three leagues, when he descried a vessel that was left aground by the low tide, at a long distance, finding no means to reach on board the same, until it was full tide, when he could draw near. The people and the crew on board, as they had seen and recognized his vessel, had left theirs, carrying away their sails and cutting the best part of the rigging. Although he tried his best to reach them, he could not succeed. Through the Aruaca Indians who had been seized he was informed that that schooner belonged to the Esquivo Colony, and came there for the purpose of fishing; that finding himself with these two vessels without any crew, he had only four men in their charge, two men in each one; that he had only six men left, and being informed that five days at least were necessary to reach the place where the traders in Poytos were reported to be, it was natural to suppose they had been warned of his visit by those who had left the vessel; that he found [it] necessary to return at once, as he did, finding that his order was only to reach the same mouth (Barima). [Appendix to Case, ii, 330–331.]

†I am also informed on very good authority that the canoes were taken by an armed boat, commanded by Captain D. Flores, who was sent out expressly to catch the Surinama traders in Barima, and who captured everything that came in his way. [Appendix to Case, ii, 121.]

‡That the Commandant-General there present having received information that in the Creek called the Creek of Barima, which is close to the great

Spanish control of coast regions.

In the following year, 1769, the Spanish did more than merely visit the neighborhood of Essequibo. It was an eventful year along the coast. In March, the Spaniards, with two Capuchin fathers, a detachment of soldiers, and a large party of armed Indians, were capturing and taking prisoners all the free Indians between the Barima and Pomeroon. They next overpowered the Moruca post.*

In that same month (March) Gravesande wrote that "they (the Spaniards) have the audacity to go to work as if they were sovereigns of this whole coast."†

Again he wrote:

"They have captured and taken away all our people that were on the sea-coast. The salter of Luyxbergen has luckily escaped

mouth of the River Orinoco and falls into it, sundry Dutch families were established, dispatched him with instructions to warn them once, twice and thrice to quit the whole of that territory because it belonged to the said Province, in virtue whereof the Declarant went in his vessel, with another accompanying him, in search of the said Creek, and having arrived at the mouth he saw several Indians of the Carib nation, and these, before the Declarant could reach the establishments and farms of the said foreigners, gave them intelligence, and thereupon they took to flight without giving an opportunity for the notification; and they only found the deserted houses and the effects, implements and utensils contained in the inventory, which they put on board the two vessels and then set fire to the said houses, in order that they should not form settlements in future, and destroyed the farms as far as they possibly could. [Appendix to Case ii, 361; see, *also*, same, p. 396; *also* U. S. Commission Report, viii, (3) 232; *also*, and especially, as to this, U. S. Commission Report, i, 285, 286.]

* The 10th March I received two consecutive letters from Councillor M. Buisson, which gave me information that an Indian named Adahouva, from Pomaroon, had come to his house and related to him that the Spaniards, with two Capuchin Fathers, a detachment of soldiers, and a large party of armed Waykiers, were capturing and taking away as prisoners all the free Indians between Barima and Pamaroon, and that they had actually overpowered the Company's trading place, Marocco, and that they were now there, but that he had as yet no further knowledge of the circumstances. On the 11th came the assistant from Marocco with a letter from the Postholder. From his written Report, copy whereof is here annexed, your Honours will perceive to what pitch the insolence of our neighbors goes. [Appendix to Case, ii, 183–184.]

† But I should as soon have expected heaven to fall, as that they, in so high-handed a manner, openly (as if in open warfare), in breach of the right of nations, in breach of all Treaties of Alliance with his Catholic Majesty, should attack us from another side, and have the audacity to go to work as if they were sovereigns of this whole coast. [Appendix to Case, ii, 183.]

Spanish control of coast region.

them, but his Indians, his vessels, two large canoes and three single canoes, which he had got by barter, they have taken away."*

And he adds:

"The alarm in the river is great. If they come to Pomaroon as they have threatened they can be in three hours overland in Essequebo, and can ruin our lowermost plantations." †

Only a few months later, in May of the same year, (1769) he wrote again:

"According to the last reports from the Postholder and from the Caraibans, they are still all in Barima, having sent their prisoners to Orinocque, and they threaten to come again at an early date and not only carry off all the Indians from Powaron, but even to attack and plunder our plantations." ‡

That the Spaniards did not remain idle is shown by the following words of Gravesande, written also in the same month:

"The depredations of the Spanish from Barima to Powaron continuing daily, we must acknowledge that they are capable of anything, and that we must expect all kinds of violent and piratical acts from them." §

And he adds:

"The poor colonists on the west coast below Essequibo are in a terrible state of alarm, and are on the lookout night and day." ‖

Dutch cut off from the Orinoco.

The Dutch continued cut off from all communication with the Orinoco.¶ The Spaniards for the purpose of once more visiting Moruca and Pomeroon fitted out two privateers.**

Dutch excluded from coast.

In fact, the policy of the Spanish Governor at this time was to keep the Dutch out entirely, even as traders,

* Appendix to Case, ii, 184.
† Appendix to Case, ii, 184.
‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 190.
§ Appendix to Case, ii, 191.
‖ Appendix to Case, ii, 191.
¶ We have as yet not had the slightest tidings of this, all communications with Orinocque being still cut off. [Appendix to Case, ii, 213.]
** I take this opportunity of informing your lordships that Pedro Sanchez, having been in chains in Orinocque for some months, had the good fortune to escape. He has informed me that two privateers are again fitted

fishers or settlers; and to that end, he constituted a strong watch to patrol the coast.*

Dutch excluded from coast.

This state of things continued, with the result that the Dutch colony was "on the brink of total ruin." †

Spanish rights openly exercised.

All this exercise of sovereign rights by the Spaniards was done openly and without the slightest effort to disguise their acts or motives. Gravesande speaks of this himself saying, that they "go to work openly like a proud nation." ‡

But the Spaniards were now to go much further. Stirred to action by the projects of the French for the settlement of the interior of their Guiana colony, the Spanish Government of the Indies issued instructions for the occupation of all eastern Guiana, to the very borders of the French and Dutch. In obedience to its orders there was drawn up in 1778, by the Intendant of Caracas, a definite and detailed plan for this occupation. An official map of Guiana, defining the Spanish

Spains plans for occupying all eastern Guiana.

Instructions to Intendant of Caracas.

out, with a much stronger crew than the former one, and that in about five or six weeks from now they would come to Maroca and, further, into Pomeroon to carry off all the Indians whom they could get, and that they would probably come as far as the mouth of this river. [Appendix to Case, ii, 214.]

* It is related here that a new Governor has arrived in Orinocque. Should that be true, I hope that he will not be such a Turk as his predecessor. With the latter there was not the least chance of getting anything out of Orinocque, and he even forbade the usual salting in the mouth of the river, and set a strong watch to prevent it. [Appendix to Case, ii, 219.]

† The very dangerous condition of the Colony, which has been and still is [1772] on the brink of total ruin, compels me to report the same to His Serene Highness as speedily as possible, which despatch, being enclosed, I take the liberty of humbly requesting your lordship to forward to him at once. [Appendix to Case, ii, 220.]

‡ If we ever desired to follow the example of the English and French, the Posts of which I have spoken would be absolutely necessary and indispensable and (be it said) if this matter is not taken in hand, our neighbours will quietly approach and surround us, and finally, without exercising any violence, drive us from the country. This is already beginning to be observed, and what can we expect from the numerous arrivals of settlers in Cayenne and the removal of the Spanish colonies in Guayana so much nearer to our boundaries? The latter go to work openly, like a proud nation, and they can therefore be better opposed, an open enemy never being so dangerous as a secret one. [Appendix to Case, ii, 157–158.]

Instructions to Intendant of Caracas.

boundaries, was put in the hands of the Governor of Guiana as a basis for action; and the latter was commissioned to make an armed reconnoissance of the entire territory.

Reconnoissance of Moruca and Pomeroon by Inciarte.

This reconnoissance in the summer of 1779, as early as the fall of the rivers made a survey possible, was carried out on behalf of the Governor by his deputy, the young officer Inciarte, who with an escort, carefully examined the whole coast region, not only as far as the Moruca, but far into the Pomeroon; selected a site for a village and fort on the Moruca, which were to displace the post of the Dutch, and another site for a fortified village in the upper Pomeroon, which was to bear the name of San Carlos de la Frontera. The Dutch Governor of Essequibo was informed of the presence of the Spaniards in the Pomeroon, and even of his intention to build a fort there; but he not only made no effort to arrest him, but reported the matter to the Company without so much as a protest; and no protest was made by that body to the Dutch government or through it to that of Spain.

Inciarte's report and orders for expulsion of the Dutch from Moruca.

Inciarte meanwhile reported his results first to the Spanish colonial authorities, and then in person to the King of Spain and to his Council of the Indies. A royal order commissioned him to proceed at once with the expulsion of the Dutch from the Moruca and the erection of the projected Spanish establishments on that river and on the Pomeroon, instructing him in case of Dutch complaint to reply that the "laws of Spain do not allow such intrusions of foreigners in the Spanish dominions." All preparations were made for the execution of the project, and the granting of lands actually begun. The troublous times brought on in Europe by the French Revolution delayed its progress, but it was never abandoned. With a view to its better accomplishment Inciarte was himself made Governor of

Guiana, and held that post for thirteen years. And though, owing to the continuance of the revolutionary wars, its execution was not actually pushed further, the the project was never given up, and was receiving the attention of the Spanish government to the very end of its control of these South American colonies and to the very eve of the Dutch cession of Essequibo to Great Britain.*

Plan never abandoned by Spain.

So much for the coast.

2.—THE INTERIOR.

Turning now to the interior, it will be seen that there the Spaniards exercised exclusive control; and that the Dutch were in terror of them.

Spanish control of interior.

As early as 1733 the Capuchin missions pushed over into the basin of the Cuyuni, and with their herds took firm possession of the savannas which stretch to the banks of that river.† These missions, let it be noted, were no mere private attempts on behalf of Cupuchin missionaries to christianize Guiana. They were in every way representative of Spanish political and military authority. Each mission was provided with its armament and quota of soldiers, and either the missionary in charge, or some attendant functionary, was vested with all necessary political powers.‡

Early Capuchin missions in the Cuyuni.

The shining sands of this region, too, soon attracted Spanish attention, and a royal order gave rise to the mines of Cupapuy. By 1755 they knew by investigation that "gold and silver are found at every step, in the districts of all" these missions, even to the Curumo.§

Spanish mining in the Cuyuni.

* Blue-Book 3, 305–314; Appendix to Case, ii, 434–441; iii, 386–399, 414–424.

† U. S. Commission Report, i, 382.

‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 370, 372.

§ Blue Book 1, 84–85.

Spanish missions in the Cuyuni.

On December 7, 1746, Gravesande wrote:

"I had the honor to inform you *via* Rio Berbice of a mission, together with a little fort, erected by the Spaniards up in Cuyuni, in my opinion on your territory; and I have it from a reliable source that they have been thinking of founding next year yet another nearer, whereat the inhabitants are much aggrieved, and the Carib Indians much more still, since thereby the slave trade in that quarter, from which alone that nation derives its livelihood, is wholly shut off. They wanted, too, to surprise that mission and level it to the ground, which I, not without trouble, have prevented; for, since they belong under our jurisdiction and carry on all their trade in the Dutch colonies, such a step would by the Spaniards surely be charged to us. It is very perilous for this Colony to have such neighbours so close by, who in time of war could come and visit us overland; and, above all, the making of fortifications upon our own land is in breach of all custom. I say upon our own land: this [assertion], however, I cannot put forth with full certainty, because the boundaries west of this river are unknown to me." *

Spanish control of the Cuyuni.

Of the Spanish raid on the Dutch station in the Cuyuni in the year 1758, mention has already been made.

In 1759 the Dutch Governor acknowledged that the Spaniards were "remaining in possession of Cuyuni."†

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* Appendix to Case, ii, 97.

† The despatches received from Orinoco having been translated by Mr. Persik, I found one to be from the Commandant Don Juan Valdez, in which he informs me that, being forbidden to enter into any correspondence concerning the matter of Cajoeny, he is obliged to send back my letter unopened; he adds that he has brought the matter to the notice of the King of Spain, and that he has no doubt that I, too, have informed their High Mightinesses of the same, and that, therefore, the case would have to be decided not by ourselves but by our respective Sovereigns. This matter is of very great importance to the Colony, because if the Spaniards remain in possession of Cajoeny, which is one of the arms of this river, and in which there were coffee and indigo plantations belonging to your Lordships, as well as the estates of Old Duynenburg (now allotted to private holders), there will be no safety at all in this Colony. A way for all evil-doers, deserters and bankrupts will be quite open and free, and the Colony will be ruined immediately there is the least misunderstanding with Spain. Your Lordships will therefore see that this matter is fully deserving of your attention. The Spaniards continue to stay where they are, and to entrap and drive away all the Caraibans living there. [Appendix to Case, ii, 132–133.]

Spanish control of the Cuyuni.

In 1761 the Spaniards were "down to the lowest falls" of the Cuyuni "where your Lordships' indigo plantation is situated"; and were driving all hostile Indians out.* In 1762 they were still recognized by the Dutch as in control down to the "lowest falls close to the dwelling of your Lordships' creoles."† The sending out of Spanish patrols over the region had become a "daily" matter.‡ By 1763 the Cuyuni had been entirely cleared, not only of Dutch but of Caribs as well.§

The year 1764–5 saw the same state of affairs; the

*Everything in the upper part of the river is in a state of upset, the people who live there bringing their best goods down the stream. This is because a party of Spaniards and Spanish Indians in Cajoeny have been down to the lowest fall where you Lordships' indigo plantation was situated, driving all the Indians thence, and even, it is said, having killed several. The Indians sent in complaint upon complaint. [Appendix to Case, ii, 145.]

† They are not yet quiet, but send detachments from time to time, which come down as far as the lowest fall, close to the dwelling of your Lordships' creoles, by which both the settlers and our Indians are continually being alarmed, and take refuge each time down stream. [Appendix to Case, ii, 147.]

‡ From the reports received from the upper part of the river, I learn that the Spanish Indians of the Missions continue to send out daily patrols as far as the great fall (just below which your Lordships' creoles live); all the Caraibans have also left that river, and gone to live above Essequibo. [Appendix to Case, ii, 149.]

§ The Indians have also informed me that the Spaniards up in Cajoeny are engaged in building boats. Where will all this end, my Lords? I fear that this may lead to the entire ruin of the Colony (which God forbid) unless rigorous measures are taken. Our forbearance in the matter of Cajoeny makes them bolder and bolder. At the time of that occurrence the Caraibans were full of courage and ready for all kinds of undertaking; now they are all driven away from there and have retired right up into Essequebo. [Appendix to Case, ii, 151.]

The fourth, and last, is the still abandoned Post in Cajoeny, abandoned since the raid of the Spaniards, a Post of the very greatest importance, because the Spaniards, in order to get to this river, and the slaves in order to escape to them, have a free and open road, and the more so because the Spaniards have driven away the Caraibans who lived there, and who could apprehend and bring back the runaways. [Appendix to Case, ii, 154.]

It is certain, your Lordships, that this [is] not the time to think of the re-establishment of the Post in Cajoeny. That matter will give us plenty of work to do when, with the blessing of God, all is at rest and in peace, because, the Spaniards having driven all the Indians out of the river, it will be no small matter to get [all] the necessary buildings, etc., in readiness there. [Appendix to Case, ii, 155.]

Spanish control of Cuyuni.

Spaniards establishing themselves more and more firmly.*

Caribs afraid to venture there.

By 1765 even the Caribs were afraid to venture into the Cuyuni; and only after repeated promises from the Dutch could they be induced to do anything for the protection of the Essequibo colony.†

By 1766 the proximity of the Spaniards had rendered even the foreign soldiers of the Essequibo colony useless.‡

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* In addition to this, there is also the fact that . . . . this river[1] is a tract of land along which the Spaniards spread themselves from year to year, and gradually come closer by means of their missions, the small parties sent out by them coming close to the place where the Honourable Company's indigo plantations stood, and being certain to try and establish themselves if they were not stopped in time. [Appendix to Case, ii, 156–157.]

This is certain, that so long as no satisfaction is given by the Court of Spain concerning the occurrence of the Post in Cajoeny, the Spaniards will gradually become more insolent, and will gain ground on us from year to year. [Appendix to Case, ii, 161.]

Thus, what with the French on the east and the Spaniards on the west, we are really like a little boat between two men-of-war.

I shall not attempt to give my masters advice in a matter which it is in no one's power to prevent or to circumvent. My only aim in this is to respectfully submit to your Lordships what is our humble opinion concerning this in all our Colonies situated on the mainland, and our well-grounded fears concerning the consequences.

I, for my part, see no remedy for this matter except by populating the Colony and establishing good Posts in the interior, from which a sharp and careful look-out can be kept upon all movements. [Appendix to Case, ii, 159.]

† We are entirely of your opinion that it is of the greatest necessity to restore the post in Cuyuni, and in consequence we were very much pleased to learn that you had at last succeeded in getting Indians to give a helping hand in that work, on condition that assurance should be given them of protection against the Spaniards. This it was easy to promise them. [Appendix to Case, ii, 162.]

‡ Herewith I will again reiterate my request that no French or Flemish be sent, but as many Protestants as possible. The proximity of the Spaniards, and especially of the Spanish Missions, renders it impossible to place the slightest trust in Catholics. [Appendix to Case, ii, 168.]

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[1] Note.—The reading of the Blue Book "the bend of" is an impossible translation. There is no such Dutch word as that the British translators have rendered "bend." What it does mean is not so certain. It is a document of van 's Gravesande, which has been copied by a secretary and then corrected by the Governor's own hands, it looks as if van 's Gravesande had written "besit" ("possession") so that it should have read "There is, moreover, the possession of this river, a tract of land," etc., but that the secretary had misread it "bent" (which in Storm's handwriting it looks for all the world

Spanish control of Cuyuni.

By 1767 the weakness of the Dutch had reached such a point that even their Indian protectors scoffed at them and refused to obey their orders. These Indians, fearing the Spaniards, refused even to halt their passing boats at the summons of the post.*

Hostile Indians driven from Cuyuni.

In 1767, and again in 1768, the Spaniards raided the river, captured a lot of hostile Indians, and so terrified the rest that they all abandoned the Cuyuni.†

By 1769 the Cuyuni had been so thoroughly cleared that there were no Indians left to give the Dutch warning of approaching danger.‡

Spanish control of Cuyuni.

The Spaniards were now completely masters of the entire Cuyuni—recognized as such by the Dutch.§

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like). Storm, then, in reading it over could make no sense of it, and struck out the words "bent van" and wrote "dat" (that) above them without noticing that this left it nonsense.

* At the same time I received a report from the Post in Cajoeny that the Indians are being bribed and incited to such a degree that they are unwilling to do the least thing for the Postholder, and that even when he orders the passing boats to lie to to see whether there are any runaways in them, they obstinately refuse to do so, and when he threatens to shoot upon them they reply that they have bows and arrows with which to answer. [Appendix to Case, ii, 170–171.]

† There is a rumor here that the Post in Cajoeny has again been raided. I do not know whether it is true, because I have as yet had no direct tidings from above. The old negro Abarina, who always looks after the turtle business up in Cajoeny, and who is well acquainted with all the roads there, went up stream yesterday to get information. [Blue Book, 3, 147.] [The Blue Book does not tell us definitely whether the rumor was true or not. It seems, however, that it was true.] Matters up there are not so bad as the Indians had reported; the Manoas have not been in those parts, and indeed I could hardly believe it, because it seemed to me improbable that they would have come such a long distance without being discovered by the Caraibans, their inveterate enemies, and the more so since, after the raid upon Cajoeny by the Spaniards, Essequibo swarms with Caraibans, who have all flocked there after having asked me for permission to do so. [Blue Book, 3, 148–149.]

‡ But this is certain, that the road for the runaways is now quite open and free, it being impossible for the Post in Cajoeny to stop them, there being a number of inland paths; nor can we be warned in any way by Indians, there being no more of these in that river. They did begin to settle there again when the post was re-established, but the raid made by the Spaniards last year, when a large party of Indians were captured and taken away, has filled the rest with terror, and they are gradually drawing off. [Appendix to Case, ii, 182.]

§ In my previous despatches I had the honour from time to time to inform your Honours of the secret doings of the Spaniards and especially

Cuyuni free of both Dutch and Caribs.

In 1770 the river still remained free of both Dutch and Caribs.*

In 1788 Antonio Lopez de la Puente was able to descend the Cuyuni to tide water, and then seize and bring away the principal Carib chief employed by the Dutch, without encountering any Dutch post nor a single Dutchman, and without resistance from the Indians, so thoroughly had these been cowed by the Spaniards whose armed expeditions had constantly come down to the same point before without trouble or opposition.†

in my second letter by the "Vrouw Anna," and in my letter by the "Geertruida Christiana," did right circumstantially concerning the fatal and, for the Colony, most highly-perilous news of the River Cayuni. My opinion has always been that they would gradually acquire a foothold in Cayuni, and try to obtain the mastery of the river, as they now practically have none at the end of the past year. [Appendix to Case, ii, 183.]

* This is to inform Your Excellency that I am sending down with Gerrit Van Leeuwen a female slave with her child belonging to Diderik Neelis, the Postholder of Maroco, and who were taken from him by the Spaniards, and also some free Indians who were also living in Maroco, who have run away from the priest. I understand from these same Indians that there are more coming on behind, but that in the bush they got separated from each other. I hope that they may come to light, and then I do not know how they will come home, because I have no boat and people to send them down, because the greater part of the Caraibans have departed from Cajoeny to Masseroeny to make dwelling places there, and some have gone to Upper Siepanamen to live there. [Blue Book, 3, 176.]

† On the tenth day we departed from Capachi, and after passing some rapids, not of the largest, we passed the night at the mouth of the Creek Tupuro, having rowed ten hours' journey to the head of the Rapid Camaria, which is two leagues long, and ends at the mouth of the Cuyuni, a short distance, about a quarter of a league, before the Cuyuni flows into the Masuruni, in the fork of which a Dutchman lives, named Daniel, with four companions, very many negroes and Indian slaves, all his.

From the mouth of this Creek Tupuro there is a road to the foot of the rapid where the Carib Manuyari has his house, and he it is who keeps up this road opposite Daniel's house. The tide reaches above this rapid. From this to the fortress of Essequibo there are only two floods on the southern part of the River Cuyuni. There is a road which comes out at the Masurini, where there are some Dutchman with a Carib village. We arrived at the said mouth of the Tupuro at daybreak.

On the eleventh day I dispatched the corporal, three of the militiamen, and fifteen Caribs to apprehend the Indian Manuyari, and we, with the others, remained to guard the canoes; and at twelve o'clock at night they returned with the said Manuyari, whom they found in his

Spanish Curumo post.

In 1792 the Spanish completed the construction of a fortified post on the southern bank of the Cuyuni opposite the mouth of the Curumo.* This continued to be the main Spanish post in the Cuyuni basin until long after the acquisition of Essequibo by the British.†

This post was maintained for the purpose of exercising exclusive political control of the basin; and the instructions to its commander were clear upon that point.

Spanish growth.

But apart from all this military and political control, there was, during the period under consideration (1725–1800), a great growth of Spanish population, and spread of mission villages, not only as far as the Curumo itself, but far into the interior of the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin, and even beyond, into the Potaro region and as far as the headwaters of the Siparuni.‡

Entradas by the missionaries.

Quite apart from this, again, the "entradas," as they were called (that is to say, the expeditions of the missionaries into the unsettled lands for the purpose of converting the Indians and bringing them back to reside in towns and villages), were constant throughout the region west of the Essequibo from the coast far into the interior, even beyond the Pacaraima mountains.§

Spread of missions.

The spread of these missions was really remarkable. By 1734 they had so increased, and the various orders of friars found their fields of work so overlapping, that in that year the Prefect and the Governor met at Old Guayana, and definitely and legally apportioned the territory among the different religious orders. The

Division of mission territory.

plantation three leagues distant from the port, having taken the Indian woman from Panapana, named Josefa, and ten others. [Appendix to Case, ii, 464–465.]

* Through unofficial information, it is known that a beginning has been made of a foundation of the new town on the site by the junction of the Cuyuni with the river Curumo. [Appendix to Case, iii, 400.]

† U. S. Commission Report, iii, 212.

‡ U. S. Commission Report, atlas, map 15.

§ Appendix to Case, iii, 377.

Division of mission territory.

agreement gave the region south of the lower Orinoco to the Catalonian Capuchins.*

Spanish missions, 1743–1813.

There were many missions during the 18th century which were never formally "founded." Of these, of course, no official records exist. There were others formally "founded" which have left no record behind them. By 1743 we know of seven Capuchin mission-villages in existence, beside one just being established. They contained a population of some 2,000 souls.† A decade later, in 1753, eight new villages had been established; and although four missions had just been destroyed by the Caribs and one by a raid of the English, nine were in existence, with four more under way.‡ In 1755 their population was nearly 3,000.§ There were 16 missions in the year 1761, containing 4,392 domesticated Indians and 1,081 men capable of bearing arms, as well as 15,000 head of cattle.‖ Besides these, there was the Spanish civil town of San Antonio de Upata.¶

In this same year it was estimated that to build at

* Appendix to Case, ii, 291–294.

†Appendix to Case, iii, 369–372.

‡Appendix to Case, iii, 373–375.

§Appendix to Case, iii, 426.

‖The 16 Missions established at present [1761] are those of Capapui, Altagracia, Suay, Amaruca, Caroni, Aripuco, Aguacagua, Murucuri, San Joseph de Leonisa, Guarimna, Carapu, Miamo, Guazapati, Palmar, Avechica, and Piacoa, as shown in the map, in the corresponding statement of the men of arms, families, souls, houses, and churches existing in every one of the said 16 settlements. [Appendix to Case, ii, 345.]

One thousand and eighty-one men of arms; 1,031 families; 4,392 souls; 408 houses; and three churches. [Appendix to Case, ii, 345.]

The same certificate shows that the cattle estate of the Community contains from 14,000 to 16,000 head of bovine cattle for the maintenance of the settlements and the Missioners. The cattle has been placed on new grounds in proportion of its increase, and to-day it is kept in the Mission of Guarima, where the fields and mountains are most abundant in grass and water, in a cool climate. On account of these circumstances, the multiplication of the cattle has been incredible. [Appendix to Case, ii, 346.]

¶ If the settlements in distant places, deserted and not reduced, are difficult, their establishment, after the Indians are pacified, is very easy, and of no expense to the Royal Treasury, as it is shown to-day in the same Province of Guayana with the new settlement of San Antonio de Upata, which commenced in the year of 1762. [U. S. Commission Report, viii, (1) 80–81.]

Spanish missions, 1748–1813.

Angostura a town large enough to hold the people of Santo Thomé alone would cost $300,000.

In 1766 the Capuchin villages had a population of 5,273 Indians; and by 1773 this number had risen to 6,832.*

Meanwhile the province, as a whole, including the missions of other orders, had grown not less strikingly.

In 1779 the province of Guayana contained 80 villages and 18,000 inhabitants.† How many of these villages were Capuchin missions does not appear; but in 1788, there were 29 or 30 of these "missions" with 14,012 persons and 180,000 cattle.‡

In 1799 there were 28 missions with 15,908 persons.§

In 1813 there were 29 missions and 21,246 persons.¶

Definition of Dutch and Spanish territories in 1803.

It is now possible to state exactly the extent of the territories belonging to the Netherlands and to the Kingdom of Spain respectively at the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice.

Dutch limits of occupation.

The Dutch were confined, on the west, to the mouth of the Essequibo. Their occupation up-stream did not reach even to Kykoveral. In the Cuyuni they had made two attempts to penetrate beyond the lowest falls, and both attempts had proven failures. Although originally

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* Appendix to Case, iii, 382, 383.

† There were also civil towns. Caulin (who lived in Guiana) says that at his date of publication, 1779, "the settlements which the Spaniards hold to-day in the province of Guayana are 80 villages and 18,000 inhabitants." [Caulin, (*friar* A.) Historia Coro-Graphica, etc., Madrid, 1779, p. 12.]

‡ The stock of cattle is reckoned at about 220,000; 180,000 head in the cattle farms of the Community of the Capuchin Fathers, although a very accurate estimate cannot be made, owing to the difficulty of counting them, and the remaining 40,000 among the private settlers. [Blue Book 3, 319;] see *also* Appendix to Case, ii, 447, for list of 29 missions.]

§ Appendix to Case, ii, 485.

¶ Appendix to Case, ii, 487.

Dutch limits of occupation.

permitted by the Spaniards to trade in the Cuyuni basin, even this had been long forbidden them; and they, as well as the Caribs upon whom they relied for protection, had been driven out so that not one remained.

On the coast, the little trading station at the mouth of the Moruca was as far as they dared to venture; and even to that point they went only by the permission of the Spaniards. The colony itself was utterly weak, on the verge of ruin, and entirely cowed by the Spaniards.

Spanish growth and control.

Spain, on the other hand, had spread until she could count her towns and villages by the score, her inhabitants by the tens of thousands, and her herds of cattle by the hundreds of thousands. The whole Orinoco delta from the Barima to the Moruca she had cleared of Dutch, Caribs, English, French and Swedes, policing these regions to beyond the Pomeroon, and exercising dominion under a claim of right from the Orinoco to the very banks of the Essequibo.

Over the interior savannas her settlements had spread to beyond the banks of the Cuyuni and Caroni. In the fairest region of that great basin, and south of the Cuyuni, she had erected and was maintaining a military post; exercising from that center exclusive political control down to the lowest falls of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni. Through the great forests of the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin, and over the Pacaraima mountains into the Potaro region and beyond, her missionaries had penetrated and settled; and, at the moment that the Dutch colony passed into British hands in 1803, she was exercising undisputed and exclusive control of every acre of land west of the Essequibo, except where the Dutch were actually settled upon its very banks.

XII.--DUTCH REMONSTRANCES.

Before passing to the 19th century, there is a subject whose intimate connection with Dutch-Spanish relations during the 18th century entitles it to special mention:

Uselessness of Dutch remonstrances.

The story of Dutch remonstrances is one of Spanish aggression and assertion of sovereign rights in the territory now in dispute, followed by repeated protests of the Dutch, and memorials to the Spanish Court, all of which were treated with contempt—answered only by a continuance of these aggressions, by further acts of political control, by further grumblings on the part of the Dutch, by further complaints to which the Spanish Government did not deign to reply, and by final acquiescence by the Dutch in the inevitable.

Remonstrance of 1746.

The first recorded remonstrance of the Dutch Essequibo Colony was in 1746. The Dutch Commandeur complained to the West India Company of the encroachments of the Spaniards in the Cuyuni river, and of the capture by the latter of three canoes of the Dutch colony engaged in fishing in the Orinoco. In his letter to the Company the Dutch Commandeur said that on the arrival of the new Spanish Governor he would "send there to claim the boats and cargoes," but was "certain that such would be in vain," having profited by a previous example.*

What may have been the language of his remonstrance, or of the Spanish Governor's reply, does not appear. The practical result, however, is well known: the Spanish control of both regions continued; and the

* Blue Book, 3, p. 87.

Remonstrance of 1746.

growth of the Spanish missions on the Cuyuni savannas was in no way affected.*

Remonstrance of 1759.

The second Dutch remonstrance had reference to the Spanish attack upon the slave-trading post that Storm van 's Gravesande attempted to establish on the Cuyuni about 1754. The result of this attempt has already been shown.†

When the Dutch Governor heard of the way in which the Spaniards had destroyed the post, and made prisoners of the Dutch servants there stationed, he addressed a forcible protest to the Spanish Commandant in Guiana,‡ and likewise made a report to the West India Company,§ with the result that the States General presented a formal remonstrance to the Court of Spain. ‖ Gravesande's letter having been referred by the Spanish Commandant to the Provisional Governor of Cumaná, the latter replied thereto, stating that the destroyed post was on the territory of his King, and refusing to restore the prisoners.¶ Gravesande caused a second letter to be sent to the Spanish Commandant demanding anew the restitution of the prisoners, as also compensation for the insult offered to the territory of his sovereigns.** That letter was returned to him unopened;†† and the remonstrance of the States General to the Spanish Court was never honored by a reply.

Continuation of same acts by Spaniards.

The only answer the Spanish Commandant gave to these remonstrances was a continuation of the very acts which brought them forth. The Spaniards captured all

* Appendix to Case, ii, 106.

† *Supra*, p. 122.

‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 123–125.

§ Appendix to Case, ii, 125.

‖ Appendix to Case, ii, 133–135.

¶ Appendix to Case, ii, 324.

** Appendix to Case, ii, 128–129.

†† Appendix to Case, ii, 130.

the Dutch boats they found fishing in the Orinoco * and the Waini; † they crowded the Dutch in all directions upon the land; ‡ they established further missions in the Cuyuni; § they drove the Caribs from that region; ‖ and the Dutch post-holder at Moruca in terror sought safety in the bush.¶ Renewed complaints by Gravesande were returned unopened, and his envoys driven away unheard. **

Sovereignty exercised by Spain.

The remonstrance of the States General to the Court of Spain was treated with the same contempt. ††

Remonstrance treated with contempt.

By 1769 things had reached such a serious state that the Court of Policy and Director General of the Dutch Colony united in a memorial ‡‡ to the West India Company praying its most serious consideration of the great danger to the colony from Cuyuni above and the seacoast below. They called the attention of the Company to the continual pillage of its plantations, and to the absolute ruin of its fisheries. Thereupon it resulted that the States General in that year made another remonstrance to the Court of Spain. §§ That court did nothing but refer the matter to the Council of the Indies: ‖‖ meanwhile the acts complained of continued.¶¶

Remonstrance of 1769.

By 1775, though all the representations to the Spanish Court had remained fruitless, the States General nevertheless presented still another remonstrance to that government.***

Remonstrance of 1775.

* Appendix to Case, ii, 142, 143, 145.
† Appendix to Case, ii, 150.
‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 190.
§ Appendix to Case, ii, 157, 161.
‖ Appendix to Case, ii, 151.
¶ Appendix to Case, ii, 151.
** Appendix to Case, ii, 149, 163.
†† U. S. Commission, Report, i, 255.
‡‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 190.
§§ Appendix to Case, ii, 193, 198, 201.
‖‖ Appendix to Case, ii, 212.
¶¶ Appendix to Case, ii, 214, 215, 232.
*** Appendix to Case, ii, 225-227.

Remonstrance of 1775.

What this remonstrance left unsaid is quite as important as what it said. It referred mainly to the harboring of fugitive slaves; and it contained not a word regarding territory beyond the actual Dutch settlements. Its allusions to boundary were incidental merely; except that, referring to former complaints, it stated, *in effect*, that Spain had paid no attention to them, and that Holland now expected none.

The only reply was an acknowledgment of its receipt with the remark that "these acts of violence have caused the King much surprise, and that His Majesty has ordered the Ministry of the Indies to make the most minute inquiries into the fact, and to proceed to the condign punishment of the aggressors."*

Remonstrance ignored.

That is the last we ever hear of that remonstrance. At the time of its presentation, the remonstrance of 1759, except by further aggressions, had remained unanswered sixteen years, and that of 1769 six; this of 1775 was destined to share the fate of the others.

While special reference has thus been made to four different remonstrances, it must not be inferred that these were the only ones. Remonstrances by the Dutch were numerous and constant. All were ineffectual; and these four have been selected because they seem to have been the most formal.

Spanish proceedings on remonstrances of 1759 and 1769.

It is learned from Spanish sources that the Court of Spain having sent to Guayana the remonstrance of 1769 for a report, the papers were duly forwarded together with those of the former remonstrance of 1759. When they reached the Fiscal of the Council at Madrid, he found they were too voluminous to "consume uselessly" the time he needed for important affairs; and so, after he had kept them five years, he was inspired on one hot

* Blue Book 3, p. 189.

summer's day to refer them to a relator for examination and report.*

Spanish proceedings on remonstrances of 1750 and 1769.

They remained thus pigeon-holded for eleven years, and on May 27, 1785, the relator added his contribution. Whereupon the Fiscal, noting these facts, wrote:

"Under this understanding it is observed by the exponent that to-day no resolution is required or any further step taken after the long lapse of over fifteen years, without any further mention of the subject by the Minister of Holland, leading to the belief that, after having been better informed, the Republic realizes the want of justice for the claim made, and has already desisted."†

The Council voted that the papers "show the want of foundation for the complaint of the vassals of Holland," and that it would take no further action in the matter.‡

Results of this remonstrance.

Twenty-six years had elapsed. The Council declined even to read the papers, for the Dutch claim of title was reported and seemed to them frivolous; Holland did not press it. If diplomacy could emphasize the expulsion by adding contempt, it had done so.

* Appendix to Case, ii, 429.

† Appendix to Case, ii, 441.

‡ Appendix to Case, ii, 441.

Purpose and effect of Schomburgk survey.

Venezuela might properly rest at this point, without entering further upon the history of the present century.

This boundary controversy had its rise in a survey suggested and undertaken in 1840 by one Schomburgk, a young German naturalist, who offered to the British Government to locate the boundary which he alleged to have been that claimed by the Dutch during their pos-

Purpose and effect of Schomburgk survey.

session of the colony. It was this alleged boundary of the Dutch, thus to be identified by him, which by order of the British Government was to be mapped and transmitted to the interested governments as a statement of the British claim. Thus did the British Government expressly disavow any other than a Dutch title to its Guiana possessions.

There is no pretence that any new title has been acquired by Great Britain since 1840; and the definition of the present boundary must, therefore, depend upon the extent of Dutch and Spanish rights in 1803.

This fact has very properly been recognized in the present treaty. It is thus affirmed in Article III, which reads as follows:

"The tribunal shall investigate and ascertain the extent of the territories belonging to or that might lawfully be claimed by the United Netherlands or by the Kingdom of Spain, respectively, at the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the Colony of British Guiana—and shall determine the boundary line between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela."

This being so, the story of the present century would seem to be unnecessary. However, a perusal of that story, particularly as regards the British colony, will serve to emphasize the fact that the Essequibo settlement was always, until very recent years, confined to the mouth of that river; and that Great Britain's present pretensions to territory west of that stream have not, in fact, as they could not have in law, anything in the history of the present century to support them.

XIII.—HISTORY OF BRITISH OCCUPATION. 1803–1850.

Cession of "Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice to Great Britain.

The British military occupation in Essequibo continued from 1803 to 1814. In the latter year, on August 13, the Dutch, by the Treaty of London, formally ceded to Great Britain "the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice."*

Union of the three.

On July 21, 1831, these three rivers were united into a single colony under the name of British Guiana.†

Venezuelan independence.

In the meantime, Venezuela on July 5, 1811, declared its independence from Spain. In 1819 it became merged with New Granada, under the name of "Republic of Colombia." In 1830 it assumed a separate existence under the name of "Republic of Venezuela;" and finally, on March 30, 1845, its independence was formally recognized by Spain.‡

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*His Britannic Majesty engages to restore to the Prince Sovereign of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, within the time which shall be specified herebelow, the colonies, factories and establishments of which Holland was in possession at the beginning of the late war, that is to say, on the 1st of January 1803, in the seas and continents of America, Africa and Asia, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope and of the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, which the High Contracting Parties reserve the right to dispose of by a supplementary convention which shall be adjusted at once in conformity with the mutual interests of both parties. [Appendix to Case, iii, 44.]

†Appendix to Case, iii, 315; also Rodway (J.) History of British Guiana. 8°, Georgetown, 1893. ii, 284.

‡"ARTICLE I. H. C. Majesty, making use of the power vested in her by decree of the Cortes Generales of the Kingdom, of 4th of December, 1836, renounces for herself, her heirs and successors the sovereignty, rights and action which she has upon the American territory known under the old name of Captaincy General of Venezuela, now Republic of Venezuela.

"ARTICLE II. In consequence of this renunciation and cession H. M. recognizes the Republic of Venezuela as a free, sovereign and independent nation, composed of the provinces and territories mentioned in her Con-

British and Venezuelan titles.

The British thus became vested with the rights of the Dutch; and Venezuela came to represent the title of Spain.

The year 1850 marks the date of the first important gold discoveries. It will be convenient, therefore, to consider by itself the period from 1803 to 1850.

For this period the facts pertinent to the present controversy may be grouped under two heads; 1st, Those which evidence the *extent* of British occupation; 2d, Those which relate to the *general condition of* the Essequibo settlement.

1st.—EXTENT OF BRITISH OCCUPATION.

Under this general head, it will be further convenient to consider: 1st, the occupation of the coast region; and 2d, the occupation of the interior.

1st. As to the Coast.

Lt. Gov. Myers, 1804.

On September 30, 1804, Lieutenant-Governor Myers wrote to Earl Camden, enclosing a memorandum which he said was the "result of information obtained from several persons in those Colonies best entitled to give them." This memorandum contains the following statement:

Extent.—The distance from the Abari Creek on the east to the most distant military post at Morucco on the west is 123 miles.

Division.—It is intersected by the rivers Demerary, Esequibo, and Poumaron, and by several navigable creeks and canals.

Cultivation.—From the Abari Creek to the River Demerary the plantations are in cotton. In the River Demerary, and from it to the east side of Esequibo River, they are in coffee and sugar.

In the islands of the Esequibo they are in sugar.

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stitution and other posterior laws, to wit: Margarita, Guayana, Cumana, Barcelona, Caracas, Carabobo, Barquisimeto, Barinas, Apure, Merida, Trujillo, Coro and Maracaibo and any other territories or islands which may belong to her. [Appendix to Case, iii, 48–49.]

From the west side of Esequibo River to Cape Orange they are in coffee, sugar, and cotton; and from Cape Orange, alongst the Araibish or Tiger coast, as far as there are Settlements towards the post at Morucco, they are in cotton.* Lieut.-Gov. Myers, 1804.

Lieutenant-Governor Codd, in a letter to Major-General Murray, dated November 9, 1813, bears witness to the fact that, between the Arabian Coast and the Pomeroon, the region contained no settlers or plantations. He says: Lieut.-Gov. Codd, 1813.

"I have also ordered the Post-holder Linau, at Moroco, to come up with selected Indians, and I intend making him scour the woods between the Arabian coast and the Pomeroon, with a view to dislodge any runaway negroes who may have established themselves there."† . . .

Certain regulations of the Court of Policy of June 5, 1817, regarding the militia of the colony, serve to define the actual limit of settlement at that time. These regulations assign two battalions to Essequibo; and make the following designation of territories from which those battalions were to be drawn: Military regulations of 1817.

"In Essequibo, the first battalion shall consist of all the inhabitants from Borasira Creek upwards, as far as inhabited on the east side of the river, including the islands of Wakenaam, Leguan, Varken or Hog Island, Troolie Island, and all other islands in the river, except Tiger Island, and commencing on the west side of Schonhoven Creek, and upwards, as far as inhabited; the second battalion to consist of all the inhabitants from Schonhoven, including Tiger Island, with all the west seacoast, including Pomeroon River."‡

It will be noticed that on the coast the Pomeroon is the westernmost point named; and that up the Essequibo on the west side, everything is included under the description, from "Schonhoven Creek, and upwards, as

* Blue Book, 1, 156.
† Blue Book, 1, 160.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 63.

Military regulations of 1817.

far as inhabited." Schonhoven Creek is a small stream flowing into the very mouth of the Essequibo, opposite Hog Island.

Lieut.-Gov. D'Urban, 1827.

In a despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Sir B. D'Urban to Viscount Goderich, dated October 18, 1827, the Lieutenant-Governor transmits "An account of the extent and situation of the Crown lands" in the United Colony of Demerary and Essequebo; and, in the despatch states that, "the country possessed by individuals is a narrow border of the alluvial soil along the coasts and rivers' banks."*

Division into parishes, 1832.

Schomburgk, in his *Description of British Guiana*, published in 1840 (pp. 62–63), gives the division of Demerara and Essequibo into eleven parishes. Of these, only two, viz., St. John and Trinity, were on the west side of the Essequibo; the southernmost, St. John, extending as far south only as the Supinaam Creek. These two parishes, in the year 1832, contained only forty-seven plantations, all of them along the Arabian coast.†

Colonel St. Clair, 1834.

Colonel St. Clair, having spent some months in Guiana in the year 1834, published a work entitled *A Residence in the West Indies and America, with a Narrative of the Expedition to the Island of Walcheren.* In chapter vii. of this work he thus speaks of the Colony of Essequibo:

> "The Colony of Essequibo adjoins to Demerara, being under the same governor, and is our most leeward possession in this country. The creek or river called Morocco is the boundary line between this colony and the Spanish main, which is not far from the Pomeroon creek."‡

Whatever other value this statement may have, it is

* Blue Book, 1, 167.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 313–314; atlas, map 86.

‡ St. Clair (Lt. Col. J. S.) Residence in the West Indies, etc., 2 vols. London, 1834, chapter vii.

at least good evidence as to the limits of actual occupation at the time. Colonel St. Clair, 1834.

For the year 1838 we have a number of authorities: they are; (*a*) Sir Henry Light, the Governor; (*b*) Mr. J. Hadfield, Crown Surveyor; and (*c*) Mr. William Crichton, Superintendent of Rivers and Creeks.

(*a*) Governor Light, in a despatch dated September 1, 1838, wrote: Governor Light, 1838.

"The Pomaroon river, at the western extremity of Essequibo, may be taken as a limit to the country, though there is a mission supported by the colony on the Maracca river or creek, a short distance westward, where 500 Spanish Indians are collected in a settlement under a Roman-catholic priest, recommended from Trinidad for that purpose; he is reported to be effecting good."*

Further on, speaking of the region "between the Pomeroon and Orinoco," he says of it that it is a "coast of 100 miles . . . unoccupied by any person or under any authority."†

(*b*) Mr. Hadfield's testimony is recorded in the shape of a map dated August 1, 1838,‡ intended to show the "Parochial divisions, as well as the present extent of Cultivation of the Staple Productions, & the tracts of such that have been abandoned within the last 30 Yrs." Hadfield, 1838.

According to this map, the settlements on the west of the Essequibo were, at that time, limited to the Arabian coast between Supenaam creek and the mouth of the Pomeroon.

(*c*) Mr. Wm. Crichton, having explored the coast region west of the Pomeroon, made a report in which, referring to the rivers Waini, Barima, etc., he says: Crichton, 1838.

"Your reporter had communication with the Indian Captains of the various nations inhabiting that portion of the country,

* Parliamentary Papers, 1839, Vol. 35, p. 278.
† Blue Book, I, 285.
‡ Appendix to Case, atlas, map 79.

Crichton, 1838. who all concurred in declaring that there were no persons except Indians resident in either of these rivers or any of the creeks their tributaries, and as he found no deviation in their state. ments, he feels perfectly convinced of their truth. . . . The district in question contains a numerous population of Indians, viz., Warrows, Accaways, Caribesee, and Arrawaks, the former the most numerous, and, in the humble opinion of your reporter, it would be good policy to secure the absolute possession of it to this colony." *

Schomburgk, 1839. According to Schomburgk (*Description of British Guiana, p. 63*), there were on the west bank of the Essequibo, along the Arabian coast, in 1839, only forty-nine plantations.†

Schomburgk, 1840. A map of British Guiana by Schomburgk, published in Parliamentary Papers, 1840, Vol. 34, shows the extent of cultivation on the west side of the Essequibo in

Local Guide, 1840. that year.‡ For that year there is also the "Local Guide" of British Guiana, published at Demerara. From that book (p. ii) the following statements are taken:

"The inhabited part of the coast extends from the mouth of the Pomeroon in 7½° N. Latitude, 59° W. Longitude, to the mouth of the Corentyn, in 6° N. Latitude, 57° W. Longitude, a distance, following the indentations of the coast, of about 200 miles. The large islands in the mouth of the Essequibo are cultivated to a greater or less extent, particularly the two fine and fertile islands, Leguan and Wakenaam, each about fourteen miles long and three wide. The banks of the Essequibo are inhabited only by a few scattered wood cutters."

No extension of British occupation. There is no evidence of any extension of British settlements or occupation along the coast between this last date and the year 1850.

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* Blue Book, 1, 186.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 315.

‡ Appendix to Case, atlas, map 82.

2D.—AS TO THE INTERIOR.

British occupation in the interior.

During the period under consideration, British occupation in the interior was limited to a single post at the junction of the Essequibo, Cuyuni and Mazaruni. At no time was there a pretence of anything beyond this. Above the falls of these three rivers the interior was practically unknown to the British.

Rodway, 1796.

Mr. Rodway, speaking apparently of the time of the earliest British conquest in 1796, says that for the three rivers, Essequibo, Mazaruni and Cuyuni, there was only one post which was "always near the junction of the three rivers."

He states that it was not, "however, quite settled; at one time, the site of the present Penal Settlement was chosen; then it was at Ampa, and at another time at Bartica;" and he adds that, "all of these places are near the junction of the three rivers."

In explanation of the fact that only one post was kept up in the interior, Mr. Rodway adds that "neither the King's nor Colony Chest could afford to keep up more than one," and, therefore, "that single post must be in a convenient place." *

Knollman, 1808

Further light is thrown upon the location of this post by a report of H. W. Knollman, styled Protector of Indians in the Essequibo, made in 1808. Speaking of the postholder (evidently of this same Essequibo post), he says:

> "The Postholder, Wahl, wishes to change the Post and bring the same to a certain hill, from whence he can oversee the three mouths of the rivers Essequibo, Cajoeny, and Massaroeny, and from whence he can communicate by signals with his Assistant at Bartica."†

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* Appendix to Case, iii, 357.

† Same, p. 357.

Knoelman, 1808. This removal was allowed by the Court of Policy on April 29, 1808.*

Schomburgk, 1835. In a letter of September 25, 1835, existing at the Government office at Demerara, and published by Mr. Rodway, Schomburgk speaks of this post as the post "at Cuyuni." In a letter of October 1, 1835, he calls it "post Essequibo." He also calls it the "post on the Cuyuni." Later Schomburgk writes that on his return in 1836 he found that the post had been removed to Ampa. Ampa is a village on the right or eastern bank of the Essequibo, below the Cuyuni.

Hilhouse, 1830–31. In 1830 Mr. William Hilhouse made his first exploration of the Mazaruni. The following year he continued his work of exploration. His account throws light upon the location of the former extreme Dutch establishment in this quarter, shown also by Schomburgk on his map and erroneonsly called "a post" by Hilhouse. He says:

> "We halted the first night, to increase our stock of bread, at Caria island, about three hours above the post. * * * * * Caria was once a Dutch post; and several plantations were formerly on the adjacent banks of the river, but the only traces of them now left are a few cocoa trees on the east shore. Above Caria, on a small island, is a Caribisce settlement of one family, which is the only one of that nation now left on the Massaroony. Here begin the rapids, the fourth of which, Warimambo, is the most remarkable in this day's progress." †

Schomburgk, 1835. Referring to his movements in the last week of September, 1835, Schomburgk writes that, having gone up the Essequibo to the confluence,

> "We here left the main stream and sailed five miles up the Cuyuni to the post or station of the postholder, which stands in a beautiful situation on a mass of granite full 50 feet above the water, commanding a view of the three rivers—the Essequibo, the Cuyuni and Mazeruni, over which it is his duty to watch." ‡

* Appendix to Case, iii, 358.

† Royal Geogr. Soc. Journ., London, 1834, vol. 4, pp. 27–28.

‡ Royal Geogr. Soc. Journ., London, 1836, vol. 6, p. 225.

In Colonel St. Clair's work, above cited, speaking of Berbice, he writes as follows regarding the interior of the country in 1834: Colonel St. Clair, 1834.

"As I have before stated, the northerly boundary of this colony is the sea. The southerly, as in the rest of our settlements in Guiana, is undetermined, which, however, at this period is immaterial, as the Europeans in this country seem to be afraid of leaving the seashore, apparently anxious not to expose themselves to the fury of the native Indians, or to the vengeance of their black slaves, and therefore keeping within sight of their shipping."*

Codazzi's Atlas, published in 1840, contains a special map of the region in dispute,† and gives the site of the former Dutch fort as on the Cuyuni and at the mouth of the Tupuru, a short distance above the confluence of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni. It gives nothing, either Dutch or British, beyond that point. Codazzi, 1840.

Schomburgk's official report of August, 1841, contains the following statement, clearly indicating that, at that time, there was no occupation above the lowest falls of the Cuyuni: Schomburgk, 1841.

"But the difficulties which the Cuyuni presents to navigation, and those tremendous falls which impede the river in the first day's ascent, will, I fear, prove a great obstacle to making the fertility of its banks available to the colony."‡

The present penal settlement at the junction of the three rivers was established in pursuance of an Ordinance passed April 9, 1842. The wording of this Ordinance is confirmatory of what has already been stated with regard to the location of the prior "Cuyuni" or "Essequibo" post. It is as follows: Ordinance of April 9, 1842.

"Whereas it has been deemed expedient to erect and establish

*St. Clair (T. S.) Residence in the West Indies and America, etc., London, 1834, vol. —, chap. 10.

†Appendix to Case, atlas, map 80.

‡Appendix to Case, iii, 119–120.

Ordinance of April 9, 1842.

a penal settlement at the old Post, near the junction of the Massaroony River with the River Essequibo, etc."*

Local Guide, 1843.

The "Local Guide" for 1843, after speaking of the few scattered woodcutters inhabiting the banks of the Essequibo, continues as follows:

"Above the rapids, which occur about 50 miles from its (Essequibo's) mouth, there are no inhabitants except Indians. The same is the case with the two great tributaries of the Essequibo, the Cayuni and the Mazaruni, which come from the west and the southwest. These rivers unite about eight miles from the Essequibo, and their united stream joins that river about forty miles from its mouth. A short distance above their junction these rivers become impeded by rapids, above which they are frequented only by a few wandering Indians. At their point of union with the Essequibo, called Bartica, is an Indian Missionary settlement; and three or four miles up their united stream, on the left bank, is the Colonial Penal Settlement, where the Colonial convicts, sentenced to hard labor, are employed in working a fine quarry of granite."†

No extension of British occupation.

There is no evidence of any extension of British settlement or occupation into the interior between this last date and the year 1850.

The above evidence, gathered from the statements of British officials and British documents, makes it clear that, at least as late as 1850, that is to say, less than 50 years ago, British occupation of the Essequibo, so far as its western bank was concerned, differed from Dutch occupation of the same river in 1648 only because of a few plantations along the Arabian or Arabisi coast. Actual settlement along the coast did not extend as far west as the Pomeroon; and, in the interior, except for a penal settlement, and a mission at or near the former site of fort Kykoveral, there was no settlement or occupation whatever.

* Local Guide of British Guiana, Demerara, 1843, p. 27.

† Local Guide of British Guiana, Demerara, 1843, p. ii.

2d.—CONDITION OF ESSEQUIBO COLONY.

Precarious condition of colony.

A glance at the general condition of the colony itself during the first half of this century will disclose the fact that, like its predecessor of two hundred years before, it was generally on the brink of ruin; and that its continued existence, at least west of the Essequibo, was at times very doubtful.

A brief reference will be made to but a few of the facts upon which this statement is based.

Spanish attacks on Arabian coast.

To begin with, during the opening years of the century, the Spaniards seem to have had as little regard for British rights west of the Essequibo, as they had formerly had for Dutch rights in the same region. The planters of the Arabian coast—the only planters west of the Essequibo—suffered constant attacks from the Spaniards; and in November, 1807, petitioned the Court of Policy for protection.*

Abolition of African slave trade, 1807.

But it was not from the Spaniards alone that the planters suffered damage. This same year of 1807 saw the abolition of the African slave trade, the first of those steps which in 1838 resulted in the total abolition of slavery from the Colony. †

It was a blow to the Colony.

However much applause the abolition of this inhuman trade may merit, it certainly came as a severe blow to the struggling planters whose dependence upon their slaves was complete. The blow itself came at a most inopportune moment. It came when the colony was already in a moribund condition.

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* Appendix to Case, iii, 324.

† Slave catching by the Caribs had ceased by this time. This once powerful tribe had gradually dwindled in numbers, and a little later had become so reduced that Schomburgk, in 1840, wrote that there remained but few in British Guiana. He adds: "The Caribs inhabit the lower Mazaruni and Cuyuni; about 100 are located at the Corentyn, 80 at the Rupununi, 80 at the Guidaru, and their whole number (once the lords of the soil) does not at present surpass 300." [Schomburgk (R. H.), Description of British Guiana, London, 1840, p. 50; see *also* Appendix to Case, iii, 325.]

Condition of colony, 1806.

For some years before, the seat of government had been losing importance, even the residence of the Commandeur rapidly going to ruin. "At the meeting of the Court of January 28th, 1806, it was reported that the house of the Commandeur was uninhabitable."*

With the colony in the condition which this single fact sufficiently attests, the check to the slave trade threatened the very existence of the colony.

Alarming condition in 1811.

Year by year matters grew worse. On November 30, 1811, a meeting of the sugar planters was held to consider the alarming state of affairs, and the ruin that stared them in the face.†

End of Essequibo as a Spanish colony.

The colony itself had gradually shrunk; its importance becoming so impaired that the year 1812 witnessed its end as a separate entity. On April 1 of that year it ceased to exist as a distinct colony, and became merged with Demerara. Its archives were removed to Georgetown: its Commandeur and other officials lost their positions; and the old colony passed away.‡

A few years later the coast plantations began to be abandoned or given up to the grazing of cattle.§

Compulsory manumission in 1831.

So things continued, between life and death, until 1831, when a second blow was struck at the slave trade. Compulsory manumission was then provided for;‖ and two years later, on August 24, 1833, the Emancipation Act was passed: this provided that after 1840 all slaves should be free.¶

Emancipation act, Aug. 24, 1833.

The effect of this final emancipation was almost the

* Appendix to Case, iii, 324.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 324–325.

‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 325.

§ Appendix to Case, iii, 325.

‖ Rodway (J.) History of British Guiana, Georgetown, 1893, vol. ii, p. 281.

¶ Rodway (J.) Historyof British Guiana, Georgetown, 1893, vol. iii, p. 11.

ruin of the colony. Speaking of the condition of affairs in 1842 and 1843, Rodway says: Effect of emancipation.

"Now began a general cry of 'ruin.' There had been plenty of croakers all along and they were quite ready with their 'I told you so' when things began to look black and lowering. In April [1842] the *Guiana Times* showed up the state of affairs from the pessimists' point of view. Pln. *Enfield* in Berbice, worth in 1829, £29,000, had been lately sold at Execution for £2,000 and *Port Morant* for $35,000 when it had been valued before the apprenticeship at as many pounds. *Industry* had stopped work—*Schoon-Ord* formerly worth over £36,000 could be had for £20,000—*Rome* and *Houston* now made only 600 instead of 700 hogsheads—*Vrow Anna* was insolvent—and *Nonpariel* had been bought the year before for £30,000 and the owner now wanted to sell it at a sacrifice. Such were the facts, but nothing was said about the compensation money for the slaves which must be taken into account in all these comparisons. A plantation with two hundred slaves was worth between thirty and forty thousands more than one without any, and here we see the great difference explained. It is undoubtedly true that emancipation meant a serious reduction of the estimated capital and, as a natural consequence, of all the advantages of its possession. Only about a third of the value of the slaves was received, so that every owner was mulcted in the amount of the other two-thirds, leaving him in so much the worse position as a borrower. From all that can be gleaned, the human property on an estate was always of more importance than the acreage in cultivation, and was therefore its prop and mainstay in all financial difficulties.

The few coffee plantations deteriorated in value to even a greater extent than those of sugar. In October 1843 two estates in No. 1 Canal, *Vreed-en-Vriendschap* and *Jacoba Constantia* were offered for sale, but nothing beyond two hundred dollars was bid for them. The price of coffee was very low at this time and that, with the scarcity of labour, led to an almost general abandonment of this cultivation as well as that of cotton." *

An official dispatch of June 18, 1849, from Lieutenant- Conditions in 1849.

* Appendix to Case, iii, 326–327, being pp. 64–65 of vol. iii of Rodway's History of British Guiana.

Conditions in 1849. Governor Walker to Earl Grey describes the conditions existing in that year. It is as follows:

"It is most melancholy to learn, that while the difficulties of the planters have continued since the abolition of slavery to become more and more severe, until now their ruin appears to be almost complete, and the depreciation of property once of such great value, has reached a point which has involved in the deepest distress great numbers of persons both in this country and the colony; at the same time the negroes, instead of having made a great advance in civilization as might have been hoped during the fifteen years which have elapsed since their emancipation, have on the contrary, retrograded rather than improved, and that they are now as a body less amenable than they were when that great change took place, to the restraints of religion and of law, less docile and tractable, and almost as ignorant and as much subject as ever to the degrading superstition which their forefathers brought with them from Africa."*

Commission of 1850 In January, 1850, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the state and prospects of the colony. Rodway thus speaks of its report:

"This report is most exhaustive, proving beyond doubt that the colony in general was virtually ruined. The Commissioners stated that they had examined the principal estate proprietors and attornies, as well as the leading merchants, and observed with deep concern the alarming picture of ruin and distress in which all classes with startling unanimity concurred in representing the then state of the once flourishing colony. Whole districts were fast relapsing into bush, and occasionally patches of provisions around huts of villagers were all that remained of what had formerly been most prosperous estates. In many places the road communication was difficult and would soon become utterly impracticable.

"Reviewing the whole coast line and commencing with Demerara, they said that the former estates in the Abary district, once blooming with fields of cotton, were nothing but a series of pestilent swamps, breeders of malignant fevers. From Mahaicony to Mahaica the only estate in cultivation was Plu. *Farm;* the others

* Appendix to Case, iii, 327.

Commission of 1850.

were either given over to a few cattle, or abandoned, except a few patches of reef-land in provisions. On the upper west bank of the Mahaica creek the roads and bridges were in such a bad condition that the few remaining estates were entirely cut off except in the dry season.*

"If Demerara were bad, Essequebo was worse. Unless a speedy supply of labour was obtained to cultivate the deserted fields of this once flourishing district, there was reason to fear it would relapse into utter abandonment. Leguan, for many years termed the garden of the colony, once contained twenty-three sugar and three coffee and plantain estates; these had been reduced to eight in sugar and but three of these were in full cultivation. From the termination of the Apprenticeship want of labour was severely felt. As soon as the people were at liberty, they left the island and went to Demerara to be near town. Then commenced the establishment of villages on the land itself, which quickly absorbed a number of the working people, for whom hunting and fishing had greater attractions than field work. Mr. MacKenzie, of Pln. *Amsterdam*, told them that it was no overdrawn description when he asserted that the cultivation was then limited to a third of the former number of estates, and these were but struggling desperately to avoid the doom which seemed inevitable. Forest trees were rapidly taking over the once smiling canefields, and the few remaining were scarcely discernible amid a savage bush.

"Wakenaam was not in quite such a deplorable condition. None of the estates were actually abandoned, but many were only nominally in cultivation, and the previous year's crop was less by six million pounds than that of 1829. In this island and Leguan over two thousand people lived in villages, for whom the abandoned cane-pieces afforded excellent hunting grounds and the surrounding waters good fishing. On Hog Island the cultivation had dwindled from 858 acres to 308, and the crop of sugar from nine hundred to two hundred hogsheads. It was kept up then by means of coolies whose service would soon expire, and unless a fresh supply could be obtained the cultivation would probably be abandoned. On Tiger Island the area had been reduced from 856 to 328 acres, and instead of a working population of 561 the number had been reduced to 125 creoles and 189 immigrants, the latter carrying on most of the cultivation.

* Appendix to Case, iii, 828.

Commission of 1850.

"Between the Supenaam and Iteribisce Creeks the coast was in a most deplorable condition. Of seven fine sugar estates, four nominally survived with greatly diminished cultivation. Three villages in this district contained nearly seven hundred creoles, a fourth of whom worked at times on the estates, but the remainder 'sit down, and hunt and steal both from the planters and each other. Unable to obtain labour, the proprietors seem to be keeping up a hopeless struggle against approaching ruin, and unless immigration recommenced their estates would have to be abandoned.' Between Iteribisce Creek and Capoey Creek three coffee and ten sugar plantations formerly existed; these had been reduced to eight in sugar and the produce to less than half. In 1829 the population was 2,764; it was then only 954. The villagers, however, numbered over 4,000, but so little work was performed by them that they could hardly be considered as a part of the labour supply. The Arabian coast, so long the boast of the colony, had become a mournful picture of departed prosperity. Here were formerly some of the finest estates in the colony and a large body of resident proprietors who freely expended their incomes on the spot. From Capoey Creek to *Better Success* there had been twenty-three plantations; three of these were virtually abandoned and the remainder in a languishing condition. The sugar crop here was also less than half, caused by the same want of labour. The district swarmed with villages, but no dependence could be placed on the people, and the estates were mostly worked by coolies. As the end of their engagements was approaching they were leaving to claim back passages, and the creoles were also leaving. From *Devonshire Castle* to the Pomeroon, where formerly there had been seven estates worth £176,000, the country was almost desolate." *

Such was the condition and extent of the British colony on the Essequibo River at the middle of the present century, only forty-seven years prior to the signing of the present treaty of arbitration.

* Appendix to Case, iii, 329–330.

XIV.—HISTORY OF BRITISH OCCUPATION. 1850–1896.

Fifty year clause

In view of the fifty year rule [Art. IV, Rule (a)] adopted by the present treaty, the expansion of British occupation subsequent to *1847* can have no effect upon the determination of the boundary line. Rule (c), however, is as follows:

"(c) In determining the boundary-line, if territory of one Party be found by the Tribunal to have been at the date of this Treaty in the occupation of the subjects or citizens of the other Party, such effect shall be given to such occupation as reason, justice, the principles of international law, and the equities of the case shall, in the opinion of the Tribunal, require."

In order that the tribunal may be able to apply this rule, it becomes necessary to place it in possession of the facts connected with the recent occupation of a part of the disputed territory, by Great Britain. The beginning of that occupation dates, on the coast, only from 1884 (twelve years prior to the signing of the treaty), and, in the interior, only from 1880, or later, (not more than sixteen years prior to the present treaty).

Beginning of British occupation, 1880 and 1884.

Prior to those dates, British settlement was still what it had been in 1850. Since those dates, all persons who have ventured into the disputed territory have gone there in the face of distinct warnings from both governments. They have, with open eyes, assumed all the risks involved; and, so far as the Venezuelan Government is concerned, it does not consider that they are entitled to any consideration.

Recent settlements made in face of warnings.

The history of recent British occupation is so intimately connected with the history of the gold industry,

Gold industry.

Gold industry.

that it will be best understood if a brief review of this be first given.

Caratal discovered, 1850.

In 1850 the rich gold fields of the Caratal were discovered on the banks of the Yuruari, where the Venezuelans already had extensive settlements.*

This was at once advertised in Georgetown, but the location of the mines was so far away that no attempt was made to visit them until the following year.†

In 1851 four tradesmen from Demarara went to the mines by way of the Orinoco, and returned later by the same route.‡

Excitement of 1857

In 1857 fresh reports of the Yuruari mines reached British Guiana; and a newspaper of Georgetown published a statement to the effect that the diggings "appeared to be in British territory."§ Immediately the public mind was fired. Proposals were made to build a road so that direct communication might be had with the mines. The Home Government at the same time was urged to bring about a settlement of the boundary question.‖

In August, 1857, the *Gazette* stated that many parties were anxious to try their fortunes at the diggings but were prudently waiting until a direct route could be opened.¶ Soon after a party started by way of the Moruca and the Waini, going thence across to the Cuyuni and on to the Yuruari.**

Others followed, but the route was always by the coast rivers, or else by sea to the Orinoco.††

Finally, in August (1859) a party made its way to

* Appendix to Case, iii, 333.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 333.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 334.
§ Appendix to Case, iii, 334.
‖ Appendix to Case, iii, 335.
¶ Appendix to Case, iii, 335.
** Appendix to Case, iii, 335.
†† Appendix to Case, iii, 335.

the mines by way of Cuyuni, but the return trip was wisely made by way of the Orinoco.* Excitement of 1857.

After this the Venezuelan authorities prohibited further communication through the interior, with the result that no further expeditions were undertaken by that route.† Venezuela forbad communication through interior.

Partly as a result of this prohibition, and partly because of the hardships which had to be endured by those who were bold enough to venture so far from home, the gold fever subsided, and for some years the Venezuelans continued in undisputed and exclusive possession of the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin.‡

Referring to this gold excitement, im Thurn says of it: im Thurn's statement.

"Certain English expeditions were, indeed, sent to Tupuquen, but their sole result was a tardy acknowledgment from the English that the mines of that place were not in British territory."§

In 1863 the dormant gold fever again showed signs of its presence.‖ First British attempt to occupy land in Cuyuni basin, 1863.

This brings us to the first attempt on the part of the British to actually occupy land in the Cuyuni basin. Their predecessors, the Dutch, had been expelled from there by the Spaniards in 1772: since that time only a few explorers had penetrated beyond the lowest falls of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers.

In 1863 a number of gentlemen applied to Governor Hincks for a right to occupy a tract of land on the Cuyuni. The answer of the Governor was that he was precluded from granting them a license, and that he could only regard them as a community of British ad-

* Appendix to Case, iii, 337.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 338.

‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 338.

§ Appendix to Case, iii, 151.

‖ Appendix to Case, iii, 339.

First British attempt to occupy land in Cuyuni basin, 1863.

venturers acting on their own responsibility and at their own peril.*

Notwithstanding this rebuff, these "British adventurers" were bold enough to take the matter into their own hands, and to go into the Cuyuni, twenty miles beyond the Penal Settlement.†

Money was spent without any adequate return; and the company finding itself embarrassed sent a representative to London to sell its property.‡

Warning by Great Britain against settling in disputed territory, 1867.

When this became known, the British Government caused a notice to be published, January 30, 1867, declaring that it could not undertake to afford protection to British subjects encroaching upon the territory in dispute, "but must only recognize them as a community of British adventurers acting on their own responsibility, and at their own peril and cost."§

Attempt at mining abandoned.

The result of this was the failure of the Company, and the abandonment of its property.‖

Speaking of this ineffectual effort of the British to mine in the Cuyuni, Mr. im Thurn says:

"In or about 1863 certain gold mines on the Cuyuni River, at a distance of about two days' journey from its mouth, were worked by an English company formed in Georgetown. No serious attempts to wash for gold were made higher up the Cuyuni by any English subjects. These English mines are very far from those of Tupuquen, which are at a distance, roughly speaking, of, at the very least, twenty or thirty days' journey from the mouth of the Cuyuni. Tupuquen undoubtedly lies very far on the Venezuelan side of the boundary as claimed by the English and as laid down by Sir Robert Schomburgk. Had we, therefore, claimed the mines at that place, it would have been most unwise and unwarrantable. But we made no such claim, and Mármol's attempt to

* Appendix to Case, iii, 339.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 339.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 340.
§ Appendix to Case, iii, 340.
‖ Appendix to Case, iii, 340.

quote such a claim as an act of aggression on our part must be based on a mistake. But he makes the statement in such apparent good faith as to suggest the idea that possibly not only his statement but the action of the Venezuelan Government was founded on a mistake which has never yet been rectified [not *ratified*, as erroneously printed]. It is just possible that the Venezuelan Government, hearing some rumor that the English were working gold on the Cuyuni, hastily adopted the conclusion that this was in the neighbourhood of Tupuquen and within their territory. However this may have been, they appealed to the British Government to stop the alleged invasion of their territory, and the British Government, having given notice to the gold mining company that they must work only as adventurers and not claim British protection, the works were abandoned." *

Attempt at mining abandoned.

This occurred in 1867.

After the failure of the British Mining Company in 1867, nothing more was heard of gold mining in the disputed territory until about the year 1880. It then began to be rumored that some Frenchmen from Cayenne had discovered gold in the Puruni river, a branch of the Mazaruni. This led to other explorations in the same direction and gold mining at last obtained a start in the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin. †

No more heard of mining in Cuyuni until 1880.

The search for gold gradually extended to the coast region. In 1887 it was discovered in the Barima: a new impetus was thereby given to the gold industry; and a new rush into the disputed territory took place. This brought forth a new warning from the British Government in June, 1887, whereby all persons were cautioned that, in going into the disputed territory, they were doing so at their own risk.‡

Gold in the coast region. 1887.

New warning by Great Britain in 1887.

* Appendix to Case, iii, 151.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 328.

‡The following is from the *Royal Gazette*, Georgetown, of Wednesday, June 8, 1887: "A meeting of the Court of Policy was held yesterday, at which there were present: His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor (Chas. Bruce, Esq., C. M. G.); the Honourables F. J. Villiers, C. M. G. (Acting Government Secretary); A. Kingdon (Acting Attorney-General); G. Melville (Acting Auditor-General); A. H. Alexander (Immigration Agent-General) of the

New warning by Great Britain in 1887.

The warning deterred some: others ventured in, thus deliberately assuming the risks involved.

official section; Honorables F. Mulligan, W. Craigen, C. L. Bascour, B. H. Jones and J. J. Dare, of the elective section. The Court was constituted at 11.35 A. M., and sat with closed doors until 11.45, when the public were admitted.

"The Gold Industry and the Boundary Question.

"Threatened Collapse of the Gold Industry.

"His Excellency said: Hon. Gentlemen of the Court of Policy,—Before we proceed to the Order of the Day, I am anxious to make a statement with reference to the question of the boundary between this Colony and the Republic of Venezuela. Among the applications which have been received for mining licenses and concessions under the Mining Regulations passed under Ordinance 16 of 1880, 16 of 1886, and 4 of 1887, there are many which apply to lands which are within the territory in dispute between Her Majesty's Government and the Venezuela Republic. I have received instructions of the Secretary of State to caution expressly all persons interested in such licenses, or concessions, or otherwise acquiring an interest in the disputed territory, that all licenses, concessions or grants applying to any portion of such disputed territory will be issued and must be accepted, subject to the possibility that, in the event of a settlement of the present disputed line, the land to which such licenses, concessions or grants applies may become a part of the Venezuelan territory; in which case, no claim to compensation from the Colony, or from Her Majesty's Government can be recognized; but Her Majesty's Government would, of course, do whatever may be right and practicable to secure from the Government of Venezuela a recognition and confirmation of licenses, etc., now issued. In making this statement I am aware that I shall disappoint the sanguine expectation of those who may have hoped that the proclamation of November 6, 1886, represented the final settlement of the boundary question. All, however, who have followed the course of public opinion in England must have seen that the question is not yet settled. The interpretation which I place on the instructions I have received is, that Her Majesty's Government desire to have their hands free to come to an early and permanent settlement of this long dispute. I am confident, and I ask you to share my confidence, that such a settlement will be based on the justice of our claims and the preservation of the integrity of this province.

"Mr. Mulligan was sure that what His Excellency had just stated and the despatch he had just quoted, would cause considerable annoyance outside, especially among those who had placed a great amount of capital in the gold venture on the faith of the proclamation which was recently published. It would have been very much better, and would not have reflected as much on the Imperial Government, had they taken no action whatever, but to allow matters to stand as they had been for many years disputed. People would then have known what they were about and would have been fully cognizant of all the risks they ran in venturing on the disputed territory, but after the appearance of the proclamation so recently issued, it was but natural that British subjects, assured of protection as such, should invest money in speculations such as had taken place. Very considerable amount of capital had been so invested, and it seemed now rather late in the day to be told that they were squatters and adventurers, and were simply working on their own lines. He expressed his sincere regret that this had taken place, but could not say that he was surprised, for when the proclam-

Results of gold mining still problematical in 1888.

In 1888, the result of the gold discoveries in Barima was as yet problematical; and it was not until 1889

ation was brought up in November, 1886, he said in this Court he thought it would do more harm than good, and that people would be induced by it to go digging gold in the disputed district with the result which he very much feared His Excellency's words foreshadowed.

"However, it was entirely in keeping with the miserable backward policy of the Imperial Government, and which they exhibited all over the world. Stanley's letter, for instance, recently addressed to a Geographical Society, on the condition of British influence at Zanzibar, and other parts of Africa, showed that the same backward policy of which we had here an example was being exhibited there. He thought it was cruel, and more than cruel, to reduce to such straits British subjects who had invested capital in this gold venture;—in fact, he knew there were some who had put their all in the venture. Those people were now told that in case of a settlement of this boundary question and a decision that the disputed territory on which they were now digging, belonged to Venezuela, they would have nothing to hope and nothing to claim from this colony or the Imperial Government. He hoped the elective members of the Court of Policy would at any rate protest against the action and draw the attention of the Imperial Government to the proclamation, and to the words then spoken by the Attorney-General in this Court when it was decided to issue that proclamation.

"Mr. Jones thoroughly indorsed all that had fallen from the senior elective member of the Court with reference to the despatch just quoted by His Excellency. The announcement which had been made would create an immense amount of heart-burning amongst those who had capital invested in what was considered to be an undertaking secured to them by proclamation from home. When the despatch of last November was received the feeling outside was that the British Government had taken up a position which they intended to stand by, but it seemed now that they had drifted back from their former opinion, and would no longer give any support to the operations which had been undertaken by private parties in the disputed territory. His own feeling regarding the boundary question had for many years past been that the only right solution of the boundary question would be by the appointment of a Royal Commission to meet a Commission from Venezuela, and that the commissioners should go over the whole grounds of the subject, and visit the whole of the boundary was as done recently with reference to Afghanistan. The boundary dispute here might not be such an important point as that of Afghanistan was to British rule in India, but it was certainly of great importance to us in this colony to have it settled, and it was of as great importance to the Government here to have that done as it was to the Government of India to have the boundary of Afghanistan settled. If such commission were appointed, he felt sure that there would not be those heart-burnings and feelings of distrust which the present and past policy of the British Government had created in the minds of the colonists, who looked on and saw the sort of game being played by British rule, or he might say, misrule.

"His Excellency said: I shall lose no time in conveying to the Secretary of State the vital importance to this Colony of an early settlement of this question (Mr. Mulligan: Hear, hear), and the rising importance of the gold industry. And I shall, of course, avail myself of the opportunity to represent to the Secretary of State what has been expressed in this Court, and what, I have no doubt, represent the general feelings of the community."

First important gold discoveries were in 1889.

(only seven years before the present treaty) that it assumed any considerable proportions.*

The foregoing account of the gold discoveries and of the gold industry in the disputed territory will suffice to show how recent both are: it will also throw light on the cause and present character of British occupation. As to the interior, this occupation is fully explained by the gold discoveries: except for these the Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin would probably be to-day as free from British as it had been free from both Dutch and British for more than a century before. As to the coast, the gold discoveries furnish but half the explanation. The other half will appear later in the diplomatic history of the question. Suffice it here to say that, prior to the discovery of gold, and as early as 1884, Mr. McTurk, a British official, acting under British authority, took forcible possession of the mouth of the Orinoco; and that, in 1885, the region along the coast, as far west as Barima point and the Amacura river, was organized into a separate "district" under the jurisdiction of a Special Commissioner.†

Cause and recent date of British occupation.

British occupation of Barima Point.

It has been stated that, except for the gold discoveries in the Mazaruni in 1880, except for the gold discoveries along the coast subsequent to that date, and except for the formal taking of possession of the mouth of the

[See also Rodway (J.) History of British Guiana, Georgetown, 1894, iii, 225.]

* "The change, great as it is, has been effected in the last three or four years, being in part due to the discovery by small cultivators of the extraordinary richness of the soil, but has occurred, I might almost say, chiefly within the year 1889, being due to the discovery of a rich and easily accessible gold area in the Barima.

"Writing in December, 1888, I could only describe the chance of the discovery of gold in the district as problematical. Only two or three months later gold had been discovered in considerable quantity, and within a year a very large part of the gold industry of the colony had been directed to these parts." [im Thurn (E. F.) Report; published in 1890.]

† British Guiana and its Resources, London, 1895, pp. 76–77.

British occupation of Barima Point.

Orinoco in 1884 by Mr. McTurk, the British never had settlements of any kind, nor occupation of any nature, above the lowest falls of the Essequibo, Cuyuni and Mazaruni in the interior, nor beyond the plantations along the Arabian coast on the seaboard.

As witnesses to this, the following writers may be cited:

1. AS TO THE COAST.

Story of the coast region by im Thurn.

The story of this region is best told by Mr. im Thurn in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society in London on July 4, 1892, and published in the "Proceedings" of that Society for October, 1892, Vol. 14, pp. 665–687. The following extracts are taken from the article referred to:

"During my nine years' work I have been actively engaged, first, in ascertaining the nature of the country, and then in transforming this from its state of desolate and unbroken swamp, smothered in densest tropical vegetation, and inhabited but by a few red men, into an integral part of the colony." (p. 665.)

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Though through fear of privateers, these at first went up the rivers, yet as soon as this fear was removed they cast longing eyes on the splendidly rich submerged land of the seacoast, and, with an experience and skill gained in their Low-Country homes, dammed back the sea along the southern coasts of the colonies, and reclaimed for cultivation a narrow strip of alluvial soil, extending along the sea and river edge, but hardly anywhere more than three or four miles in width. But their work ended northwest at the Pomerun river. The whole interior of the country, and even the seacoast north of the Pomerun—that is, the northwestern part of the colony—they left as Nature made it. Since the beginning of this century, when the country passed from the hands of the Dutch to those of the English, the latter have rather reduced than extended the area of cultivation; and though they have fairly maintained the quality, the land beyond the narrow belt of cultivation has remained as Nature made it and the Dutch left it. (p. 668.)

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Story of the coast region by im Thurn.

"Though the settlements in the Pomerun were, as has been said, among the earliest, if not indeed the earliest, in what is now British Guiana, and though they have never been at any time completely abandoned, yet at no time have they attained the privilege of independent government, as was the case with the settlements on the Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice Rivers. During the early part of this century there were flourishing settlements and substantial houses for some distance along the right bank, and also at intervals higher up, on both banks of the Pomerun; but of these hardly any record exists. About 1840, at the time of the visit of the brothers Schomburgk, the houses and the cultivation, though still partly existing, were already in decay, and for some time after that date the river remained practically abandoned to Redmen and to squatters. About twenty years ago there was a revival of agricultural industry by the settlement in those parts of a few Portuguese, and the development in this direction has since then been continuous. The Government of the colony was represented there up to 1872, by an official with somewhat vague powers, handed down from Dutch times, called a Post-holder. With the revival of industry by the Portuguese, this official was modernized into a magistrate. It was to this post that I was appointed in 1882. My jurisdiction extended nominally to the Orinoco; but hardly anyone capable of giving an intelligent account of the country had been beyond the Pomerun, or the small creek, the Moruka—a branch of the Pomerun—on which two missions, one Protestant, the other Roman Catholic, had been established about 1840.

"My station on the Pomerun then was the outpost in a north-westerly direction of the civilized part of the colony, and it immediately became my desire to explore the unknown part of the district under my charge. (pp. 669–670.)

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Even from the Redmen and the black squatters on the Pomerun I found it very difficult to get any information as to the great region beyond; but at last, in January, 1883, though unsuccessful in getting a guide, I started to see for myself what lay within my district beyond the known parts. (p. 670.)

* * * * * * * * * * *

"On the other hand, the higher part of the new district is (1892) being fast overrun by very successful gold diggers. But

these agricultural and mining enterprises date, the former, only some half dozen years, the latter only some three years back." (p. 685.)

Story of the coast region, by im Thurn.

The same official, in his report for 1889, says:

"Remembering the desolate, uninhabited, unused, indeed unknown, condition of this latter sub-district when I first visited it in February, 1883, and now seeing its present condition at the close of the year 1889, I find it hard to realize that these are but two aspects of the same place. Then, as I passed down the Barima River, through about 120 miles of its lower course, I saw no house or sign of habitation, no human being, until we came to the sand bank at the sea, on which two or three men from the neighboring Amakooroo River were temporarily camped, for the purpose of fishing. In the Amakooroo itself, on the English side, there was not a house to be seen, though there were two or three cultivated plots, the owners of which reside on the opposite shore. In the sub-district the entire number of settlements, if we restrict the term only to such cultivated plots as had sufficient drainage, and on which the farmers lived, amounted therefore to but four. Moreover, at that time no travellers moved on the rivers, if we except the half dozen of settlers, and two or three hucksters trading with Indians."*

Mr. im Thurn is confirmed in these statements by a number of other writers.

im Thurn supported by others.

Mr. C. Barrington Brown, the government geologist, describing his geological survey, wrote in 1875:

Brown, 1875.

"The civilized and cultivated portion of the colony lies only along a narrow strip of sea-coast. * * * This portion, between the rear of the sugar estates and the confines of the colony, is known as the "Interior;" and, with the exception of a few settlements on the banks of the lower Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo rivers, it remains to-day in the same state as in the time of Raleigh."†

In his *Handbook*, published in 1893, Mr. Rodway says that:

Rodway, 1893.

"The settled portion of the colony extends along the sea-

* British Guiana. Administrative Reports for the year 1889, fol. Georgetown, Demerara, 1890, p. 17.

† Brown (C. Barrington). Canoe and Camp Life, etc., 8°, London, 1876, p. 1.

Rodway, 1893. coast from the west bank of the river Essequebo to the east bank of the Corentyne."*

2. AS TO THE INTERIOR.

Witnesses as to interior. Our witnesses as to these regions are again Mr. im Thurn, Mr. Brown and Mr. Rodway, and in addition to these Sir Clements R. Markham, President of the Royal. Geographical Society.

im Thurn, 1879. The following is the description which, in 1879, Mr. im Thurn gave of the territory in dispute:

"The territory in dispute commences on the western bank of the Essequebo River and extends to an undefined distance toward the Orinoco. Along and near the banks of the Essequebo, at least during the lower part of its course, is a fairly dense population of British subjects, and along and near the banks of the Orinoco is a fairly thick population of Venezuelans. But the intermediate space is inhabited only by some scattered Indians, and is visited only at long intervals by a few travelers, traders, adventurers or explorers."†

im Thurn, 1892. In 1892, in a passage already quoted in full, he says that "the whole interior of the country . . . . they (the Dutch) left as Nature made it."‡

Rodway, 1889. Mr. Rodway, writing in *Timehri* in 1889, said:

Up to the time of Robert Schomburgk's explorations, the interior of this country was almost unknown. The great lake of Parima was still retained on most of the maps of South America, but the best geographers had already expressed doubts as to the existence of any very large body of water in Guiana. Hillhouse had made some journeys up the Massaruni and also partial explorations of the country between the Essequebo and the Orinoco, but the upper districts of our great rivers were less known than they had been a century before, when the Dutch postholders must have had a good knowledge of the country. Humboldt's researches had left Guiana unexplored; he says, "With respect

* Rodway (J.). Hand-Book of British Guiana, 12°, Georgetown, Br. Guiana, 1893, p. 16.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 150.

‡ Royal Geog. Soc. Proc., London, 1892, Oct., xiv, 668.

to the continuation of the system of the mountains of Parime, southeast of the meridian of the Essequebo, the materials are entirely wanting for tracing it with precision. The whole interior of Dutch, French and Portuguese Guiana is a *terra incognita*, and the astronomical geography of those countries has scarcely made any progress during the space of thirty years.* Rodway, 1889.

The same author in his *Hand-Book for the Chicago Exhibition, 1892*, said: Rodway, 1892.

"*The Forest Region.*—Commencing at the sand-reefs, the flatness of the coast region gives place to an undulating country, which gradually rises to hills and then mountains. The greater portion of this vast territory is covered with primeval forest—a portion of that wilderness of vegetation which extends with only a few breaks over a great portion of South America. A few descendants of old settlers or their slaves live on the banks of the Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice rivers, and here and there a woodcutter or gold seeker; these comprise, with the remnants of scattered tribes of Indians, the inhabitants of this region. Sometimes not a single human being can be found within a hundred miles, even the Indians having gone away for some unexplained reasons."†

Mr. Brown's testimony regarding this interior has already been quoted: he states that the "Interior . . . remains to-day (1875) in the same state as in the time of Raleigh."‡ Brown, 1875.

Sir Clements R. Markham, in a review published in April, 1876, says: Markham, 1876.

"Both the colonies of British Guiana and Natal have recently published maps of the territories subject to their sway. . . .

"From a note placed under the title we learn that the boundaries laid down upon the map are those adopted by Sir Robert Schomburgk. . . .

"At present there are no settlements on the territories in dis-

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* *Timehri*, being Jour. of Roy. Agl. & Com'l. Soc., Demerara, 1889, June. iii, 1.

†Rodway (J.) Hand-Book of British Guiana. Georgetown, Br. Guiana, 1892, p. 11.

‡See p. 189 of this volume.

Markham, 1876.

pute, or at most, unimportant ones, and an amicable settlement of these boundary questions could easily be arrived at." *

No British occupation until a dozen years ago.

From what has been above set forth, it must be apparent that, according to the evidence of British officials and British writers especially qualified to speak on the subject, the entire territory west of the Essequibo, excepting only a few plantations along the Arabian coast at the mouth of that river, had never been occupied by the British until within a dozen years past; and that the present occupation has been effected in the face of repeated warnings from both the Venezuelan and the British governments. A brief examination of the published census of the British colony may tend to emphasize the first of these statements. Such an examination will also serve to show that a statement made by Lord Salisbury, first in 1880, and again in 1895, was based upon erroneous information. The statement referred to was that, to admit Venezuela's claims to the territory in dispute,

Census of British Colony.

Lord Salisbury's statement.

"would involve the surrender of a province now inhabitated by 40,000 British subjects, and which has been in the uninterrupted possession of Holland and Great Britain successively for two centuries." †

Census of 1831.

The first census of the colony of which there is any record is that of 1831.‡

At that time the entire Essequibo colony on *both* sides of the river numbered 25,079 persons, of whom all but 1,526 were slaves; the whites numbering only 614.§

Census of 1851

In 1851 the total population had fallen to 24,925, and of these only 14,398 were on the west side of the Essequibo along the Arabian coast; of these again only 1,106

* Royal Geog. Soc. Journal, London, 1876, April, p. 103.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 218.

‡ Appendix to Case iii, 319.

§ Appendix to Case, iii, 320.

were Europeans. * There were no settlers west of the Pomeroon, and only a few scattered woodcutters above Hog Island in the Essequibo river. Census of 1851.

The last census of the colony, that for the year 1891, gives the following: Census of 1891.

Total population of Essequibo county	53,254
Of this total there were only 388 Europeans other than Portuguese, the balance being mainly East Indians, of which there were	22,502
And Blacks, of which there were	19,926
The population on the Upper Pomeroon was	952
" " Lower " "	1,673
" " Moruca was	1,349
" " Northwest District	942
Above first rapids of the Essequibo, including Potaro and the upper Essequibo gold fields	3,908
On the Mazaruni	312
On the Cuyuni	144

It does not appear how many of those credited to Mazaruni and Cuyuni were *above* the lowest falls of those streams; but, assuming that they were *all* settled there, the figures given show, that a line drawn from the mouth of the Moruca to the lowest falls of the Mazaruni and Cuyuni, and thence south along the Essequibo, would leave to the west only the following: Population in Cuyuni - Mazaruni basin.

Northwest District (between Moruca and Orinoco)	942
Cuyuni	144
Mazaruni	312
Total	1,398

None of these were in these regions in 1880 when Lord Salisbury first wrote of the "40,000 British subjects" inhabiting a province which had been "in the uninterrupted possession of Holland and Great Britain respectively for two centuries." None there in 1880.

* Appendix to Case, iii, 169.

Population in 1895.

There may have been a few more there in 1895 when this assertion was repeated; but it will be apparent, from the official census of the colony, that such population as was to be found there in 1895, or such as exists there to-day, is in any event small, and that it consisted and consists of persons who, after repeated warnings from both the British and Venezuelan Governments, have gone into that region during the last dozen years.

Character of present British "settlement."

In order that the Tribunal may be further able to judge of the equities to which present occupants may be entitled under the treaty, it is advisable that it be informed as to the *character* of the present British "settlement" in the disputed territory.

In this connection Mr. im Thurn may once more be quoted. Speaking of the class of people in the Barima region, he says:

"Agriculture in the district, probably because of the superior attractions of the gold industry, still makes very slow progress."

"Lastly, as concerns the gold industry, I think it right to put on record my sense of the growing necessity for better protection of the rights of persons and property at the gold fields. There is gathered together a large and varying body of men, the greater part of them taken from the most lawless and undisciplined classes of the colony; and there is not among them, nor within many days' journey of them, one single representative of the law." *

The following extract is taken from the annual report of E. P. Wood, Commissioner of the Department of Mines, dated July 23, 1895.

"So far the scratching that has been is nothing. It proves nothing. There is not a shaft or a 'borehole' down to two hundred feet in the Country, so that actually speculators have not much to guide them. The reason for this is that there is no

* British Guiana. Report of the Government agent of the North Western District of British Guiana for 1894–5. fol. Georgetown, Demerara, 1896, p. 1.

mining population here, everything has to be taught.' . . . . The alluvial mining is rich, and although the work is not systematic, yet I consider that any party of five men, if they choose to be careful, can make good wages all the year round by working for themselves. . . . One of the greatest drawbacks has been the necessity of coming down [to the settlements] to pass gold [through the Government Royalty Office] and obtain provisions."

Character of present British "settlement."

"Speaking generally, I think the industry is in about the same state as this time last year. But I think with the advent of English capital, management and workmen, that a better state of things will have commenced by this time next year, only commenced, though, as in my opinion it will take another five years before the Gold Fields of British Guiana will make any appreciable difference to the world's gold output. Without skilled labor from the outside nothing will ever be done. The natives in time will do, but they have to be taught, and without having capable men to direct and superintend their work, very little improvement can be expected." *

The following is from *Notes on British Guiana and its Gold Industry*, dated January 8, 1895, prepared by Mr. H. I. Perkins, Government Surveyor:

"There was no extensive mining done until 1884, which is the first year for which any record of Colonial gold has been obtained."

"The high rate of wages offered (64 cents per day with food and sleeping accommodations) induced the laboring population, chiefly black, to leave their homes in the Villages on the Coast to engage themselves to work in the bush for three or four months at a time."

"The really good men are very few and the majority are habitual malingerers." †

In the same publication (p. 11), Mr. Perkins thus describes the gold diggers' "habitations:"

"The architecture of a bush-house is neither elaborate nor expensive; the corner posts and cross beams are usually of round

* British Guiana. Administration Reports for 1894–5, fol. Georgetown, Demerara, 1896, p. 505.

† Perkins (H. I.), Notes on British Guiana and its Gold Industry, fol. Georgetown, 1895, p. 7.

Character of present British "settlement."

wood barked, and the rafters of round poles, also barked; on these is placed the roof, made of peculiar tough paper imported from the United States and called 'Neponsett,' or else palm leaves, which make a much cooler covering, are used; but, as leaves are not always to be obtained, paper is substituted."

In an anonymous work, of which the author is said to be Robert Tennant, published in London in 1895, and entitled *British Guiana and its Resources*, the author say:

"There are, it is estimated, upwards of 200 placers now in actual work, the returns from which vary from a few oz. to 1,000 oz. gold per month, or an average of about 50 oz. each; the aggregate capital invested in these workings does not, it is stated, amount to more than the value of a year's production." *

Mr. Rodway in 1892 wrote:

"In the upper Demerara [which is not within the disputed territory] quartz-mining is being commenced, but elsewhere only placer-washing is at present (1892) carried on." †

Mr. Perkins in 1894 wrote:

"During the year 1891 about 20,000 laborers were registered for the several districts, these serving on an average for about three months each, so that there were always four or five thousand diggerr in the bush."‡

It seems unnecessary to comment upon these facts: they speak for themselves.

* Appendix to Case, iii, 856.

† Handbook of British Guiana, Georgetown, 1893, p. 52.

‡ Perkins (H. I.) Notes on *British Guiana, and its Gold Industry* fol., Georgetown, January 8, 1895, p. 11.

XV.—REGARDING SPANISH AND VENEZUELAN OCCUPATION DURING THE 19TH CENTURY.

Reasons for having set forth extent of British occupation.

The extent and character of British occupation during the present century has been thus set forth because, according to the view of the question taken by the United States of Venezuela, the territorial rights of Great Britain can, in no case, exceed the limits which that occupation had reached fifty years ago.

This statement is not intended as an admission that Great Britain has a right to any territory west of the Essequibo, even though she may have been in unchallenged possession of it fifty years ago—a fact which Venezuela denies—it is merely intended to make clear from the start, that the limits of the Essequibo colony have depended upon the question of *actual* possession; and that all territory not lawfully occupied by the Dutch, or by their successors the British, belonged to Spain and belongs now to Venezuela, as a matter of course, and quite independently of whether, during the 18th and 19th centuries, such territory was or was not occupied by, or whether it was or was not under the exclusive political control of Spain or Venezuela.

Proof of Spain's control strengthens Venezuela's title.

It may further be added, that the proof already, though unnecessarily, adduced, showing the exclusive political control by Spain during the 18th century of the coast region and of the entire Cuyuni-Mazaruni basin, gives added strength, under the rules adopted by the present treaty, to Venezuela's title to the entire region; and that that title having been once proven, it is unnecessary, in the absence of any evidence of British title to the same territory, and until such evidence shall

Unnecessary to prove continued possession by Venezuela.

be forthcoming, to present proof of *continued* possession or control by Venezuela of that region.* As a matter of fact, Spain, first, and then Venezuela, did continue in exclusive possession and control of the disputed territory until 1850, when under an agreement (hereafter to be more fully explained) with Great Britain, Venezuela withdrew for a time.

Burden of proof on Great British.

For the present, however, for the reasons above set forth, Venezuela considers that she is not called upon to support this allegation by proof. The burden is upon Great Britain to establish how far encroachments upon territory, originally Spanish, can, under the stipulation of the Treaty of Munster and under the rules adopted by the present treaty, confer title upon herself. In the meantime, and until such proof shall be forthcoming, Venezuela considers it unnecessary to set forth at length the history of Spanish and Venezuelan occupation and control during the present century.

While relying upon the correctness of the principle thus stated, Venezuela considers that there are two facts, whose importance and significance must excuse their present mention.

Pilot station at Barima, 1802.

The first of these is that, according to the testimony of Major McCreagh, an English officer, the Spaniards, already as early as 1802, were maintaining a regular pilot station at the Barima mouth of the Orinoco.† This station has continued to be maintained from or before that time to the present day; and its existence has been repeatedly recognized by the British Government.‡

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* As a matter of fact the Appendices hereto do contain proof of this fact, but the documents which attest it have, in the main, been submitted with a view rather to show the restricted limits of British occupation than the extent or exclusiveness of Spanish and Venezuelan settlement and control.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 57.

‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 189-192.

Barima under Venezuela jurisdiction in 1836.

The second fact is that, in the year 1836, the British Consul at Angostura and the British Minister at Caracas both bore testimony to the fact, that Barima point was, at that time, under Venezuela's exclusive jurisdiction. The latter, on behalf of his government, went so far as to make a formal request of Venezuela to erect a light-house at Barima point.*

*Appendix to Case, iii, 189-190, 209.

XVI.—DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

Schomburgk's appointment as Commissioner.

The diplomatic history between Great Britain and Venezuela, relative to the boundary question, began in 1841, and was occasioned by the appointment of Mr. Schomburgk* as Commissioner to mark out the boundary.

By instruction of November 28, 1840, Sir Robert Ker Porter, the British Minister at Caracas, received instructions from his government "to inform the Venezue-

* Robert Hermann Schomburgk was born in Freiburg, Saxony, June 5, 1804, and died in Berlin, Germany, March 11, 1865. Between 1825 and 1830 he was in the United States, first at Boston and later at Richmond, Va., where he was in the tobacco business. Failing in this, he went to the West Indies in 1830, where he surveyed the island Anegada. His report and published observations on the cultivated plants of the West Indies brought him to the notice of the Royal Geographical Society, which, on November 19, 1834, engaged him to explore in Guiana. He reached Georgetown for the first time on August 5, 1835. His work in Guiana is comprised in the nine years between this date and May 20, 1844, when he took his final departure. On May 31, 1844, the instruments with which his boundary survey was made were presented by the governor to the "new Astronomical and Meteorological Society" of British Guiana.

In all six trips, or expeditions, for surveying and making collections, were made by Schomburgk, the first three under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, the last three under the auspices of the government.

First Expedition—September 21, 1835, to March 18, 1836.

Second Expedition—September 2, 1836, to March 30, 1837.

This was followed by a severe attack of yellow fever.

Third Expedition—September 12, 1837, to June 17, 1839.

In October, 1839, he went to England. Early in 1840, he published his little book entitled "Description of British Guiana." On May 25, 1840, he received one of the gold medals of the Royal Geographical Society. The King of Prussia decorated him with the Order of the Red Eagle. His engagement as Commissary for surveying the boundaries of British Guiana was read in the Court of Policy in Georgetown, October 29, 1840.

Fourth Expedition—April 19, 1841, to July 27, 1841.

Fifth Expedition—December, 1841, to January, 1843.

Sixth Expedition—February 14, 1843, to October 13, 1843.

On May 20, 1844, he left British Guiana and remained for some time at Barbados and wrote a history of that island, which was published in 1847. In 1848 he was made British Consul at St. Domingo. In 1857 he was sent to Siam as Her Majesty's Consul-General. In declining health, he returned to England in 1864, and retired on a pension. He died in Berlin, March 11, 1865.

Schomburgk's appointment as Commissioner.

lan Minister of Foreign Affairs that Her Majesty has issued a Commission to Mr. R. H. Schomburgk, authorizing him to survey and mark out the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela." *

Venezuela, in 1841, proposed treaty to define boundary.

This information was conveyed to the Venezuelan Government on January 13, 1841;† and on the 28th of the same month the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs replied by proposing a treaty for the purpose of defining the boundary in question. ‡ The Minister also suggested that the appointment of Commissioners to mark out the boundary be deferred until after such a treaty had been concluded.§

Answer of British Government.

The answer of the British Minister, on the 30th of the same month, was that Mr. Schomburgk had already been commissioned by his government, and that he was probably already at work on the ground. ‖ He stated, however, that he would lay the matter before his government. ¶

Survey and erection of posts by Schomburgk.

In the meantime, and without any further notice, Mr. Schomburgk actually began the survey, and erected posts at various points to mark the line by him laid out.

He made his first report on June 22, 1841;** and followed it by a second report in August of the same year.††

Report that British flag had been hoisted in the Amacura.

On August 17, 1841, the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Aranda, wrote to Mr. O'Leary, the British representative at Caracas, asking information with

* Appendix to Case, iii, 193.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 193.

‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 194.

§ Appendix to Case, iii, 194.

‖ Appendix to Case, iii, 194.

¶ Appendix to Case, iii, 194.

** Appendix to Case, iii, 77.

†† Appendix to Case, iii, 97.

regard to a report received by him to the effect that a British flag had been hoisted at the mouth of the Amacura.*

Report that British flag had been hoisted in the Amacura.

Mr. O'Leary, under date of August 21, 1841, denied any knowledge of the occurrence.† The Venezuelan Government thereupon appointed Commissioners to proceed to British Guiana "for the purpose of investigating the origin and design wherewith the British flag and other marks as of possession were planted at Barima and Amacura * * * * and also to make suitable reclamations and protests."‡

Protest by Venezuela.

On October 5, 1841, Señor Fortique, the Venezuelan Minister in London, addressed a note to the Earl of Aberdeen, asking for an explanation of Schomburgk's conduct and urging, at the same time, "the necessity of proceeding to the negotiation of a treaty of boundaries as a preliminary step to the operation of demarcation."§

The instructions sent at this time to Señor Fortique by his Government, relative to the proposed negotiations, were in part as follows:

Instructions to Señor Fortique regarding negotiations.

"Although Venezuela's rights in Guayana extended to the banks of the Essequibo, as you should show, this Government being anxious to remove all obstacles to a speedy adjustment, is not disposed to insist upon its rights to that extent, it being manifest that England will not agree to surrender her establishments on the Pumaron and Moroco rivers. You may, therefore, direct the course of your negotiations accordingly, making gradual concessions until an agreement can be had on the following line of boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, viz.: The Moroco from its mouth to its headwaters in the Imataca mountains; thence southward along the highest ridge of these mountains to Tupuro creek; thence along the waters of said creek to the Cuyuni river; thence along the northern side of the Cuyuni

* Appendix to Case, iii, 195–196.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 195.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 196.
§ Appendix to Case, iii, 197.

Instructions to Señor Fortique regarding negotiations.

to its confluence with the Essequibo; and thence southward along the left bank of the Essequibo to its confluence with the Rupuruni as a terminus."*

Lord Aberdeen's statement regarding Schomburgk's proceedings.

To Señor Fortique's note of October 5, the Earl of Aberdeen replied on October 21, 1841, stating, with reference to Mr. Schomburgk's proceedings, that the demarcation so made was merely a preliminary measure open to future discussion between the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela, and that Mr. Schomburgk had left behind him no "guard-house, sentry box or other building bearing the British flag."†

Governor Light's statement on same subject.

In line with these declarations of Lord Aberdeen, Governor Light, on October 20, 1841, wrote to Señor Aranda and stated that,

"Mr. Schomburgk's mission was one purely of survey, with instructions from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Palmerston, to 'erect landmarks on the ground in order to mark out by permanent erections the line of boundary so claimed by Great Britain; it would then rest with each of the three Governments, namely, Brazil, Venezuela, and the Netherlands, to make any objections which they might have to bring forward against these boundaries, and to state the reasons upon which such objections might be founded, and Her Britannic Majesty's Government would then give such answers thereto as might appear proper and just.'"‡

Governor Light added:

"I trust this explanation will be satisfactory to your Excellency; neither the Government of Venezuela nor of Great Britain having hitherto occupied the Barima, and that point marking the boundary claimed by the British Government, it will be prudent not to attempt an occupation which would complicate negotiation, and might lead to unpleasant discussion." §

Protest by Venezuela.

The Venezuelan Commissioners to British Guiana

* U. S. Commission, Report, vii, 6.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 198–199.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 197–198.
§ Appendix to Case, iii, 198.

failed in their mission, so far as negotiations for a boundary treaty were concerned, but they recorded their protest against the encroachments of the British; and, in a letter to Governor Light, dated October 26, 1841, they set forth the relations of Venezuela to the Orinoco delta in the following words:

Protest by Venezuela.

Relations of Venezuela to Orinoco delta.

"And to this plain and extended right to this territory must be added the necessary exclusive and constant use which Venezuela has always particularly enjoyed of the great mouth of the Orinoco called 'Boca de Navio,' including the two Rivers Amacura and Barima, which empty themselves into the said great mouth.

All nations with whom we trade will bear witness to the ancient establishment and daily service of our 'pilot boats' between the Island Pagayos, in the River Orinoco, and Barima Point, which is the main point of entrance and exit by the great mouth of the Orinoco; which is for Venezuela, by right and necessity, what the mouths of the Thames and the Seine are to their respective nations.

And besides the pilotage service, Venezuela has exercised its right of police and prevention of smuggling over all the southern bank of 'La Boca de Navios,' and at both sides, and at both mouths, of its two tributaries, the Barima and Amacura. Nor can Venezuela ever deprive herself of this use and right without considering it an offence, which she can never fear from her great and just friend Great Britain."*

Schomburgk's *official* report of Oct. 23, 1841.

On October 23, 1841, in answer to inquiries by Governor Light, of British Guiana, Mr. Schomburgk made a special report setting forth the grounds upon which he based the British claim to Barima and Amacura.† This was an official report intended for the eyes of the public. On the same date he wrote to Governor Light a *confidential* letter, pointing out the importance to Great Britain

* Appendix to Case, iii, 199-200.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 121-125.

Schomburgk's *confidential* letter of Oct. 23, 1841.

of the possession of Point Barima as a point commanding the entrance to the Orinoco River.* In this letter he dwelt at length upon the fact that the occupation of Barima meant the commercial and the military control of the entire Orinoco region.

Venezuela's demand for removal of Schomburgk posts.

The Government of Venezuela, becoming better apprised as to the acts of Mr. Schomburgk, made a renewed and stronger protest against such acts, and demanded the removal of the posts which had been erected. This was in a note from Señor Fortique to the Earl of Aberdeen, dated November 18, 1841. In that note Señor Fortique made the following statement:

> "The Undersigned has subsequently been directed to assure Her Majesty's Government that Commissioner Schomburgk, overstepping, no doubt, the terms of his authorization, has at a point of the mouth of the Orinoco fixed several posts with Her Majesty's initials—has hoisted the British flag in that locality, solemnly attended by an armed force—and has proceeded to other acts of dominion and empire."†

Venezuela again urges a boundary treaty.

In a separate note of the same date Señor Fortique again urged upon the British Government the desirability of a treaty, and his readiness to negotiate it.‡

Schomburgk's memorial of Nov. 30, 1841.

On November 30, 1841, Mr. Schomburgk submitted a further letter, a memorial, and two maps to Governor Light. §

Venezuela again demands removal of Schomburgk posts.

Not receiving any reply to his notes of November 18, excepting a mere formal acknowledgment of their receipt, Señor Fortique again addressed himself to Lord Aberdeen on December 8, 1841. In his note of that date he again, and in stronger terms, requested the immediate removal of the posts erected

* Appendix to Case, iii, 125–127.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 200.

‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 202.

§ Appendix to Case, iii, 127–128.

by Schomburgk, and once more expressed his readiness to negotiate a boundary treaty.*

Venezuela again demands removal of Schomburgk posts.

In answer to this Lord Aberdeen replied, on December 11, 1841, stating that the erection of the posts was merely a preliminary measure, that they were not intended "as indications of dominion and empire on the part of Great Britain," and "that the British authorities have not occupied Point Barima."†

Lord Aberdeen's answer.

The Venezuelan Government, however, determined to remove every semblance of British authority within Venezuelan territory; and in a note of January 10, 1842, repeated its demand for the removal of the posts.‡

Venezuela repeats her demand.

In reply to this Lord Aberdeen, on January 31, 1842, wrote stating that the British Government would order the removal of the posts.§

Removal ordered by Great Britain.

The matter of the posts having been thus disposed of, on May 23, 1843, Señor Fortique once more urged upon Lord Aberdeen the necessity of determining by treaty the boundary between the two countries.‖ Negotiations were finally begun on January 31, 1844, when Señor Fortique submitted in writing the claims of Venezuela to all territory west of the Essequibo.** Lord Aberdeen answered the note last referred to in detail, entering into a discussion of Venezuela's claims as set forth by Señor Fortique, and presenting the claims of Great Britain.††

Negotiations for boundary treaty.

The views of the two governments were so far apart, however, that it at once became evident that nothing could be arrived at, if there were not mutual concessions. In proposing a compromise line which should give to

Importance of Orinoco mouth.

* Appendix to Case, iii, 202–204.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 204–205.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 205–207.
§ Appendix to Case, iii, 207–208.
‖ Appendix to Case, iii, 208.
** Blue Book 3, 248–251.
†† Blue Book 3, 251–254.

Importance of Orinoco mouth.

Venezuela the control of the Orinoco mouth, Lord Aberdeen in the following words recognized the importance to Venezuela of the command of that river:

"Believing, then, that the undivided possession of the Orinoco is the object most important for the interests of Venezuela, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to cede to the Republic a portion of the coast amply sufficient to insure Venezuela against the mouth of this her principal river being at the command of any foreign Power. With this view, and regarding it as a most valuable concession to Venezuela, Her Majesty's Government are willing to waive their claim to the Amacura as the western boundary of the British territory, and to consider the mouth of the Moroco River as the limit of Her Majesty's possessions on the sea-coast.

They will, moreover, consent that the inland boundary shall be marked by a line drawn directly from the mouth of the Moroco to the junction of the River Barama with the River Waini, thence up the River Barama to the Annama, and up the Annama to the point at which that stream approaches nearest to the Acarabisi, and thence down the Acarabisi to its confluence with the Cuyuni, from which point it will follow the bank of the Cuyuni upwards until it reaches the high lands in the neighbourhood of Mount Roraima which divide the waters flowing into the Essequibo from those which flow into the Rio Branco.

All the territory lying between a line such as is here described, on the one side, and the River Amacura and the chain of hills from which the Amacura rises, on the other, Great Britain is willing to cede to Venezuela, upon the condition that the Venezuelan Government enter into an engagement that no portion of it shall be alienated at any time to a foreign Power, and that the Indian tribes now residing within it shall be protected against all injury and oppression." *

Lord Aberdeen's proposals rejected by Venezuela.

The line proposed by Lord Aberdeen was not acceptable to Venezuela, and the conditions attached in its acceptance were so at variance with the rights and dignity of that country that, for the time being, negotiations were suspended.

In 1850 there was a rumor that Great Britain had

* Appendix to Case, iii, 210–211.

taken possession of Barima Point on the coast, and of "Fuerto Viejo" on the Cuyuni. The excitement in Venezuela consequent upon this was so great that it was deemed prudent on the part of Great Britain to deny the truth of the report,* and at the same time to make a formal declaration that it had "no intention of occupying or encroaching upon the disputed territory."†

Rumor regarding "Fuerto Viejo."

"Agreement of 1850."

While making this declaration to Venezuela, the British Minister requested Venezuela to make a similar formal declaration to Great Britain.‡ This was done under date of December 20, 1850.§ This arrangement is what has come to be known as "The Agreement of 1850."

Negotiations for a boundary treaty were again taken up in 1876 by Señor Calcaño, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, and by the Earl of Derby. These were continued in London by Señor de Rojas, who, on February 13, 1877, wrote Lord Derby urging a settlement of the question, and suggesting that a mixed commission be appointed to survey the territory in dispute.‖

Negotiations resumed in 1876.

After waiting for more than two years without receiving any other reply than a mere formal acknowledgment of the receipt of his note and a promise of its consideration, Señor de Rojas, on May 19, 1879, once more addressed the British Government in a note of that date to the Marquess of Salisbury.¶

On January 10, 1880, Lord Salisbury answered Señor de Rojas' note, and stated Great Britain's extreme claim, expressing at the same time the willingness of Her Majesty's Government to adopt a compromise line,

Great Britain's extreme claim stated.

* Appendix to Case, iii, 211, 212.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 212.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 212.
§ Appendix to Case, iii, 213–214.
‖ Appendix to Case, iii, 214–215.
¶ Appendix to Case, iii, 215–217.

Great Britain's extreme claim stated.

and requesting Señor de Rojas to submit a proposition with that end in view.*

In answer to this, Señor Fortique, on April 12, 1880, wrote to Lord Salisbury, stating that Venezuela was disposed to make concessions from what she regarded as her strict right, and to agree to a compromise line. He then requested to know whether the British Government would be disposed to conduct negotiations for that purpose on the basis of the line proposed by Lord Aberdeen in 1844.† Señor de Rojas receiving no answer to this note (beyond the formal acknowledgment of its receipt), on September 27, 1880, addressed himself to Earl Granville requesting a reply. On February 12, 1881, Lord Granville wrote to Señor de Rojas stating that, "Her Majesty's Government are unable to accept the mouth of the Moroco as the boundary on the coast"; that it would consider a line commencing at a more northerly point on the coast, and would be glad to be favored with a general communication of the views of the Venezuelan Government, ‡

Lord Granville's refusal to negotiate on basis of Lord Aberdeen's Line.

Señor de Rojas' proposal.

Señor de Rojas answered this note on February 21, 1881. He referred to the fact that Lord Aberdeen had himself proposed the Amacura mouth as a point of departure on the coast; but, in order to meet the views of Lord Granville, he proposed a line beginning one mile north of the mouth of the Amacura, and suggested that, if this were not satisfactory to the British Government, his own government was disposed to submit the matter to arbitration. §

Lord Granville's proposal.

This proposition was, on September 15, 1881, met by a counter-proposition on the part of Lord Granville,

* Appendix to Case, iii, 217–218.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 218–219.

‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 219–220.

§ Appendix to Case, iii, 220–222

a proposition which gave the starting point on the coast at a point distant "twenty-nine miles of longitude due east from the right bank of the river Barima," and which, in the following language, recognized the importance to Venezuela of the Orinoco mouth:

Lord Granville's proposal.

> "This boundary will surrender to Venezuela what has been called the Dardanelles of the Orinoco. It will give to Venezuela the entire command of the mouth of that river, and it yields about one-half of the disputed territory, while it secures to British Guiana a well-defined natural boundary along almost its whole course, except for about the first 50 miles inland from the sea, where it is necessary to lay down an arbitrary boundary in order to secure to Venezuela the undisturbed possession of the mouths of the Orinoco; but even here advantage has been taken of well-defined natural landmarks. The Barima, connected as before mentioned by its tributaries with the center of the country of Essequibo, is also connected with the Waini by a channel through which the tide flows and ebbs."*

Lord Granville's proposals rejected by Venezuela.

The proposition of Earl Granville was referred, by Señor de Rojas, to the Venezuelan Government, and after careful consideration was rejected, for the reason, among others, that the Constitution forbade the alienation of territory belonging to the Republic.

Dr. Seijas urges arbitration.

In his note of November 15, 1883, to Colonel Mansfield, Dr. Seijas, the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs, reaffirmed the right of Venezuela to all territory west of the Essequibo, and again proposed to submit the question to arbitration.†

Great Britain's refusal.

To this proposition the British Government answered on March 29, 1884, refusing to submit the question to arbitration.‡ On April 2, 1884, Dr. Seijas again urged arbitration upon the British Minister at Caracas, and asked him in default thereof, to make a suggestion as

* Appendix to Case, iii, 156.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 223–224.

‡ U. S. Commission, Report, vii, 71.

Great Britain's refusal.

to an "acceptable course for attaining the solution of this difficulty."*

At various times the proposition to arbitrate was repeated by Venezuela, and as often refused on the part of Great Britain.

Toward the latter part of 1884 General Guzman Blanco, having been appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to represent Venezuela in London, arrived in that city. The special purpose of his mission was to bring about a settlement of the boundary question.

There were at that time pending between the two countries two other questions, viz., the differential duties upon imports from British Colonies into Venezuela, and certain claims of British creditors against the Republic.

New negotiations begun by Gen. Guzman Blanco.

General Guzman Blanco, in a memorandum communicated to Sir Julian Pauncefote on December 13, 1884, proposed that these questions be settled simultaneously.† Negotiations were conducted on this basis, and on April 6, 1885, a *Project of Treaty* was submitted by General Guzman Blanco to Earl Granville. This Project contained a general clause agreeing to submit "any difference which cannot be adjusted by the usual means ot friendly negotiation" to the arbitration of a third power.‡

Draft Treaty submitted by Lord Granville.

Negotiations proceeding satisfactorily, on June 8, 1885, General Guzman Blanco submitted to Earl Granville a formal *Draft Treaty* in which was retained the arbitration clause above referred to.§

On June 18 Lord Granville sent to General Guzman Blanco copies of the proposed treaty in print, and asked his approval of certain conditions proposed by the

* Appendix to Case, iii, 224–226.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 226–227.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 227, 228.
§ Appendix to Case, iii, 229.

British Government.* These were in the main acceptable to Venezuela, but, before the treaty could be concluded, Earl Granville was succeeded by the Marquess of Salisbury, who, under date of July 27, 1885, wrote to General Guzman Blanco objecting to certain words which had been the subject of discussion between Earl Granville and General Guzman Blanco, and then added:

Draft Treaty acceptable to Venezuela, but withdrawn by Lord Salisbury.

"Her Majesty's Government are unable to concur in the assent given by their predecessors in office to the general arbitration Article proposed by Venezuela, and they are unable to agree to the inclusion in it of matter other than those arising out of the interpretation or alleged violation of this particular Treaty." †

General Guzman Blanco's reply to Lord Salisbury, dated August 5, 1885, was in the nature of a protest against the refusal of the British Government to respect the engagements of the previous government which had already given formal assent to the arbitration article.‡ After some ineffectual attempts on the part of General Guzman Blanco to continue negotiations they were suspended.

Protest by Venezuela.

British interests requiring that the boundary question should no longer remain in suspense, on June 7, 1886, the Earl of Rosebery instructed Mr. F. R. St. John, the British Minister at Caracas, to inform the Venezuelan Government that the British Government intended "to proceed at once to define the boundary of the British possessions in Guiana," and that the line which they intended to trace would run as follows:

Lord Rosebery's instructions to define the boundary.

"The initial point to be fixed at a spot on the sea shore 29 miles of longitude due east from the right bank of the River Barima, and to be carried thence south over the mountain or hill called on Schomburgk's original map the Yarikita Hill, to the 8th parallel

* Appendix to Case, iii, 229-230.

† Appendix to Case, iii, 231.

‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 231-232.

Lord Rosebery's instructions to define the boundary.

of north latitude; thence west along the same parallel of latitude until it cuts the boundary line proposed by Schomburgk, and laid down on the map before mentioned; thence to follow such boundary along its course to the Accarabisi, following the Accarabisi to its junction with the Cuyuni; thence along the left bank of the River Cuyuni to its source, and from thence in a south-easterly direction to the line as proposed by Schomburgk to the Essequibo and Corentyne." *

Lord Rosebery added:

You will add that instructions have been sent to the Governor of British Guiana authorizing him to grant licenses forthwith for gold-mining within the territory, which will be at once marked as British territory, and without requiring him to withhold the issue of such licenses until the completion of the line of demarcation." †

Negotiations once more renewed.

After the sending of these instructions, the presence of General Guzman Blanco presented an opportunity to once more enter into negotiations; and after some preliminary correspondence, Lord Rosebery, on July 20, 1886, submitted to General Guzman Blanco the following basis of negotiation:

Lord Rosebery's proposal.

"*Boundaries.*—It is proposed that the two Governments should agree to consider the territory lying between the boundary-lines respectively proposed in the 8th paragraph of Señor Rojas' note of the 21st February, 1881, and in Lord Granville's note of the 15th September, 1881, as the territory in dispute between the two countries, and that a boundary-line should be traced within the limits of this territory, either by an Arbitrator or by a Joint Commission, on the basis of an equal division of this territory, due regard being paid to natural boundaries. Her Majesty's Government attach special importance to the possession by British Guiana of the mouth of the River Waini, and they desire, therefore, to stipulate that the line should start from the sea-coast westwards of that point, due compensation being found in some other portion of the disputed territory for this departure from the basis of an equal division. The question of the cession

* Appendix to Case, iii, 160.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 160.

to Venezuela of the Island of Patos will be considered in connection with the boundary negotiations. The River Orinoco to be entirely free to commerce and navigation.*

Lord Rosebery's proposal.

General Guzman Blanco made no immediate reply to this proposition, but on July 28, 1886, addressed a strong note to the Earl of Rosebery, rehearsing the diplomatic history of the preceding forty years, reminding Lord Rosebery especially of the agreement of 1850 whereby both countries had declared that they would not occupy nor encroach upon the disputed territory, calling attention to recent flagrant violations of this agreement by British officials, and demanding reparation therefor and the re-establishment of the *status quo ante*.†

Gen. Guzman Blanco's answer.

On the following day, July 29, 1886, General Guzman Blanco addressed a second note to Lord Rosebery, in answer to the latter's note of July 20. In this second note General Guzman Blanco declined the proposition of the British Government to draw a conventional boundary somewhere between the line proposed by Señor de Rojas on February 21, 1881, and that proposed by Lord Granville on September 15, 1881. He reiterated the statement, made so many times by him and by his predecessor, that the Venezuelan Constitution forbade the alienation of territory; and he once more spoke of arbitration as the only way out of the difficulty. ‡

General Guzman Blanco's departure for Venezuela interrupted negotiations.

Nogotiations interrupted.

Meanwhile, on October 21, 1886, the British Government caused the following notice to be published in the *London Gazette:*

* Appendix to Case, iii, 54.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 234-246.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 247-252.

Notice published by Great Britain.

COLONIAL OFFICE, Downing Street, October 21, 1886.

THE COLONY OF BRITISH GUIANA.

WHEREAS the boundary-line between Her Majesty's Colony of British Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela is in dispute between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Venezuela:

And whereas it has come to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government that grants of land within the territory claimed by Her Majesty's Government as part of the said Colony have been made, or purport to have been made, by or in the name of the Government of Venezuela.

Notice is hereby given, that no title to land, or to any right in, or over, or affecting any land within the territory claimed by Her Majesty's Government as forming part of the Colony of British Guiana, purporting to be derived from or through the Government of Venezuela or any officer or person authorized by that Government, will be admitted or recognized by Her Majesty or by the Government of British Guiana; and that any person taking possession of, or exercising any right over, any such land under colour of any such title, or pretended title, will be liable to be treated as a trespasser under the laws of the said Colony.

A map showing the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, claimed by Her Majesty's Government, can be seen in the Library of the Colonial Office, Downing Street, or at the Office of the Government Secretary, Georgetown, British Guiana.*

Rural Constable Commissioned for the Amacura in 1885; and post erected in 1886.

On March 1, 1885, more than a year prior to General Guzman Blanco's departure from London, the British Minister commissioned a Rural Constable for the Amacura River.† In August, 1886, a British Post was erected on that river.†

Venezuela's protest.

These facts coming to the knowledge of the Venezuelan Government, and that government despairing of any settlement of the boundary question with Great Britain, proceeded to erect a light-house at Point Barima, and sent Commissioners to the Amacura, the Barima, the

* Appendix to Case, iii, 161.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 253.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 163.

Waini, and to Georgetown, to protest against the encroachments of Great Britain, and to warn British settlers that they were on Venezuelan soil.*

Venezuela's protest.

Upon its return to Caracas, the Commission reported to the Venezuelan Government that two British Commissioners were on the right bank of the Amacura, acting there as Rural Constables under the authority of the British Government.† Thereupon, on January 26, 1887, the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs addressed a note to Mr. F. R. St. John, the British Minister at Caracas, informing him of the above facts, protesting against such acts, demanding the immediate evacuation of the territory between the Orinoco and Pomaroon Rivers, and stating that, in case of either no reply or of a refusal, diplomatic relations would be broken off. ‡

Diplomatic relations suspended.

After some further fruitless interchange of notes diplomatic relations were, on February 20, 1887, suspended by Venezuela. §

Negotiations for renewal of diplomatic relations.

In 1890, the Venezuelan Government received an intimation from Sir Andrew Clarke and Captain Lowther that Great Britain was disposed "to evacuate the invaded territory, and to submit the case to the arbitration of a friendly Power, provided Venezuela would declare diplomatic relations to be re-established between the two countries." In consequence of this, on January 10, 1890, Señor Urbaneja, Venezuelan Minister at Paris, addressed a note to the Marquess of Salisbury, stating that Venezuela was desirous of renewing diplomatic relations, and had empowered him to negotiate and sign a treaty for that purpose. ‖ In the reply of the British

* Appendix to Case, iii, pp. 162–163, 183–185, 252, 253.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 255.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 255–260.
§ Appendix to Case, iii, 272.
‖ Appendix to Case, iii, 273–274.

Negotiations for renewal of diplomatic relations.

Foreign Office the following condition was laid down:

As regards the frontier between Venezuela and the Colony of British Guiana, Her Majesty's Government could not accept as satisfactory any arrangement which did not admit the British title to the territory comprised within the line laid down by Sir R. Schomburgk in 1841. They would be ready to refer to arbitration the claim of Great Britain to certain territories to the west of that line.*

Señor Urbaneja's proposal.

Señor Urbaneja, in reply (February 13, 1890), referred to the statement which had been made to his government by Sir Andrew Clarke and Captain Lowther, and stated that, it had been upon the faith of those representations that Venezuela had "thought fit to appoint a Confidential Agent to conclude a Preliminary Agreement for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Government of Her BritannicMajesty."† Señor Urbaneja then proceeded to discuss the conditions laid down by Lord Salisbury, and concluded by proposing "an arbitration which shall include all the territory from the Essequibo, and the evacuation of the invaded territory from the Pomeroon onward in the direction of the Orinoco." ‡

Great Britain's reply.

Replying to this note, on March 19, 1890, Sir T. H. Sanderson repeated that "Her Majesty's Government . . . cannot admit any question as to their title to territory within the line surveyed by Sir R. Schomburgk in 1841." §

Negotiations suspended.

This attempt on the part of Venezuela to re-establish diplomatic relations thus proved abortive.

In June of 1890, Señor Pulido, appointed Plenipotentiary *ad hoc* of Venezuela, arrived in London, and through him Venezuela again made an effort to bring

* Appendix to Case, iii, 274.
† Appendix to Case, iii, 276.
‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 275.
§ Appendix to Case, iii, 278.

about a re-establishment of diplomatic relations. On the 24th of that month Señor Pulido submitted to the Foreign Office a *memorandum* in answer to the last communication of the Foreign office to Señor Urbaneja. In this *memorandum* Señor Pulido proposed a preliminary joint survey of the region in dispute, and its subsequent submission to arbitration in case of disagreement as to a proper boundary line.* Great Britain, on July 27, 1890, rejected this proposal.

Renewed efforts by Venezuela.

In May of 1893, a third attempt at re-establishing diplomatic relations with Great Britain was made by Venezuela. In that month Señor Michelena arrived in London, having been appointed "Confidential Agent" of Venezuela.

Another effort to re-establish Diplomatic relations.

On May 26, 1893, he submitted to the Earl of Rosebery a *pro-memoria* of the bases for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. The *pro-memoria* submitted contemplated the appointment of delegates to conclude a frontier treaty, and a submission of doubtful points to arbitration.‡

On July 3, 1893, the advances of Venezuela were once more rejected by Great Britain,§ and Señor Michelena left London without anything having been accomplished.

Great Britain's refusal.

In the meantime, and as early as 1886, the Government of the United States of America had manifested its interest in the question, by offering its good offices in the matter to the British Government. These were declined at the time, and also on various subsequent occations when they were renewed in different forms. Finally, however, in the month of February, 1896, the

Interest of the United States.

* Appendix to Case, iii, 279–281.

†Appendix to Case, iii, 285–286.

‡ Appendix to Case, iii, 286–287.

§ Appendix to Case, iii, 287–288.

Successful negotiations initiated by the United States in 1896.

negotiations which resulted in the present treaty were initiated. In those negotiations the United States, with the consent of the two interested governments, took an active part.

The objections of the British Government to submit to arbitration the entire territory in dispute had been stated by Lord Salisbury in his instructions to Sir Julian Pauncefote, dated November 26, 1895, to be that British settlements had gradually spread over the country and that Her Majesty's Government could not, in justice to the inhabitants, offer to surrender such settlements to foreign rule.

The question of British settlements having thus been recognized, from the first, as the sole stumbling block, the discussion in the subsequent negotiations was directed to that point.

Present treaty of arbitration.

The Treaty of Washington of February 2, 1897, is the result.

XVII.—CONCLUSION.

Propositions of fact.

The United States of Venezuela, upon the evidence herewith submitted, and upon that referred to, claim that the following propositions of fact have been fully established:

1. Spain was the first nation to discover South America, to explore it, and to take formal possession of it.

2. Spain was the first nation to discover and explore Guiana.

3. Spain was the first nation to establish settlements on the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers, and in the eastern parts of Guiana; and the first and only nation to take formal possession of, and to occupy, Guiana *as a whole.*

4. For more than a century after discovering Guiana, Spain maintained exclusive possession of the entire region between the Orinoco and the Amazon; held it; and exercised exclusive political control over it: she expelled and excluded other nations from it; and otherwise asserted her sovereignty over it.

5. Apart from this general control of Guiana *as a whole*, Spain, from early in the 16th century, and before any other nation had attempted to gain a foothold therein, exercised a special and exclusive control over the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers, and over all the territory adjacent thereto; and, as late at least as 1615, was maintaining a colony on the Essequibo river.

6. The Dutch were subjects of the King of Spain, and in 1581 revolted against him.

Propositions of fact.

7. The earliest relations of the Dutch, with Guiana in general, and with the Essequibo in particular, were limited to trade and to hostile operations against the Spaniards. They began to trade to the Essequibo not earlier than 1625; and not long after, during the temporary absence of the Spaniards, established a trading post in that river, at or near the site previously fortified by the Spaniards—a site still, at that time, belonging to Spain.

8. At the date of the Treaty of Munster, January 30, 1648, the holdings and possessions of the Dutch in the Essequibo were limited to the island subsequently known as Kykoveral.

9. At that date the Dutch did not hold and were not in possession of any part of the territory now in dispute.

10. The *Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin*, being the region bounded on the north by the Imataca mountains; on the east by the Blue mountains, by the lowest falls of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers, and by the Ayangcanna mountains; on the south by the Ayangcanna and Pacaraima mountains; and on the west by the divide separating the waters of the Caroni and Orinoco rivers from the waters of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers, is a geographical and political unit, the material occupation of a part of which, by the nation first discovering and exploring it, is in law attributive and constructive possession of the whole.

11. This *Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin* is a tract of land geographically separate from and independent of the Essequibo river; and no part of said basin was held, possessed or controlled by the Dutch at the date of the Treaty of Munster.

Propositions of fact.

12. By the Treaty of Munster the Dutch engaged to neither sail to nor trade in any places held and possessed by the King of Spain.

13. By the same treaty the Dutch engaged to respect the sovereignty of Spain over all lordships, towns, castles, fortresses, commerce and countries at that time held or possessed by Spain, and to do nothing which might be an infraction of the treaty.

14. Twice during the latter part of the 17th century, the Dutch, in violation of the Treaty of Munster, attempted to plant settlements west of the Essequibo river, on the banks of the Pomeroon. These attempts were ineffectual, the proposed settlements being in each case attacked, and the Dutch driven therefrom. The first of said settlements lasted less than eight years; and the second less than three years.

15. Except for these attempts at settlement by the Dutch on the Pomeroon, Spain, during the whole of the 17th century exercised exclusive political control of the entire territory west of the Essequibo river.

16. Twice during the 18th century the Dutch, in violation of the Treaty of Munster, attempted to establish slave and trading posts on the Cuyuni river. These attempts were ineffectual: one of these posts was attacked and destroyed by the Spaniards: the second was abandoned by the Dutch, because of fear of the Spaniards.

17. During the whole of the 18th century Spain exercised exclusive political control of the *Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin*, down to the lowest falls of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers.

18. During a part of the 18th century the Dutch, with the permission of Spain, and together with other

Propositions of fact.

nations, traded to the main mouth of the Orinoco river, and to other parts of the Orinoco delta.

19. At various times during the 18th century, the Dutch, in violation of the Treaty of Munster, attempted to establish, and in some cases for brief periods maintained, slave trading stations near the mouths of the Pomeroon and Moruca rivers.

20. Except for these attempts to establish stations near the mouths of the Pomeroon and Moruca rivers, Spain, during the whole of the 18th century exercised exclusive political control of the coast region between the Moruca and the mouth of the Essequibo. During the entire century she exercised exclusive political control of the Orinoco river, of its entire delta, and of all the coast region between the main mouth of the Orinoco and the Moruca.

21. The entire coast region from Barima point southeast as far as the divide separating the waters of the Moruca from the waters of the Waini, is an integral part of the Orinoco delta.

22. The region bounded on the north and northeast by the Gulf of Paria and the Atlantic Ocean; on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and by the divide separating the waters of the Moruca from the waters of the Waini; on the south by the Imataca mountains; and extending thence westward, is a geographical and political unit, the material occupation of a part of which, by the nation first discovering and exploring it, is in law attributive and constructive possession of the whole

23. From the date of her original settlement of the Orinoco in the 16th century, until her title to the region in dispute became vested in Venezuela, Spain had material occupation of a large part of the Orinoco

region last above described; and held, possessed and exercised exclusive political control over the whole of it. Propositions of fact.

24. At no time, either before or after the date of the Treaty of Munster, did the Dutch, for a period of fifty consecutive years, exercise exclusive political control or lawfully occupy any part of the territory lying between the Essequibo and Orinoco rivers.

25. Except as hereinbefore stated, Spain, during the entire period of Dutch occupation of the Essequibo, continuously exercised exclusive political control of every part of the territory lying between the Essequibo and Orinoco rivers.

26. By the Treaty of London of August 13, 1814, the Netherlands ceded to Great Britain the Settlements of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice.

27. Venezuela revolted from Spain April 19, 1810. On March 30, 1845, Spain recognized Venezuela's independence and formally renounced in her favor all the sovereignty, rights and claims previously her own in the territory formerly known as the Captaincy-General of Venezuela. Said territory comprised the region now in dispute.

28. During a portion of the present century, in violation of the Treaty of Munster, Great Britain has occupied a strip of land along the coast between the Essequibo and the Pomeroon rivers, known as the *Arabian* or *Arabisi Coast:* Venezuela has repeatedly protested against such occupation, and has, in every way possible, short of war, asserted her rights to the territory so occupied.

29. Except for said occupation of said *Arabian Coast,*

Propositions of fact.

Great Britain has at no time, for a consecutive period of 50 years, held any part of the territory now in dispute or exercised control of any kind thereover.

30. From the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the colony now known as British Guiana, until Spain's title to the territory in dispute became vested in Venezuela, Spain, except for said occupation of said *Arabian Coast* by Great Britain, continuously held, possessed and exercised exclusive political control of the entire region between the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers.

31. From the date when Spain's title to the territory in dispute became vested in Venezuela, until the year 1850, Venezuela, except for said occupation of said *Arabian Coast* by Great Britain, continuously held, possessed and exercised exclusive political control of the entire region between the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers.

32. In the year 1850 Venezuela and Great Britain agreed that, pending the settlement of the boundary question, neither would occupy or encroach upon the territory then in dispute.

33. Thereafter, and subsequent to the year 1880, Great Britain, in violation of the said agreement of 1850, and of the Treaty of Munster, forcibly entered upon and took possession of the territory lying between the Essequibo river and the line first published in 1886, since claimed by Great Britain to be the *Schomburgk Line*. Said territory included not only the entire region which was in dispute in 1850, but also territory belonging to Venezuela, the title to which had never been questioned prior to 1886.

34. Venezuela has repeatedly protested against such

occupation; and has in every way possible, short of war, asserted her rights to the territory so occupied. Propositions of fact.

35. The occupation, by British subjects or by persons under British protection, of the territory above described, dates from subsequent to 1880 in the *Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin*, and from subsequent to 1884 in the *Orinoco Delta Region*. It was undertaken after due warning from the Venezuelan Government that titles thus sought to be acquired would not be recognized, and after due notice from the British Government that persons so entering into said territory must do so at their own peril.

To the foregoing propositions of fact, Venezuela will claim that the following propositions of law are applicable: Propositions of law.

1. Discovery gives the discovering nation, if not an absolute, at least an inchoate title, sufficient to protect it during a reasonable time pending the actual reduction of the territory to possession.

2. Discovery, when accompanied by public claim of sovereignty, and followed by reduction to possession, confers a complete title.

3. The material occupation of a part of a tract of land in the name of the whole, by the nation which first discovered and explored said tract, is constructively an occupation of the whole.

4. When a nation, claiming title to a whole tract by material occupation of a part, reaches out and actually controls adjacent territory inhabited only by savages, and excludes all other nations therefrom, it thereby exercises physical acts of sovereignty over it, and is in actual political occupation of it.

Propositions of law.

5. A nation having made a settlement on unoccupied land has a right to exclude other nations therefrom.

6. All nations must refrain from disturbing a nation which has settled a country that was vacant at the time of settlement; and an entry by any other nation or people upon territory so previously settled is an act of trespass.

7. A state continues to possess everything it has subjected to its power with a view to its use; and it is not the exercise of usage but the faculty of usage that is the necessary element of possession.

8. Non-user is not abandonment: neither will abandonment be presumed against nations. Before it can be accepted as a fact an actual desertion must be proven with an intention to renounce title.

9. When land is vacant one may enter upon part in name of the whole; but he who comes after enters adversely, and his possession extends *in law* only so far as it does *in fact*. When the original possessor is thus disseized, though his possession of the whole was only by occupation of a part, yet the first is deemed to be disseized only to the extent of the land physically occupied by the second.

10. Ownership of the mouth of a river does not, of itself, give title to the watershed.

11. A nation owning the watershed and the firm banks of a river, by virtue of such ownership, owns and possesses the delta islands and shores below, though uninhabited or uninhabitable. They are not "vacant" lands.

12. If a natural barrier exist between the coast region

and the interior, that barrier will be the boundary between the two. Propositions of law.

13. A nation is bound to faithfully observe its treaty engagements; and no acts committed by it in violation of such engagements can be made the basis of title, especially as against the nation with whom such treaty was concluded.

14. Rule (a) under Article IV of the present treaty is:

"Adverse holding or prescription during a period of fifty years shall make a good title. The Arbitrators may deem exclusive political control of a district, as well as actual settlement thereof, sufficient to constitute adverse holding or to make title by prescription."

Venezuela has accepted this rule, but she submits and will claim that *time* is but one of many elements essential to create title by prescription. Prescription to be effective against nations, as against individuals, must be bona-fide, public, notorious, adverse, exclusive, peaceful, continuous, uncontested, and maintained under a claim of right. Rule (a) fixes 50 years as the *period* of prescription, but leaves its other elements unimpaired.

In conclusion, Venezuela invokes the judgment of this high Tribunal to the following effect: Judgment invoked.

1. Spain's discovery of America gave her the right to reduce to possession the countries discovered; and pending the exercise of that right, during a reasonable period, no other nation had a right, without the consent of Spain, to acquire such countries.

2. Spain having discovered Guiana, and having, within a reasonable time thereafter, under a claim of sovereignty, and earlier than any other nation or people, occupied said province as a whole by the establishment

Judgment invoked.

of colonies and settlements on the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers and in other parts of Guiana, thereby reduced it as a whole to possession, and became vested with a complete title thereto.

3. Spain having, for more than a century after her discovery of Guiana, had exclusive possession thereof as a whole; and having, from early in the 16th century, and before any other nation had attempted to gain a foothold in Guiana, exercised a special and exclusive control over the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers and over the territory adjacent thereto; and having, until at least as late as 1625, excluded all other nations and peoples from said rivers and adjacent territory; exercised thereby physical acts of sovereignty thereover, and was in actual and exclusive political occupation and control thereof in 1625.

4. The region between the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers, and all the territory appurtenant to those rivers, having been in the continuous occupation and under the continuous exclusive political control of Spain from early in the 16th century until at least as late as 1625; and the Dutch having, between the date last mentioned and January 30, 1648, established a trading post on the Essequibo; and the possessions of the Dutch in the said Essequibo river on January 30, 1648, having been limited to the said trading post located upon the island of Kykoveral; Spain was, on said January 30, 1648, in possession and exclusive political control of all territory lying west of the Essequibo river, between that river and the Orinoco.

5. Neither the early relations of the Dutch with Guiana prior to 1648, nor the establishment by them, prior to said date, of a trading post in the Essequibo

river, gave them a right to the soil, nor sovereignty over the territory occupied. Judgment invoked

6. The Dutch not having come as occupants of *terra nullius*, but as mere trespassers on territory belonging to Spain, no valid title to the land occupied by them in the Essequibo river vested in them until, by the Treaty of Munster, Spain released and confirmed to them the possession of such land.

7. The Dutch having come to the Essequibo as disseizors, and the Treaty of Munster having released and confirmed to them only such places as they then actually held and possessed, the territory thus released and confirmed was limited to such land only as was in fact then physically occupied by them.

8. The places actually occupied by the Dutch in the river Essequibo at the date of the Treaty of Munster having been limited to the island subsequently known as Kykoveral, the Treaty of Munster released and confirmed to them the title to that island only and the right of free ingress thereto and egress therefrom by way of the Essequibo river itself.

9. The region bounded on the north by the Imataca mountains; on the east by the Blue mountains, by the lowest falls of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers, and by the Ayangcanna mountains; on the south by the Ayangcanna and Pacaraima mountains; and on the west by the divide separating the waters of the Caroni and Orinoco rivers from the waters of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers, being a geographical and political unit; and a part of said region having, during the latter part of the 16th century, during all of the 17th and 18th centuries, and during the 19th century up to the time when Venezuela became vested therewith, been physi-

Judgment invoked.

cally occupied by Spain; and no other nation having, during said period, occupied or had exclusive political control of any portion thereof in a manner, or for a time sufficient to furnish the basis for a prescriptive title thereto, Spain thereby had, during the whole of said period, attributive and constructive possession of all and of every part of said region.

10. The region described in the paragraph last preceding, known as the *Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin*, being a geographical and political unit; and a part of said region having, during the 19th century, from the time when Spain's title thereto became vested in Venezuela, been physically occupied by Venezuela; and no other nation having, during said period, occupied or had exclusive political control of any portion thereof in a manner or for a time sufficient to furnish the basis for a prescriptive title thereto, Venezuela has thereby had, during the whole of said period, attributive and constructive possession of all and of every part of said region.

11. Said *Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin* being a tract of land geographically separate from and independent of the Essequibo river; and no part of said basin having been in the possession, occupation or control of the Dutch at the date of the Treaty of Munster, that treaty conferred upon the Dutch no right or title whatsoever thereto.

12. The efforts of the Dutch twice during the latter part of the 17th century to establish settlements on or near the Pomeroon, having been ineffectual as well as in violation of the Treaty of Munster, cannot be made the basis of title to that region.

13. The efforts of the Dutch twice during the 18th cen-

tury to establish slave and trading posts on the Cuyuni river, having been ineffectual as well as in violation of the Treaty of Munster, cannot be made the basis of title to that region. Judgment invoked.

14. Spain having expelled and excluded the Dutch from the *Cuyuni-Mazaruni Basin* during the 18th century, and having during the whole of said century exercised exclusive political control over said basin, her original title thereto was thereby further strengthened and confirmed.

15. Spain having, during the whole of the 18th century, exercised exclusive political control of the Orinoco river, of its entire delta, and of all the coast region between the main mouth of the Orinoco and the mouth of the Essequibo, her original title thereto was thereby further strengthened and confirmed.

16. Spain, from the date of her original settlement of the Orinoco in the 16th century until her title to the region in dispute became vested in Venezuela, having held and possessed the entire interior Orinoco region, possessed also the mouth of the Orinoco.

17. The region bounded on the north and northeast by the Gulf of Paria and the Atlantic Ocean; on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and by the divide separating the waters of the Moruca from the waters of the Waini; on the south by the Imataca mountains; and extending thence westward, being a geographical and political unit; and a part of said region having, during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries and during the 19th century up to the time when Venezuela became vested therewith, been physically occupied by Spain; and no other nation having, during said period, occupied or had exclusive political control of any portion thereof; Spain

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thereby had, during the whole of said period, attributive and constructive possession of all and of every part of said region.

18. The region described in the paragraph last preceding being a geographical and political unit; and a part of said region having, during the 19th century from the time when Spain's title thereto became vested in Venezuela been physically occupied by Venezuela; and no other nation having, during said period, occupied or had exclusive political control of any portion thereof in a manner or for a period sufficient to furnish the basis for a prescriptive title thereto; Venezuela has thereby had during the whole of said period attributive and constructive possession of all and of every part of said region.

19. Spain having, during the entire period of Dutch occupation of the Essequibo, exercised exclusive political control of the entire region lying between the Orinoco and the Essequibo rivers, except that at various times during the latter part of the 17th century the Dutch ineffectually attempted to establish and maintain colonies on the Pomeroon river, and except that at various times during the 18th century the Dutch ineffectually attempted to establish and maintain slave trading posts in the Cuyuni river and near the mouths of the Moruca and Pomeroon rivers; and said attempts by the Dutch having been unlawful and in violation of the Treaty of Munster; the original title of Spain to the entire region was thereby further strengthened and confirmed.

20. At the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the colony now known as British Guiana, the territories belonging to or that might lawfully be claimed by the

United Netherlands were all located east of the Essequibo river. Judgment invoked.

21. At the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the colony now known as British Guiana, the territories belonging to or that might lawfully be claimed by the Kingdom of Spain comprised the entire territory between the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers.

22. Spain having, from the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the colony now known as British Guiana until Spain's title to the region in dispute became vested in Venezuela, continued to exercise exclusive political control of the entire region between the Orinoco and Essequibo rivers, except only of the strip of land known as the *Arabian Coast*, lying between the mouth of the Essequibo river and the mouth of the Pomeroon river; and the occupation of said strip of land by Great Britain during a portion of the present century having been unlawful and in violation of the Treaty of Munster; and Venezuela having continued thereafter until 1850 to exercise exclusive political control of the same territory, except only of said *Arabian Coast*, the original title to the entire region, formerly vested in Spain and now vested in Venezuela, has thereby been further strengthened and confirmed.

23. The present occupation by Great Britain of a portion of the territory now in dispute, being in violation of the Treaty of Munster and of the agreement of 1850, and having been effected subsequent to the year 1880, in the interior, and subsequent to 1884, on the coast, cannot be made the basis of title to that region.

24. The boundary line between the United States of Venezuela and the Colony of British Guiana, begins at

Judgment invoked.

the mouth of the Essequibo river; runs thence southward along the mid channel of said river to its junction with the Cuyuni and Mazaruni rivers; thence around the island of Kykoveral, leaving said island to the east; thence along the mid channel of said Essequibo river to the boundary line separating the territory of the United States of Venezuela from the territory of the United States of Brazil.

25. The present occupation by British subjects and persons under British protection having been effected subsequent to 1880 in the interior, and subsequent to 1884 on the coast, and having been undertaken after due warning from the Venezuelan Government that titles thus sought to be acquired would not be recognized by it, and after notice from the British Government that persons so entering into said territory must do so at their own peril, said subjects and persons may be regarded by Venezuela as mere trespassers, and Venezuela is under no obligation to recognize any British titles which such subjects or persons may have acquired to lands situate within said territory.

J. M. DE ROJAS,
Agent of Venezuela.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 16, 1898.

VENEZUELA-BRITISH GUIANA BOUNDARY ARBITRATION

THE CASE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA

BEFORE THE

TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION

To Convene at Paris

UNDER THE

Provisions of the Treaty between the United States of Venezuela and Her Britannic Majesty Signed at Washington February 2, 1897

VOLUME 2

APPENDIX

PARTS 1 AND 2.

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APPENDIX

PART I

DOCUMENTS FROM DUTCH SOURCES

[TRANSLATIONS]

No. 1.

Extracts from the proceedings of the provincial Estates of Holland, 1581.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 3–8.]

[*June* 10, 1581.]

* * * * * * *

Whereas the Estates are informed that an experienced person from England, who has made five voyages to the Indies, has proposed and offered to the aforesaid Estates to undertake again a voyage to the Indies aforesaid in the name of the cities of Holland, on condition that the cities of Holland provide to this end three or four serviceable war-ships, and place on board certain experienced persons, it being understood that he promises that the persons aforesaid upon returning shall be landed here in Holland, and that the cities of Holland shall receive such profits as the Estates shall be able to agree upon with the Englishman aforesaid, and that, moreover, the aforesaid Englishman shall give bond here in Holland for the aforesaid ships: Therefore the Estates have appointed a committee of one deputy of Amsterdam, one of Rotterdam, one of Enkhuizen, together with the Advocate, who shall fully confer with the aforesaid Englishman upon every detail, make a written draft of the conditions, and report the whole to the Estates.

* * * * * * *

[*June* 14, 1581.]

* * * * * * *

The Estates of Holland, having heard the further report of their committee as to their proceedings and the conference which they have held with Captain Butz,[1] the Englishman, concerning the voyage which might be undertaken to the islands situated near the lands of Peru, to which the aforesaid Englishman had already made five voyages, and that in order to undertake this voyage with good security and with the greatest benefit to the State four war-ships should be employed and fitted out therefor, to wit, two ships of three hundred tons and more up to four hundred tons, each ship to be manned with one hundred and fifty men, and, moreover, two yachts, each yacht manned with eighty men, each ship to be provided with provisions for ten months, except meat, of which provision for three months would be enough, besides the ammunition required, the cost of which, besides the ships themselves, would amount to about forty thou-

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The name which appears here alternately as "Butz" and "Batz" was possibly the English "Butts." Nothing else has been learned of the man. Berg van Dussen Muilkerk suggests that he may be a certain Thomas Butts, of whom we know, through Hakluyt, that as a boy he was in the expedition to Newfoundland in 1536—a son of Sir William Butts, the royal physician.

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sand pounds of forty groats provided that the war-ships here at Amsterdam and the great ship of about four hundred tons lying at Hoorn were employed therefor, in addition to which the crews shall be paid one month's wages to equip themselves for going to sea, on condition that upon their return the amount shall be deducted from their profits: Therefore the Estates, considering the importance of this matter, and that through the cutting off of navigation to Spain and Portugal it has become necessary that other trade routes be opened up, made known, and put to use, in order to keep the sailors employed at their trade; considering, also, that thereby great profits might come to these States, and that, moreover, certain public-spirited persons will at their own risk furnish the provisions required for the aforesaid war-ships; and, as for the profits which might result, that one-third thereof is to go to the ships, one-third toward the provisions and ammunition, and one-third to the commanders and crews, provided that they serve under the orders of the Stadhouder, and trusty persons be put in command, whereto, among others, Admiral Duvenvoorde offers his services, and whereto the aforesaid Englishman will also place himself at disposal with ships equipped at his own expense: Therefore the Estates, each in its own session, have taken a minute thereof, to make known their answer in the first meeting of the Estates at The Hague, and each by itself will take into consideration the declaration of the Englishman aforesaid, that in no case, or with the aforesaid ships, shall prizes be permitted to be taken from the enemy at sea, yet that on certain islands known to him, and which he shall be at liberty to visit, such quantities of sugar, hides, and other things may be obtained and laden, that therewith, above the expenses, good profits may be made.

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[*July* 7, 1581.]

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Regarding the point on the agenda concerning the voyage to the islands of India, which was to be undertaken by Captain Batz, the Englishman: The deputies of the nobility, and of Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Gouda, and Gorinchem gave verdict that in furtherance of this voyage, and to the end that this voyage and travel to the aforesaid islands may become known in Holland also, and made use of, too, to the profit of the State, in case the navigation to Spain and Portugal remain closed, two or three well-appointed ships shall follow the aforesaid Englishman, provided he furnish sufficient bond that he will bring back the ships or their value, and that on returning he shall land with these ships here in Holland, in order that the State at large may also enjoy some of the profits thereof. The deputies of Leyden refused it, both in view of the great straits and lack of money, and of the fact that the warships may be needed. Those of Amsterdam submit that this should be done, not at the expense of the State, but of the merchants in private, in order to avoid all blame, these merchants to be

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granted freedom of convoy. Those of Gouda submit that the money should be raised by issuing bonds. Those of Rotterdam also grant the ships on the same condition, only that the adventurers raise the money and pledge for it the proceeds of the prizes, one-third part of the profits to remain as the share of the State. Those of Schiedam, Brielle, Alkmaar, and Enkhuizen, do not find it advisable and refuse it altogether, since they do not care to trust their ships to a foreigner. Those of Schoonhoven agree with the majority of votes; those of Heusden with the six great cities. The Englishman has desired to provide himself with a passport from His Excellency, in order, with the aid of certain private individuals, to fit out the aforesaid ships and to further his aforesaid voyage, it being understood that these ships upon their return shall land here in Holland and nowhere else, and also that some experienced persons shall make the aforesaid voyage with him from Holland, in order to obtain knowledge of the aforesaid islands and make it public.

* * * * * * *

[*July* 22, 1581.]

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As regards the proposed voyage of Captain Batz to the lands of Peru and the islands lying thereabout, the Estates of Holland, after the representatives of each city had reported upon the matter in their meetings, have resolved and make known that, in view of the great burdens of the land for the carrying on of the war, they find it impossible to make this state bear the expenses required for fitting out the ships which are needed for this purpose. However, inasmuch as they would be glad to see the aforesaid voyage promoted, the Estates, particularly in consideration of the commission and appointment granted him to this end by his Highness the Prince, will look on with approval if any private individuals in the cities of Holland unite themselves in aid of the project, and the aforesaid Estates will lend their countenance thereto.[1]

* * * * * * *

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—Of this project nothing more is heard in Dutch records; and it is the concurrent opinion of the Dutch scholars who in modern times have made careful research in this field (Berg van Dussen Muilkerk, De Jonge, Netscher) that it was probably never carried out. These passages have been here printed and at full length, not because they have really a bearing on the present controversy, but because they are the sole documentary basis of the statements so widely afloat as to relations of the Dutch with Guiana at this period. On these, and on these alone, rest ultimately Mr. Schomburgk's assertions that "so early as 1580 the Dutch attempted to form small settlements on the banks of the Orinoco and Pomeroon," and that "the States-General privileged in 1581 certain individuals to trade to their settlements." (Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 5," pp. 22, 25.) From these, and from these only, have grown the legend of a Zeeland expedition of 1580 (Schomburgk, *Description of British Guiana*, p. 81) and that of the Dutch stations of that date on the Pomeroon and the Abary which are so circumstantially described by Mr. Rodway (*History of British Guiana*, i, p. 3). It is true that these are probably only misunderstandings of a confused passage of Hartsinck, the Dutch historian of Guiana (*Beschrijving van Guiana*, i, p. 206), and that Hartsinck himself has here jumbled oddly other authorities and later events; but the only documents which by him or by any other have been adduced in proof of Dutch settlement or trade in Guiana prior to 1597 (save trade with the Spaniards on the Orinoco) are those printed in full above.

No. 2.

Extracts from the proceedings of the States General, 1597.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 9–11.]

[*March* 24, 1597.]

* * * * * * *

At the request of Hans van de Veken, merchant at Rotterdam, there was granted to the ship's captain Jacob Henrisz., of Amsterdam, a commission, to go with his ship named *den Rooden Leeuw*, of about eighty double-tons, and a little yacht whose captain is ——, manned with Germans[1] and [men of] other nations, to the coasts of Guinea,[2] Peru, and West India, and there to trade and bargain with the savages. Containing also Requests to all Princes and Potentates that they let these ships and their crews pass freely and in peace thither and return again to these provinces.

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[*September* 3, 1597.]

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Regarding the petition of Gerrit Bicker for himself and in the name of his Company, all merchants dwelling in Amsterdam, who have it in mind to equip two ships, so as to send them to a certain coast and haven of *America Peruana*, being a place where never any from these Lands[3] have been, and which is also not held by the Spaniards or the Portuguese, and therefore ask freedom from the payment of License and Convoy both going and returning, and this for two full voyages, if so be that God Almighty should be pleased to bless their first voyage as they hope, and this out of regard to the great sums they will lay out on this voyage, and the risk therein lying, it was Resolved, That the States General of the United Netherland Provinces [*grant them the desired freedom of convoy for the two voyages*] to a certain coast and haven of *America Peruana*, provided that they shall lade in the aforesaid ships no forbidden goods, and that they shall further be bound, on their return, to bring satisfactory evidence that never anybody from these lands has traded to the aforesaid haven, and make true Report in the meeting of the States General of their experiences, with specification of the places where they have been and have carried on their trade.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—It is quite possible that this should rather be translated "Dutchmen;" the Netherlanders called themselves also "Duytsche." But it is not so easy to see why, if Dutchmen, they should be mentioned here at all.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—Of course, Guinea in Africa, not Guiana; trade to Guinea had been in vogue since 1593. (De Jonge, i, p. 37.) The trade-route to Brazil passed not far from that coast, and it became usual for Dutch ships to touch there for trade on the way to America.

[3] Note by Prof. Burr.—*i. e.*, the United Provinces.

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It is the understanding, that like freedom shall be granted to others who shall likewise desire to go to other unknown havens.

This the deputies of Zeeland declared themselves uninstructed to grant.

* * * * * * *

[*December* 15, 1597.]

* * * * * * *

Regarding the Petition of skipper Jan Cornelisz. Leyn, citizen at Enkhuizen, both for himself and also in the name and on behalf of the rest of his Company, having it in mind with two ships, the one named the great and the other the little *Sphera Mundi*, to sail to the Land of *Guiana*, situate in the Kingdom of Peru, [and] to this end asking to be granted freedom from convoys, both going and returning, for the six first voyages, it was Resolved [*to grant the desired freedom, but only for the two voyages*] which they have it in mind to make with their two ships to the unknown and unnavigated havens of America, to wit, to the Land of Guiana, situate in the Kingdom of Peru, herein specified, provided that they shall lade in the aforesaid ships no forbidden goods, and that they shall further be bound, on their return, to bring satisfactory evidence that never anybody from these lands has traded to the aforesaid havens, and to make true Report in the meeting of the States General of their experiences, with specification of the places where they have been and have carried on their trade.

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No. 3.

Extract from the proceedings of the provincial Estates of Holland, 1597.

Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 11–12.]

[*December* 23, 1597.]

* * * * * * *

Regarding the request of skipper Jan Cornelisz. Leyen, citizen of Enkhuizen, both for himself and in the name and on behalf of his Company, that in furtherance of their projected voyage to Guiana in the Kingdom of Peru, they be granted assistance by the loan of eight bronze guns, to wit, four of a weight of thirteen or fourteen hundred, and the other four of about two thousand pounds apiece, with all ammunition belonging thereto, for the defence of the ships, on like conditions as have been graciously granted to other laudable sea-voyages, it was Resolved as hereinafter follows:

The Estates of Holland and Westfriesland, having considered the petition and request made in this matter, have resolved that, in furtherance of navigation, the merchants petitioners, for their projected voyage, to be made with two ships to the land of Guiana, situate in the realm of Peru, shall be

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assisted by the credit of the State for two pieces of ordinance, to be borrowed by the petitioners from the cities, each not to exceed two thousand pounds in weight.

Done at The Hague, etc.

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No. 4.

Extract from the proceedings of the States General, 1598.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 12–13.]

[*November* 16, 1598.]

* * * * * * *

Regarding the petition of Jonas Witssen and Hans Simons and De Jonge, merchants at Amsterdam, making ready a certain ship of a hundred and thirty double-tons named *den Morian*, in order with merchandise of all sorts to sail to the Coasts of America in the Kingdom of Guiana and other Islands thereabout, in which quarter ships from these lands have never been, there is granted to the said petitioners like freedom from convoy for two voyages, going and returning, to the aforesaid coasts and islands, as has been granted to others, and with the same restrictions, provided that it be to such havens as have not before been sailed to from the United Provinces.

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No. 5.

Report to the States General of the earliest Dutch voyage to the coast of Guiana (December 3, 1597-October 28, 1598); written by A. Cabeliau, clerk of the expedition, and submitted by him February 3, 1599.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 13–22.]

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, amen, and in the year thereof fifteen hundred and ninety-seven, on the third of December, in the morning, we set sail from Briel with two ships, the one named *den Zeeridder*, of about eighty double-tons, whose skipper is Jacob Cornelisz., *alias* Oom, the other named *den Jonas*, of about sixty double-tons, whose skipper is Marten Willemsz., of Schiedam, and so we ran out to sea together and sailed in company until the seventh of the same month, and from that time our ship was separated from the other, being about 44 degrees off the

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—That there is every reason to believe this actually the earliest Dutch voyage to the Guiana coast is elsewhere pointed out. (See report on the evidence of Dutch archives as to European occupation and claim in western Guiana, in vol. i of the report of the Commission.) That it was believed so by the expedition itself is clear from this document. That it was meant as such by its projectors and recognized as such by the States General appears from pp. 9, 10, Vol. 2 of the Report of the U. S. Commission.

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channel, and did not see each other again (during the whole voyage), although it had been agreed to wait for each other, if we separated, at the island of Palma, one of the Canary Islands.

On the seventh of the same month the island of Palma came in sight and we lay to there. Not having sighted Marten Willemsz., on the same day we arrived off the city of Palma and lay there to procure wines for ourselves until the twenty-fifth of January, in the year 1598, and inasmuch as Marten Willemsz. aforesaid did not come, we, the aforesaid, set sail and laid our course for the island of Teneriffe.

There we arrived on the 16th and lay off there with our ship, in order to speak several ships which were drifting under the lee of the land, to ask whether they had seen or heard of Marten Willemsz.; but, learning nothing of him, we laid our course on the seventeenth between the island of the Great Canary and Teneriffe to the islands of Cape Verde and so to Cape North. On the ninth of February we caught sight of the land at about five degrees north of the equator, where we cast anchor on the same day and lowered our ship's boat and with it sailed around the islands, seeking whether there was no convenient spot where we could beach our yacht, or sloop, but found it ill-suited and very craggy, so that we were obliged to take the yacht on board the ship and there repair and caulk it as was needful, not without great danger.

On the fifteenth we sighted a boat, named by the Indians *canoe*, which had come from the mainland, a distance of about two miles, from the river Caurora, wherein were six men, one woman, and a little child of the Carib or Yao tribe, and they were entirely naked. It was long before they ventured to come on board, but at last they emboldened themselves by means of drums and in other ways and came on board and called out to us "Anglees,"[1] and we answered "Si, Si,"[2] and so they came over [the rail] and we led them into the cabin and made it clear to them that we were from Holland, and said, "Hollandees," and treated them very well, so far as we were able, so that they next day went off gayly, and after this evinced much friendship for us. On the seventeenth there came to our ship from the mainland, out of the aforesaid river, three more canoes, in which were men, women, and children to the number of about sixty persons, and this aforesaid tribe, together with the Hebaio and Arawak tribes, continued to come on board with their wares and provisions as long as we lay at the aforesaid islands and also during the time that we lay in the river Cayane,[3] next following.

On the twenty-seventh of March we set sail for the river Cayani, and that with great opposition on the part of the skipper, although he was assured by us and by an Englishman named Captain John Meysinge, of

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—English.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—Yes, yes.

[3] Note by Prof. Burr.—Cayenne.

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London, and also knew himself that he could enter the aforesaid river without danger; and through persuasion from us and his sailors we entered the before-mentioned river on the thirty-first by God's help, without any hindrance, and anchored by the aforesaid English Captain.

On the following day we sent our yacht up stream to the river Cauwo and there we found the tribe Yao dwelling, and thence with their own consent we brought these Indians here present, one named Arymowacca, aged about forty years, so far as we can understand, and the other Cayariwara, aged about twenty years, together with a yachtful of wood having a substance and color like Brazil wood, besides tobacco and other drugs (unknown to me). And on the eighth of April the yacht came to the ship and we traded on this river Cayani and lay there until the twenty-seventh of June.

On the sixteenth of April the aforesaid Englishman set sail.

On the twenty-ninth of the same month two ships from Amsterdam joined us, through our help, whereof the skippers were Dierck Jansz. Roomschkerck and Wouter Syvertsz., and sailed off again on the tenth of May to the island of Margarita.

On the third of June two ships from Amsterdam joined us, named the Great and Little *Sphera Mundi*, the skippers whereof were Jan Cornelisz. van Leyen and Adriaen Reyndertssoen before mentioned. And we joined forces with them in order to visit together the entire coast as far as the river called Orinoco by the Indians, Raliana by the English, and Rio El Dorado by the Spaniards. And all that might fall to us upon the aforesaid coast was to be shared, three eighths for our company and five eighths for the company of Jan van Leyen aforesaid. And we visited the following rivers: Wyapoco,[1] Curassawini, Cunanamae, Juraco, Mavary, Amano, Marawini, Carapi, Surinamo, Saramo, Coupanama, Waycara, Curetini, Orinoco. In the river Orinoco, Rio Barima and Amacura,[2] and in these we bartered and traded. The rivers between the Amazon and Wiapoco are as follows: Aroway, Arafioco, Maycary, Cassipoura, Arrocava. These rivers we neither visited nor traded in, because we could not get there, on account of the regular current which always flows westerly along the coast. The rivers between the Wiapoco and the Caurora are as follows: Wanary, Apperwacca, Cawo, Wya, Cayany, Macuria. These in particular we ourselves visited and traded in, except the rivers Wanary and Apperwacca.[3]

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The names of the rivers of Guiana are not hard to recognize under these ancient spellings; only those of western Guiana are here translated by modern equivalents. They are here mentioned in order from east to west, but with two notable gaps; from the Wiapoco (or Oyapoc, as it is now oftener called) there is a skip to a stream west of the Caurora (Kourou), where Cabeliau's party first came to land, and from the Corentyn a more serious jump to the Orinoco. The reason for these omissions is presently evident.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—It is hard not to believe that the manuscript has here "Amaco*u*ra," which by transcriber or printer could easily be misread "Amaco*n*za.

[3] Note by Prof. Burr.—For a contemporary map of this region from the Cawo to the Macuria, undoubtedly emanating from this expedition, see the atlas of the U. S. Commission, map 57.

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Between Mamiamanory and Synamary are two little streams named Owapary and Paurama, upon which no tribe dwells. The river, or the mouth, of the Surinam is forked. The Cammawini lies to the east and the Surinam to the west, and they empty into the sea together. Between the rivers Corentyn and Orinoco are these rivers: Berbice, Abary, Mahaicony, Mahaica, Demerara, Essequibo, Pomeroon, Moruca, Waini. These we have not visited or traded in, either singly or in company, since our time was far spent and there was not much to be found there, as the Indians informed us, and, moreover, our provisions were very low; so we did no more than to coast along the land, in order to have some idea of it, as far as the river Orinoco, which we entered on the twenty-seventh of July and anchored by each other, about two miles from the mouth of said river.

On the twenty-eighth we prepared to visit the river Orinoco with the ship of Jan van Leyen, of about 36 double tons burden, our yacht of about 9 double-tons, and the yacht, or row-boat, of Adriaen Reynderssen, our whole force being about fifty persons.

On the twenty-ninth, the aforesaid boats and people sailed up the river together, against the strong current which always runs there at this time of year. And we traveled, with the direction of these Indians here present, not more than about forty [Dutch] miles in the space of twenty days, up to the place or settlement where the Spaniards are, which is named St. Thomé, whereof Don Fernando de Berreo is Governor and also Marquis of Guiana, the river Orinoco, and all the coasts being still unconquered as far as the river Maranon, or Amazon.[1] Their strength consists of about sixty horsemen and one hundred musketeers, who daily seek to conquer the gold-land Guiana, but do not yet succeed either by means of the expeditions made thither up to this time nor by any means of friendship, because the tribe called Caribs violently opposes them every day with their weapons. These are bows, and they shoot with them poisoned arrows, which are so deadly that if anyone is hit therewith so that blood flows, he must perforce die within twenty-four hours, unless a remedy be instantly applied, and all his flesh would drop from his bones. Therefore the Spaniards greatly fear that tribe and their arrows. Moreover they [the tribe] stand firm in battle and will not yield, and up to now they have always been victorious; and the Spaniards, seeing that they can gain nothing there, have begun, about six days' journey to the south of the river Orinoco, at the mountains of Guiana, to make a road through the rocks and hills about 1,600 stadia long and wide enough for five horses to march abreast, and by these means they hope to conquer it.

From St. Thomé the yacht of our ship and the sloop of Adriaen Reyndertsen, with Jan van Leyen's two herring-scows, sailed up to the river Caroni, which has a terrible and mighty cataract, and falls down out of

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—Possibly to be translated: "Marquis of Guiana, of the river Orinoco, and of all the coasts yet unconquered, as far as the Amazon."

the mountains and makes such a noise that it can be heard about four [Dutch] miles away. In this neighborhood we sought (following our description made by Sir Walter Raleigh) certain gold mines, but found none, whether it be from our oversight or because there were none there we know not which, but we did our best in it all, nevertheless, as it seemed to us. We are the more confident of this because the Governor, Don Fernando, gave us his miner to help us investigate, who took us to all the places where, in his opinion, Sir Walter Raleigh had been and whence his minerals were taken. And in all the places that we have seen we could find no proofs that gold was underneath, but understand from our Indians that there is a place about six [Dutch] miles up stream where there are said to be certain mines; but the water had overflowed there to such a degree that it was impossible for us to visit it. The Spaniards also said that there was much gold up stream, but they dared not go thither on account of the war with the aforesaid Caribs. To sum up briefly, there is up that river in the kingdom of Guiana certainly much gold, as we were told by the Indians from there as well as by our Indians here present, and the Spaniards themselves say so; but for people busied with trade it is not feasible to expect any good therefrom unless to that end considerable expeditions were equipped to attack the Spaniards. This is the only means of learning the whereabouts of any gold mines from the Indians; for whosoever are enemies, and bear enmity to the Spaniards, are friends with the Indians, and they hope steadily that they shall be delivered from the Spaniards by the Dutch and the English, as they told us. When a captain of the Indians, taken prisoner by the Spaniards, was going to be hanged, he said that he had spoken with the spirit Wattopa and she had prophesied deliverance through us and through the English. I could wish to help in this, in case it could be brought about and succeed to the profit and advantage of the country.[1] Having traded in this river to no great extent with the Indians, as also with the Spaniards, we departed from the town of St. Thomé, by common consent, for the ships, and came on board on the thirtieth of August, with express promises from the Spaniards that they would come to trade with us at Trinidad.

On the first of September we sailed together to the island of Trinidad, and on the seventh we arrived off the west coast of Trinidad and there anchored. This is a rich and beautiful island, adorned within with many sorts of merchandise and wares useful for many things, and we traded off to the Spaniards all our remaining merchandise and wares, except a few which we brought back, since we could not trade among the Indians with such articles.[2]

On the twenty-first of the said month Jan van Leyden and Adriaen Reynderssen left us and sailed for the island of Margarita.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—*I. e.* of the Netherlands.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—For a map of the coast of Trinadad and the neighboring mainland, emanating doubtless from this expedition, see the atlas of the U. S. Commission, map 58.

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On the thirteenth of October we set sail for these provinces and took our course, on account of lack of provisions, through the Pragonis and Aeso[1] between the islands of St. Lucia and Grenada, and on the sixteenth of the same month spoke there the galley of Sir Walter Raleigh, of London, of about twenty-five tons burden or twelve and a half double-tons, and coming from the coast of Barbary. On the same day sailed on between the aforesaid islands and on the twenty-second of the same month again between the islands of Dominica and Poorebano, and so laid our course to the islands of the Azores, and on the twenty-first of November came in sight of the island of Fayal and sailed by it, and in the evening sighted an English pinnace, and on the twenty-second spoke it near the island of Graciosa, and thence laid our course for the Channel and on the eleventh of December ran into Plymouth in England on account of contrary winds, and lay there until the twenty-fifth of the same month and set sail for these provinces with divers ships, and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Middelburg in Zeeland.

So that, in this voyage, we have discovered, found, and navigated more than twenty-four rivers, many islands in the rivers, and divers other harbors, which have hitherto neither been known in these provinces nor sailed to therefrom. Aye, more, in no chart and by no geographer down to this time has our route been described or pointed out. All of which, I, the undersigned, as supercargo of this voyage, declare to be true, being ready (if need be) to explain the same to Your High Mightinesses more fully either by word of mouth or in writing. In witness of the truth I have signed this on the third of February, in the year 1599.

Your obedient servant,

A. CABELIAU.

No. 6.

Extracts from the proceedings of the States General, 1599.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 22-23.]

[*November* 3, 1599.][2]

* * * * * * *

Regarding the Petition of Steven de La Faille, Jan Dirixsz. and Andries van Bancken, citizens and inhabitants of the city of Amsterdam, who have

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—What may be meant by these names it is hard to guess. It is possibly some distortion of the name of the Dragon's Mouth, the strait between Trinidad and the mainland at its west.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—Earlier in this year (on April 20, 1599), "Jehan van de Veken, merchant at Rotterdam," and "Jan Hess, merchant at Middelburg," were granted a "commission in the usual form" to send a ship to the West Indies "to carry on there their traffic and trade" ("*om haerluyder Negotie ende Handel aldaer te dryven*"); but there is nothing to connect this with Guiana. Interesting, however, is the unusual provision attached, "that they are to take on board in the Canary islands some Portuguese or Spaniards, in order to be able to accomplish their voyage effectively and with greater safety" ("*dat zyluyden in de Eylanden van Canarien zullen mogen opnemen eenige Portugiesen ofte Spaignaerden, om haere reyse bequamelyck ende met meerder zekerheyt te mogen volbrengen*").

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fitted out two ships, the one named *den Palmboom*, on which as captain and clerk is to sail François Henrixsz. Schilder of Amsterdam, and the other called *den Luypart*, whereon as captain and clerk will sail Claes Claesz. Reck of Parop, in order therewith to sail to certain strange lands and havens which have heretofore not been sailed to or frequented by any from these lands, and who ask passport therefor and furthermore freedom from convoy for five voyages, it was ordered that the petitioners must first declare to what places they have planned their voyage.[1]

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[*November* 9, 1599.]

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Regarding the Petition of Jan van Penen and Gerrit Diricxsz. de Vries *cum suis*, merchants and citizens of the city of Haarlem, who are making ready a certain ship named *den Dolffphyn*, of about fifty double-tons, in order therewith to make a voyage along the coasts of *Guiana* in *America*, there to seek the rivers of Wiapoco and Orinoco, and there to find again a certain mineral lately brought hither into this country from there as a specimen by one Jacob Adriaensz., mate at Haarlem, there was granted the petitioners freedom from convoy dues on the commodities which they in two journeys thither shall wish to carry out of the country, and [on those which] they shall wish to bring back into it, under the usual stipulations and conditions whereon like freedom has been granted to others.

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No. 7.

Extract from the proceedings of the provincial Estates of Zeeland, 1599.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 23–24.]

[*November* 20, 1599.]

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In the matter of the request of the Burgomaster of Middelburg, Adriaen ten Haeft, setting forth how that in the preceding year, 1598, at heavy cost to himself, he caused to be investigated on the continent of America many different rivers and islands,—and how that in this voyage were discovered various coasts and lands where one could do notable damage to the King of Spain,—and how that he is well minded to send out again two ships, in order, in the country's behalf, to discover certain places, a thing which cannot be done so effectively with seafaring folk alone. Wherefore, and in view of the fact that in Holland for the encouragement of ex-

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The passage is of interest mainly as making it unlikely that, under the policy of the States General, any early voyage to Guiana made with its approval has escaped notice because its destination was a secret.

ceptional enterprises of this sort great favor is shown to the promoters of such voyages, such as the providing them with cannon, powder and soldiers, he doth petition that there be granted to his ships from sixteen to twenty experienced soldiers, among them a good Commandant, and doth engage that he will himself provide their rations. Whereupon the representative of the nobility gave verdict that commerce ought here to receive the same favor as in Holland, and that therefore it ought to be learned through the deputies there [*i. e.*, to the States General] what is done in Holland in this behalf, in order to be able to do the same here; the deputies of Middelburg, however, grant soldiers to the number of 16; those of Ziericzee likewise, to the number of 12, on half wages, subject to the approval of their constituents; those of Goes, Tholen, Flushing and Vere promise that they will send in at once their report to their town-councils on this point and that the councils will find out what is done in Holland in such cases.

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No. 8.

Action as to a certain Freedom of Convoy, provisionally granted by the States General, 1602, and awarded by the Admiralty of Amsterdam, 1604.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 25–26.]

1. *From the Proceedings of the States General, 1602.*

[*July* 10, 1602.]

* * * * * * *

Regarding the Petition of Jehan van Peenen[2] and Gerrit Diricxz. de Vries, it was ordered that it be placed in the hands of the deputed Councilors of the Admiralty in Amsterdam, by them to be examined, and, in case it shall appear that the petitioners have accomplished their voyage, in accordance with their foregoing declaration, on the basis of which freedom of convoy is granted them, that then they shall accord to them the said freedom; refusing the second portion of their request, whereby they ask continuation of the foregoing conceded freedom.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—These passages are of interest to the present question chiefly because they have been misunderstood. Hartsinck (*Beschrijving van Guiana*, i, p. 207), misreading *Van Peenen* as *Van Peeren* suspected a kinship between this merchant and the Zeeland colonizer Abraham van Pere, who in 1627 founded the colony of Berbice; and on this he bases his assertion of early trade relations between Zeeland and Guiana. He is followed by many later writers. It will be seen, by a comparison of this passage with that printed on p. 12, above, that Van Peenen and De Vries were not Zeelanders, but merchants of Harlem, and that what they were after was probably not trade, but the precious metals.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—So the name is clearly spelt, not only in the original minutes, but in the contemporary copy, in the side-notes of the page, and in the contemporary index to the volume. The alleged Zeeland merchant "Jan van Pere" is, it is to be feared, a myth.

No. 8.

2. *From the Proceedings of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, 1604.*[1]

[*January* 12, 1604.]

* * * * * * *

Paridon van Hoorn, as surety for the convoy-dues of the merchandise which was laden in the ship of Ryck Hendrixsz. in the year 1602 for the West Indies, is holden to pay the said convoy-dues within a week or to prove [his right to] the freedom claimed.

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[*January* 13, 1604.]

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To Jan van Penen and Gerrit Diricxsz. den Vries *cum sociis*, and Paridon van Hoorn, their surety, there was granted the space of one week to produce their proof that they have made their voyage to Guiana according to their Grant, in conformity with the instructions of the States General dated July 10, 1602. On penalty, in case of failure to do this, of immediate payment of the convoy dues.

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[*February* 3, 1604.]

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Jan van Peenen and Gerrit Diricxsz. de Vries *cum sociis*, in pursuance of the minutes of the 13th January last, being once more heard in detail as to the claimed freedom of convoy to Guiana, it was finally, upon the declaration now made on their word of honor that their ship, in conformity with the instructions given, would have sailed higher up the river of Orinoco, had this not been prevented by the multitude of the Spaniards whom they found there, resolved that under these circumstances they be accorded the freedom from convoy-dues of the goods carried out and brought in by the said voyage, in conformity with the grant of the States General, and that the convoy-master accordingly cancel the surety.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This volume is one of those happily rescued from the fire which some years ago destroyed the Dutch Ministry of Marine. Its edges, however, were badly scorched, and it is necessary to supply conjecturally the final words of many lines. They are those inclosed in brackets, and must not be accepted without question.

No. 9.

Extracts from memorial to the Dutch States-General on the colonization of Guiana [1603].[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 27–29, 32, 36.]

Memorial to the States General of these United Provinces in regard to the colonizing of the coasts of Guiana in America.

I doubt not but the States General are well aware how rich, beautiful, fertile, populous, delightful, and precious a land, situate in America, and called the province of Guiana, has recently been discovered by some of this country's merchantmen.

There are there not only many fine harbors, conveniently deep and navigable rivers, abundant pastures fit for all kinds of stock, but moreover a very fertile soil, well adapted to the raising of wheat, wine, oil, sugar, ginger, cotton, pepper, cubeb, pastel, indigo, and various other products, such as are commonly grown in other parts of the East and West Indies in the same latitude and climate.

* * * * * * *

And as for the hope and expectation of finding a rich gold and silver mine, it is well grounded on fact and experience, for a mine has already been found, the vein of which is gold and the surrounding ore silver.

* * * * * * *

However, no one knows how rich that mine may prove to be until skilled and trained miners are employed, for which the time has not yet come. Neither should further explorations be made until the land is colonized and strengthened with good strong towns and forts, for, if otherwise, its richness might incline and induce neighboring nations, whether friend or foe, to anticipate us in this undertaking, while we here were as

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This is that memorial mentioned by de Jonge (in a footnote to p. 259 of the first volume of his *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezay*), but since his day sought in vain. The document, consisting of seven closely written folio pages, is docketed on the back "*Remonstrantie aen de E. mo. Heeren Staten Generael op stuck van de populatie van Guiana in America gelegen*," but bears neither there nor elsewhere any mention of date or authorship. Its date, however, seems put beyond doubt by the resolution of the States-General on February 25, 1608 declining to act for the present on the requested colonization of Guiana. This is the only resolution of the sort, as the present is the only known petition. De Jonge had already from the contents of the document ascribed it to this period; and the handwriting is clearly of about this date. There is no reason to believe it the autograph of its author. From its style and its ideas (and from its South Netherland orthography as well, were that not probably due to the copyist) it may with much confidence be ascribed to Willem Usselinx, the well known originator of the Dutch West India Company—being very probably that discourse on the colonization of the Indies of which he himself makes mention in his *Vertoogh* of 1608. (Further grounds for this ascription are set forth in the paper on the evidence of Dutch archives, in vol. i of the report of the U. S. Commission). The document is not in Usselinx's handwriting, as appears by comparison with his abundant autograph papers in the Rijksarchief; and Mr. Hingman, the Commies-Chartermeester, who was able after long search to bring it to light, finding it (doubtless where De Jonge had left it) detached from its fellows, thinks it less likely to be the draft actually submitted to the States-General than a copy preserved among the papers of the Estates of Holland.

No. 9.

yet busily deliberating and planning how and by what means this enterprise and scheme might be most safely and conveniently be taken up and carried on to the desired end.

For the manifold experience of many years has shown that on the aforesaid coasts of America no riches can be drawn from the mines, and no profit earned from the fertility of the soil, unless the land be first colonized.

This, the merchants and first discoverers think, is no affair to be taken up or gone into all by themselves and at their own expense. Not that they shrink from the outlay such colonization demands, for they assume that in view of the good prospect of making profits this could readily be brought together by a body of merchants and other wealthy men; but they deem that this project rightly belongs to the supreme authorities or the sovereign prince, or at least that it should be taken in hand and carried out with their aid, favor, and protection.

This being so, it stands with you to decide and declare whether you might be inclined to enter upon and take in hand this project of colonization, either alone and at the public expense, or with the aid of a few wealthy men and private merchants.

* * * * * * *

I say nothing here of the profits that this Government would in course of time, when the aforesaid American province is once colonized, draw from the mines, yearly taxes, or tributes, and other sources.

* * * * * * *

It needs only that you take up this colonization effectively and without longer postponement or delay, appointing to that end an India chamber or other committee, which shall proceed to devise such terms and conditions as you shall desire to grant and establish for the settlers, and also, if necessary, to find the means wherewith to meet the expenses of this colonization, etc.

No. 10.

Extract from proceedings of the States General, February 25, 1603.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 36.]

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As to the requested colonization of Guiana, it was declared that the States General can not for the present take action on the matter.

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No. 11.

Extracts from memorial of Cornelis Janssen Vianen to the Prince of Orange, January 25, 1621, as to where and how the Spaniards may best be attacked.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 37.]

Having, off and on for more than twenty-five years, as set forth in an earlier memorial to Your Princely Highness, sailed the seas to various places, namely, to Guinea, to the West Indies, and lastly with Commandeur Spilbergen through the strait of Magellan along the coast of Chili and Peru and around the world, I think I have during that time observed the right way of attacking the Spaniards where they are weakest and feeblest, as follows:

* * * * * * *

Sixthly, regarding the opinion sometimes advanced, that notable profits might be obtained through diverse products and fruits which might be found or raised on the mainland of America, between Brazil on the east and the river Orinoco on the west, in and about the river Amazon.

I answer, that several of our Netherlanders have as yet attained little by the aforesaid means, although up to now they engage there in peaceful trade; and if an attempt were made with superior force to gain the land there and by such cultivation introduce products of Brazil and the West Indies, the Spaniards would beyond doubt seek forcibly to prevent this, the more so as thereby their navigation to Brazil and the West Indies would be impeded. It therefore is my opinion that, in view of the imminent danger of war, little can be achieved there.

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No. 12.

Extract from the Proclamation prohibiting Trade with the West Indies, June 9, 1621.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 54-55.]

The States-General of the United Netherlands to all who shall hear these presents read, Greeting:

Whereas we, after mature deliberation in Council, for the well-being of these provinces and the welfare of the inhabitants of the same, have caused to be established here in these Netherlands a Company to carry on trade and commerce with the West Indies, Africa, and other places hereafter set forth, and have granted to the same many liberties, privileges, and rights, together with assurances of our particular aid and favour, as is more fully dwelt upon in the Letters of Charter given by us:

We, therefore, for the better furtherance of the same, have prohibited and forbidden, as we now hereby prohibit and forbid, any natives or in-

No. 12.

habitants of this country, as well as any natives or inhabitants of any other kingdom or country to visit, traffic, or carry on directly or indirectly, except in the name and on behalf of this United Company, any trade whatsoever for a period of twenty-four years, beginning the 1st July next, with the coasts and countries of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and with the countries of America, beginning with the south end of Terra Nova,[1] through the Straits of Magellan, Le Maire, or other straits and channels lying thereabouts, to the Straits of Anjan, either in the North Sea or the South Sea, and with any islands on either side or lying in between, together also with Australian and southern countries extending and lying between both meridians, and reaching from the Cape of Good Hope in the east to the east end of New Guinea inclusive, in the west.

Desiring and ordering that all other natives and inhabitants who shall act in a contrary manner, or who shall be found to have so done, shall forfeit their vessels and merchandize, which shall immediately be seized and held at the disposal of the aforesaid Company.

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No. 13.

Extract from the West India Company's commission for captains [1626].

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 40.]

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Whereas, by virtue of the charter granted this Company by the High Mighty the States General of the United Netherlands, we have resolved to send some ships to the West Indies, there to further settlement in uninhabited regions, and among other things to build a fort, in order to be secure against the attacks and invasions of the Spaniards and other nations our enemies, and as, in order to do this with greater certainty, we have need of an able, faithful, and experienced person to be in command thereof as captain.

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No. 14.

Extracts from proceedings of the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), 1626-7.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 42, 44.]

[*November* 25, 1626.]

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The committee on wares is authorized to make up a suitable cargo to the Amazon for the yacht *Arnemuyden*.

Resolved, To send with the aforesaid yacht *Arnemuyden* 20 ripening youths, in order to land them in the Amazon, the Wiapoco, or the

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—*I. e.*, Newfoundland.

No. 14.

Essequibo—wherever the folk of our Chamber may be found—for the purpose of being employed there. And each of them shall be granted 2, 3, or 4 guilders a month, according to their capacities.

* * * * * * *

[*December* 12, 1626.]

* * * * * * *

Johannes Beverlander is taken into the service of the Company for three years, to lie in the river of Essequibo along with Jan Adriaansz. van der Goes; and that for twenty-one guilders a month. * * *

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No. 15.

Extract from proceedings of the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), April 13, 1628.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 55.]

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Jan van Woerden, of Flushing, is engaged for 20 guilders a month to lie in the Amazon for the space of three years, on condition that he shall hunt up three others beside himself to lie there together.[1]

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No. 16.

Extract from proceedings of the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), April 8, 1632.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 65.]

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On the report of Messrs. de Moor and Eltsdyck, after speaking with Van der Goes, it was resolved not to abandon the colony at Essequibo.[2]

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No. 17.

Extract from regulations of the States General for the West India Company, May 14, 1632, and July 17, 1633.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 55–56.]

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Firstly, no such ships (*i. e.*, from any part of the United Provinces, other than the Company's) may sail to the coast of Africa, or the New

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The passage is of interest only as illustrating the methods of the Company in their occupation of these rivers.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—It appears from the memorial of the Zeeland Estates in 1750 and from that of the Zeeland Chamber in 1751 (*Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, p. 1194; 1751, p. 1090) that the Nineteen (whose records, now lost, were accessible to the authors of these memorials) had by a majority voted the abandonment of the Company's Guiana colonies, including that in Essequibo; and that the Zeeland Chamber, whose deputies had opposed this action in the meeting of the Nineteen, assumed to itself by the above resolution of April 8, 1632, the responsibility of maintaining that colony.

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Netherlands, or elsewhere where the Company may trade, on any pretence: but they may sail to the coast of Brazil; likewise into the West Indies, to wit, [from] the River Orinoco westwards along the coast of Cartagena, Portobello, Honduras, Campeche, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of Florida, together with all the islands situated within these limits, in order there to carry on all manner of warfare by sea and by land against the King of Spain, his subjects and allies.

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No. 18.

Extract from proceedings of the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), 1637.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 71–72.]

[*April* 16, 1637.]

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The Committee on Commerce and Finance was instructed to inspect and determine whether the trade to Essequibo is profitable to the Company or not, in order at an early day to make report, so as to know whether the wares for which they ask shall be ordered made or not.

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[*May* 14, 1637.]

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Confrater van Pere was authorized to turn over to Mr. Segers two kegs of sirup, or sap of sugar-cane, arrived from Essequibo from Jan Van der Goes, in order that he may try to reduce it to sugar.

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[*August* 17, 1637.]

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Inasmuch as Jan van der Goes had written from Essequibo that he, with all the folk who were there with him, was minded to come home by the first ship, it was some time ago resolved to send thither in the place of the said Van der Goes, by the ship *de Jager*, Cornelis Pietersz. Hose; and on account of the great demoralization of the folk and their wish to come home, it is resolved that they shall be allowed to come home, and the colony provided anew with five-and-twenty other respectable persons, from whom the Company may receive more service and more edifyingly withal. And Confraters Lonissen and Van Pere are by a majority vote made a committee to engage the aforesaid persons, being requested to look for the discreetest persons, so far as shall be possible.

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No. 18.

[*August* 20, 1637.]

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The persons who have been engaged for Essequibo, being mostly from the people who came [with] Van der Goes and who have not much to live on, it is resolved that they shall for this once, and without its becoming a precedent, receive a shilling a day for costs.

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No. 19.

Extract from letter from Jacques Ousiel to West India Company, 1637.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 74–75.]

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Firstly, the writer says that the Governor of Trinidad, aided by those of Margarita and Guayana and guided by an Irish deserter, formerly a lieutenant in our service, on the first of December of last year, in the darkness of night, attacked a certain small fort or stockaded house in Tobago (an island under your jurisdiction), capturing it without resistance, and taking prisoner 5 or 6 men who were in it. With these and with all his men he marched on the next day to the great fort, which is likewise a stockade, built only as a defense against the Caribs. This he closely besieged, and after those of the fort had fired some shots upon the enemy, the men at last resolved to parley with him, being pursuaded and induced thereto by the aforesaid Irishman, whom they thought to be not a deserter but a prisoner, and who had been instructed by the Governor. It was finally agreed upon, and the Governor granted it under solemn oath, that the officers with their arms and baggage, and the others without these but with the clothes they had on, each and every one, regardless of nationality, rank, or condition, should be sent by the Governor to Saint Christopher, or any other place where they should wish to go, as free men and at the expense of the King. Thereupon the Governor brought all these colonists of Tobago together to the Bocas de Drago, and not having means of conveying them to Saint Christopher, he judged best to send them, in all 45 men and 20 boys, to Margarita and let them take ship there for any destination they should choose, and meanwhile he kept with him the present writer, the agent, and Cornelis de Moor, son of Mr. Jan de Moor, together with 16 other boys, until as he said, he should have a better opportunity for embarking them.

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No. 20.

Extracts from letter from Jacques Ousiel to West India Company, 1637.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 84–95.]

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One mile inland there is a very good opportunity for obtaining a supply of bananas from the old plantations of the Caribs who were driven from the aforesaid island by the Spaniards, and still are wont to come there every year with their canoes to lay in provisions.

The Governor of Trinidad told the writer that the King had often intended building a fort at the mouth of the aforesaid harbor.

From the aforesaid harbor to the habitation of the Spaniards, called San José de Oroña, the distance is S. by W. 7 miles, over very high mountains, which are not to be crossed without unspeakable difficulty.

As one sails from the Bocas de Drago along the west coast S. by E. through the Golfo Dulce, there lies 5 miles from there a large bay named Puerto de España, where the ships that come to trade there drop anchor.

* * * * * * *

About half a mile to the north of the aforesaid river there also is a road by land to the aforesaid town, running due east three miles among trees; this road the Spaniards take when on foot or on horses (which are only 8 in number there) they wish to go to the aforesaid bay. This road can be recognized from the sea by some posts of two ruined houses which stand in the sea north from there.

The aforesaid town of San José lies on a small hill at the foot of the high mountains; at their south side, and on the north and east sides of the town, flows the aforesaid river, about half a foot deep, where the inhabitants of the town get their water.

The town is open, consisting of 30 houses and 40 to 50 men, sometimes more and sometimes less, inasmuch as some who come there, either sent there by the Dutch or otherwise, are against their will held there by the Governors, and get away again in canoes when they can, as happened as many as three different times within the six months that the writer lay there.

The houses are made of earth stamped solid, which they call tapias, and roofed with thatch or other combustible material.

Almost in the centre of the town stands the church in which the Spaniards keep a watch of 5 or 6 men, day and night except from Sunday till Monday; the reveille is sometimes beaten and again not, and one cannot rely upon the drum beat, for it is quite frequently employed for any trifling reason.

To the S. E. and also E. of the town there is for some 7 miles only plain and even country, also for some 4 miles S. and N. down to the aforesaid bay.

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Nothing grows here except tobacco, which is raised only once a year, to the amount of about 100,000 pounds (without the inhabitants having any returns from it, on account of the dampness of the country). They plant it in December and January, gather it about May, and have it all twisted by the middle of that month, as toward the end of the same month or early in June they expect a ship from Spain to take it off their hands, about which time those of Orinoco also bring their tobacco there to the amount of some 50,000 pounds.

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About one mile east and one mile west of the aforesaid town there are several plantations, where the negroes, together with the Indians and the Dutch boys from Tobago, plant provisions and tobacco for the Spaniards. The name of the eastern place is Tacaribe, and of the western Aracao.

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The negroes and Indian slaves may number about 300 in all, namely 100 negroes and 200 Indians, and there is nothing they would rather see than to be delivered from the Spaniards.

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Among the Nipujos there is a certain Indian named Hierreyma, who eleven years ago, when a slave or encomendado among the Spaniards, ran away from them and has more than once joined in expeditions against them; and because he has killed two Spaniards in some encounters, he is the most famous and powerful among those people and considered as their chief by the others.

* * * * * * *

These Indians are for the most part Christians, speaking good Spanish almost all of them, and are free men. The King in writing to them uses this form of address: "A nuestros leales vasallos los cavalleros Indios de Paria." The Señores Cavalleros go altogether naked, like other Indians. Among them dwells a certain Indian called Don Juan, who surely is the principal person; he, in return for knives, furnishes the canoes with pilots to go to Margarita.

* * * * * * *

The town is situated about two miles from there, inhabited by Spaniards, few in number but rich in money and pearls as well as in slaves. The other occupants of the island are mostly Indians and negroes with their women and children, probably numbering in all as many as 3,000. On this island 100 Spanish soldiers are also kept.

Two miles S. by W. from the aforesaid bay lies a prominent point, called Punta de Mosquitos on account of the multitude of mosquitoes found there. The place near by is called La Rancheria; here lie the boats that go pearlfishing. Here it is very shallow and full of stones. Some few Spaniards live there, who keep watch there with the negroes of the boats.

The boats sometimes go from there, 10 or 12 of them together, 3 or 4

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miles to the S. E. into the sea, as the writer saw on June 22, 1637, manned with 8 or 10 negroes and 2 negro women, who bake the maize bread for the negroes. A Spaniard is in command; he is the pilot, and is called mayordomo by his master. They stay out from 6 to 8 weeks, each boat bringing home on an average 8 to 10 marks of pearls, and sometimes more.

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Nine miles from the aforesaid Pueblo de Mar, on the mainland, lies Punta Araya, in front of which, on the south side, a royal fort is constructed, the lower part, from the sea up, of gray granite, and the land side provided with deep ditches. On the fort lie 50 guns of bronze; it has 12 gunners and provision of water for 4 years, which they lay up in large tanks of several hundred barrels. Here lies a garrison, said to be of 500 men.

The canoes and boats that come from the east and want to go to Cumaná must heave to there, and the corporal of the guard comes to inquire whence the boat comes, what is her cargo, and what persons are in her.

Three miles away, opposite the fort, on the other side of the gulf, lies the town of Cumaná, distant about 2 musket shots from shore on the slope of an arid mountain, having good houses more than 80 in number. By the side of this town there runs into the sea a fresh river, off which the ships come to anchor.

Between the town and the shore stand numbers of trees, so that the town can not be seen from the strand, and the land here along the sea-coast is entirely arid and barren. Nothing is produced here but pearls and tobacco. These Spaniards trade their wares against pearls, to be turned into money in Cartagena and Havana, not to be taken over to Spain, because they are of less value there.

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Caracas is a sea-village of about 40 houses on the shore of a bay, some built very high of brick (which is made there). Here two new castles have been made of gray granite; the easternmost is a half-moon with 6 pieces, and the westernmost, distant from it fully a musket-shot, is square and provided with 8 pieces of ordnance, situated quite low on the shore close to the sea, commanding the entire bay, and both manned with 100 Spaniards. In spite of the aforesaid forts it ought to be possible to get away with the ships that lie at anchor there.

In these castles watch is kept in the following manner: The sentinel of the westernmost fort, approximately every half hour, strikes on a bell, to which the sentinel of the other fort at once answers with a like stroke on a bell; for the first quarter-watch he strikes one stroke, for the second quarter he strikes each time or half hour two strokes, and for the third quarter three strokes.

The town of Caracas, called Santiago de León, lies on the other side of the mountain range, which is very high here, five miles from the aforesaid

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sea-village, an entire and very difficult day's journey on foot; the inhabitants come on mules to the sea-village to trade. It is a rich town in money and inhabitants. The chief trade here consists in cocoa, skins and salsaparilla. When it has rained much, one finds in the mountains many small grains of gold. Here is the seat of the Governor and the bishop of Venezuela, who usually reside in the court-town Coro.

Cartagena is a rather large and well-built town, well protected with new walls and fortifications of gray stone. Fresh water must here be brought from outside on mule-carts.

To sail into Cartagena, one must first pass to starboard, in the mouth of the harbor, a small, old fort, in which there are 3 or 4 guns, with which they can easily shoot across the mouth of the harbor; on the opposite side lies another, and larger, old fort, now entirely deserted and grown over with verdure, and in place of this, half a mile farther inland, a royal fort has been built, with four points, fortified below with half-moons that shoot at water-level, and lying in the water on all sides except for one very narrow land road, and having more than 44 guns. Opposite this fort, on the other side of the water, lies another similar one, and a little farther up in the direction of the town still another, all built of gray granite, and as one goes on, two more small forts, each with six iron guns, and all likewise surrounded by the water; after this, there follows on the same side the suburb where stand the Franciscan monastery and some fine houses, all this on the starboard, likewise fortified with walls. From here one can go into the town across a large bridge, though one can come to the town by water without having to pass through the aforesaid suburb. At the town lie three galleys and three or four small war-vessels; 500 Spaniards are garrisoned here for the defense of the aforesaid forts. To the southeast, fully a mile from the town, lies a high mountain, called by the Spaniards Nuestra Señora de la Popa, where is built the monastery of the barefooted Augustinians, which from afar looks like a castle, but in reality is not.

Havana, as one comes in, has two castles. The one on the port side, called El Morro, lies high up the mountain; the one farther inward is square, with four little turrets on each corner. On the land side it has deep ditches, from where to the harbor lower and lower lie many tiers of guns, so that in the mouth of the river or harbor six tiers are counted, the lowest tier lying at water-level and consisting of 17 guns that are called by the Spaniards "los doce apóstolos," and they correspond to the platform lying on the opposite side. It is said, and seems quite plausible, that on the aforesaid fort there are indeed more than 100 bronze guns. Opposite the aforesaid fort is a level strand, where a platform is built, with 27 bronze guns, from where, in the direction of the town, an entrenchment or straight line has been drawn as far as the old fort, fully two musket-shots long, altogether of gray stone, which is got from the mountains opposite, on which entrenchment lie at least 60 guns. The old fort is

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built almost in cross shape; it is very small in circumference, protected roundabout with deep ditches, and on the water side with halfmoons, having a few guns.

* * * * * * *

Behind the old fort lies the town, which is open and fully as large as Cartagena, but not so well built; through it runs a small stream of fresh water, which provides the whole town with water.

When there is any suspicion of the enemy the harbor is closed with an iron chain from El Morro to the platform; as many ships as are seen at sea by those of El Morro, so many strokes they sound upon a bell, and they also signal to the town with so many white flags, whereupon those of the platform answer, and give the same signal to the old fort and likewise to the town.

Watch is kept here in the same way as in Caracas, with this understanding, that those of El Morro begin, then those of the platform, and then those of the old fort.

The Spaniards call Havana the key to all India, because it would not be easy for the galleons to sail to Spain without provisioning there.

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No. 21.

Extract from Order and Regulations of the States-General, by which the Inhabitants of the United Provinces shall be permitted to take away Wood, Tobacco and other Merchandise from a certain part of the Boundaries of the Charter of said Company, January 6, 1635, and October 16, 1637.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 56.]

* * * * * * *

First, the vessels of the aforesaid inhabitants shall be permitted to sail to the West Indies: to wit, the River Oronocque, westwards along the coast of Carthagena, Portobello, Honduras, Campeche, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of Florida, together with the islands lying within those boundaries; but they shall on no account be permitted to sail to the coast of Africa or New Netherlands, or to any other place where the said Company carries on trade.

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No. 22.

Extracts from proceedings of the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), 1640-1645.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 99, 102, 104.]

[*December* 20, 1640.]

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The Committee on the affair of Jan van der Goes, having examined the instructions given on behalf of the Chamber together with the journals and

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other papers relating thereto, reports that it can find no satisfactory reason why the aforesaid [instructions] were not strictly followed by the said Jan van der Goes, and especially why he erected no fort at the place prescribed in his instructions, since by the testimony of the journals and of persons who have come from there the enemy offered our people no hindrance there; points which proved of so very evil consequence, the more so as the Company was brought into great and excessive expense, that the Committee therefore deems the payment of the wages earned might with justice be withheld and refused.

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[*May* 5, 1644.]

There were read the following letters: One to Adriaen Jansz., Commandeur, and Adriaen van de Woestyne, Clerk, at Fort Kykoveral in Essequibo, dated May 5.[1]

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[*May* 29, 1645.]

As for the river of Essequibo, the Committee's opinion is that now for some time it has been traded to with small profit to the Company, for the reason that private colonists are permitted to trade there as well as the Company, so that the goods coming from there can not fetch their proper price, by reason of undue competition. On this point they are of opinion that, at the expiration of the charter, either the trade there ought to be held exclusively for the Company, or else it were better that the aforesaid place should, subject to the proper fees, be thrown open to free trade.

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No. 23.

Extract from Resolutions of the States-General of the United Netherlands, Monday, August 10, 1648.

[Reprinted from Blue Book No. 8, p. 57.]

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Firstly, we hereby declare that we annul and quash all former Orders and Regulations according to which all ships in the respective provinces, either armed or unarmed, have been permitted to sail for private trade in timber, salt, tobacco, cotton, or other wares and products there obtainable

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The letter itself is not given—only this address. It is not impossible that "Adriaen Jansz." is but an error for Jan Adriaensz. van der Goes.

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to a certain area within the Charter of the West India Company, at whatever period, in what manner the said Regulations might have been issued, promulgated or drawn up; and we now decree, order, and ordain anew that the vessels of the aforesaid inhabitants shall henceforth be permitted to sail in the West Indies, to wit, from the River Oronocque westwards along the coasts of Paria, Cumana, Venezuela, Carthagena, Portobello, Honduras, Campeche, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coasts of Florida, as well as between and around all the islands situated in those parts, including even Curaçoa, Buenayre, and Aruba, without permission to go east along the Wild Coast, much less to the Amazon or the Maransan [*sic*], or further north than Cape Florida, and equally without permission to come on any account whatever, or in any manner to the Virginias, New Netherlands, Nova Francia, and other places situated thereabouts, or to sail to or along the coasts of Africa, Brazil, or anywhere else where the Company has trade, under the penalty that whoever shall be found to do or to have done contrary to this shall confiscate both ship and cargo, which also it shall be allowable to seize and to hold as confiscated property at the disposal of the Company without any action at law, and in case such ships or cargoes shall have been sold or have put into other countries or ports, the captains, owners, or underwriters shall be sued for the value of the said ships and cargoes according to Article I of the Charter.

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No. 24.

Extract from conditions for colonists, provisionally adopted by the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), October 12, 1656.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 113–116.]

Copy.

Draft of notification. To all who shall see this or hear it read, be it known:

Whereas the directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company, for many years, by all conceivable means and ways, both by its, the Chamber's, own means and by contracting with private persons, have tried, not only to increase its trade and commerce from here to the coasts and islands situate under the charter, but also and especially have made it their aim to further the colonization and agriculture of the aforesaid lands, and yet without such success, results, and fruits as they could have hoped.

Therefore, inasmuch as they have found by careful observation and long experience, that not only the islands lying in their district, but also

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the mainland coasts, and especially the Wild Coast, extending from the river Amazon to * * * degrees northward, are of such situation and soil that one can there cultivate, plant, raise, and gather everything which it has been possible to cultivate and gather in the famous regions of Brazil, yet that there are needed, for the greater increase of population and agriculture, not only persons of reasonable means, skill and experience, but also all others of lesser condition and ability; they are disposed to offer, and do hereby offer, with the knowledge and approval of the States General of the United Netherlands and of the General Chartered West India Company, in order thereby to encourage each and every one, these following conditons:

Firstly, under the sovereignty of the States General and the authority of the Chartered West India Company, every one shall be at liberty to go from this country, in his own, in hired, or in the Company's ships, to the aforesaid Wild Coast, in order to choose there and take into possession such stretches of land as they shall have need of for their purpose and cultivation, to administer, populate, till and plant it, on condition that they provide themselves with proper shoulder and sidearms with their appurtenances.

Secondly, when by God's help the population on the aforesaid Wild Coast shall have grown to two hundred families or more, the colonists themselves shall, provisionally and with the approval of the Zeeland Chamber, elect three, five or seven councillors from their own number, of the most honest, able and wealthy, born in the seven United Provinces or having lived for ten years under this Government, who shall administer justice according to the law of the province of Zeeland, and shall decide all matters touching their condition and circumstances there, to which end the Zeeland Chamber will provide them with the proper commission from the States General and with authorization and instruction from the General Company, to which they shall be required to take the oath.

Thirdly, every colonist shall possess in fee simple the land and strand upon whose possessions he has entered, and retaining the free right to catch game, fish, or birds, without paying any tax, tithe, or other poll-taxes for the space of five years, beginning with the year of making their choice and taking possession; but at the end of the five years the colonists shall be dealt with in all fairness; in any case not more exorbitantly than the inhabitants of the other islands, paying yearly for poll-tax 100 pounds of tobacco—other commodities, such as sugar, indigo, cotton, and other products, being reckoned an equivalent according to their value—unless at the time it should be deemed better to pay the tax of the tithes. In case, however, they leave the lands of which they have taken possession, these shall after two years again revert to the company.

Fourthly, if any one of the colonists, through himself, his family, or his servant, discovers any minerals, crystals, stones, marble, of whatever sort,

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he shall be at liberty to take possession thereof, possess them, and use them for his profit, for the time of five years; and after the five years the possessor shall be required only to pay tithe to the company.

Fifthly, the colonists shall be at liberty to carry on trade, and to transport their products and wares in their own or in the company's ships (being required only to consign them to the place whence they sailed), free of all dues, as well for merchandise and agricultural implements which they desire to transport thither, as for products which they desire to export from there, only paying tonnage as other Caribbean traders navigating under the rules.

Sixthly, the aforesaid colonists shall also be at liberty to go to the coast of Africa and fetch as many negroes as they shall have need of or may desire to offer for sale, being subject like others to the regulations made therefor or to be made.

Seventhly, the colonists, when any ships of the Company sails from here to the aforesaid coast, or when they find on the islands a ship of the Company destined thither, shall have free passage in that ship (only having to provide themselves with their own food and sustenance), together with their agricultural implements, so far as the ship shall be able conveniently to store these.

Eighthly, in order that everything proceed with complete knowledge, all prospective planters going from here thither, whether in their own ship or, where there is opportunity, in a ship of the Company, shall be required to seek passports from the Zeeland Chamber; or if they journey thither from the islands, they shall upon arriving there give their names to the Commandeur of Essequibo, or his deputy, in order thus to have them registered with the Chamber here.

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No. 25.

Liberties and Exemptions offered by the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Patroons of Colonies in Guiana [1657][1].

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 120–123.]

1.

The aforesaid patroons shall be allowed with their ship or ships, whether their own or freighted by them, to transport and betake themselves, or those commissioned by them, to the aforesaid province of Guiana and there

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The document is undated; but its place in the volume and its palpable connection with document No. 33 (U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 117–120), as well as the transfer before 1658 of the charge of this coast to the Walcheren cities, put its date beyond question.

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establish a colony, on condition that they shall sail forth from the province of Zeeland and shall be required to return there.

2.

They shall be required to take out for the captain or captains at each sailing of the ship or ships, whether their own or hired, the proper and usual commission, giving the name, size, armament and crew thereof.

3.

The aforesaid patroons shall take care that all private persons who are their colonists register their names with the Chamber and promise to live up to the general articled-letter of the company in so far as these concern them; for this purpose they shall be mustered by the Company before the sailing of the ship.

4.

The aforesaid patroons are conceded and granted permission to choose, and occupy, as also to retain in possession, such district of land as their subordinate colonists shall in any wise be able to cultivate, the extent and size of the aforesaid lands to be reckoned by the number of persons, namely, for sixty persons two [Dutch] miles along the coast or one side of a navigable river or one [Dutch] mile along both sides of a river, and as far inland as the circumstances of the occupants shall permit, but for one hundred persons four [Dutch] miles and so on accordingly; all this for the raising of all sorts of products and plants, also of cattle,—with the exception of the annatto dye (which the Company reserves exclusively for itself), which no one shall be allowed to trade in, gather, or transport, on penalty of his life and confiscation of all his goods; on condition, that they shall be required to begin the aforesaid raising and cultivation within a year, and to bring the aforesaid number of persons within the time of four consecutive years, on penalty of losing the acquired liberties in case of evident neglect.

5.

The aforesaid persons shall enjoy freedom from all sorts of dues for all the aforesaid products and plants for the time of ten years; but for wood, or any other thing which can be had there without cultivation and is reckoned as merchandise, they shall pay as other persons do, to which end they are required to make known the arrival of any ship or ships, and to unload only in the Company's warehouses at the place whence they sailed out, on penalty of confiscation of the cargo; and after the expiration of the aforesaid ten years they shall pay as other inhabitants who in the limits of the charter carry on trade under the regulations and the subsequent resolutions.

6.

But, regarding the merchandise and goods which they wish to take along from here, they shall likewise announce these and bring them into

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the Company's warehouse and pay as others, it being understood that nothing shall be paid for provisions and necessaries intended and needed for the colony.

7.

The instructions concerning trade and other matters which are given at the departure of a ship must always be communicated to the Company, and the Company shall have the right to place an agent on board the aforesaid ship whom the skipper is required to receive at his table in the cabin without extra charge, but the wages shall be paid at the expense of the Company.

8.

In addition to the wood and salt permits, the Company shall grant letters of reprisal, in order that by virtue thereof they be at liberty to attack and capture the ships of the Portuguese, on condition that the prizes shall be placed at disposal according to the tenor of the aforesaid letters of reprisal, and against such dues as paid by other commissioned ships.

9.

Any one of the colonists who through himself or his family or servants comes to discover any crystals, stones, marble, of whatsoever nature these be, shall be at liberty to take possession thereof and possess them and use them for his benefit for five years, and after the aforesaid years the possessor shall only be required to pay the tithes to the Company, but for ores of gold or silver they shall pay for each return cargo one lawful fifth part.

10.

The aforesaid patroons shall send and maintain in the aforesaid colony an able person as Commandeur, who must take out the usual commission from the Company and also receive from it proper instructions to administer criminal and civil law in the name of the States General and the aforesaid Company, after the system, both in criminal and civil law, which is customary in the province of Zeeland, and particularly concerning the law of inheritance; but the Company reserves for itself the supreme authority in the [appointment] of a Governor General and Councilors when it sees fit.

11.

And, in order that religion be maintained in the aforesaid colony, they shall be required to provide it at the earliest date with an able person for a scripture-reader, so as to come together on the Sabbath day to sing, to read the lesson, and to offer the prayers; but, when the colony has increased to one hundred families, the aforesaid patroons promise to send thither a capable preacher, to whom they alone shall extend the call, but the approval remains reserved to the Company, as also the interpretation of any obscurities.

No. 26.

Extract from proceedings of the provincial Estates of Zeeland, 1657.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 124.]

[SATURDAY, *June* 9, 1657.]

* * * * * * *

There appeared before the meeting Messrs. van der Heyde and Moorthamer, deputies of the West India Company, having its Chamber here in Zeeland. They made known orally, and thereafter submitted in writing, the intention which they have of establishing, under approval of the Estates of Zeeland, a colony and new settlement on the Wild Coast of Essequibo and places thereabout, extending from one degree to ten degrees north of the Equator, between the rivers Orinoco and Amazon, wherein there has been granted them the exclusive privilege of navigation and trade, in pursuance of the agreement with the Chartered West India Company. And they request that the Estates of Zeeland, as patrons and founders of the colonies to be established there, be pleased to accept the direction thereof, according to one or the other of the plans which have been drawn up and submitted. Which matter having been deliberated upon, it was resolved that the documents submitted shall be sent to the members, as points of the agenda for the next meeting, in order that then such action be taken thereupon as shall be judged expedient and necessary in the interest of the State and for the furtherance of commerce. And in the mean time the Council, the deputies from the three cities of Walcheren being present, shall fully examine this matter, and transmit to the members the papers with their conclusion subjoined.

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No. 27.

Extracts from provisional contract between the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) and the Walcheren Cities, 1657.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 125.]

[*December* 24, 1657.]

* * * * * * *

The West India Company shall approve and so far as in it lies make effective this agreement, basis, and ordinance whereby the aforesaid cities, together with a committee from the aforesaid directors, are to establish and plant colonies on the continental Wild Coast between the first and the tenth degrees, and that in conformity with the liberties and exemptions granted or to be granted by the Board of Nineteen.

To the aforesaid cities, as founders and colonizers of the aforesaid Coast, the States-General shall concede and grant high, middle, and low jurisdic-

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tion, in order the better to maintain the necessary authority over their subordinates.

* * * * * * *

The sovereignty and supremacy, with all that thereto belongs, remaining nevertheless to the States-General, and to the Company, in so far as the latter is by the charter entitled thereto.

* * * * * * *

No. 28.

Extracts from proceedings of the Committee governing for the three Walcheren cities the colony of Nova Zeelandia, 1657-1658.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 127–128.]

[MONDAY, *December* 24, 1657.]

* * * * * * *

The provisional contract between the cities of Middelburg, Flushing and Vere, and the Directors, having been submitted for approval, it was approved without change and signed by the respective members of the committee, and is entered in these minutes under date of January 21, 1658, following hereafter.

There was read a letter from Cornelis Goliat, offering his services for an honorable office on the continental Wild Coast; whereupon, after full deliberation, and in consideration of his being well versed in the art of fortification, of war, and of surveying, and also in ciphering and bookkeeping, it was resolved that he shall be employed as commissary in charge of the stores at the aforesaid place; also as commander of the 25 soldiers to be sent; moreover as engineer, to apportion the lands, make the maps, and erect certain strong places or forts for the protection of the colony; and that he shall be assigned a salary of 60 florins per month; notification whereof was sent to him, and by him agreed to.

[*August* 19, 1658.]

* * * * * * *

There was read a letter from Aerts Adriaensen and Cornelis Goliat, dated at Nova Zeelandia on June 18, 1658, which is now provisionally laid aside till the next meeting, to be treated together with the other documents.

There was read a short description by Cornelis Goliat of the rivers Demerara, Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Moruca, situated on the coast of Guiana, otherwise called the Wild Coast, and now Nova Zeelandia, which it was resolved to have copied and transmitted to each member of the Committee.

* * * * * * *

No. 29.

Extract from petition of Jan Doensen and others for registry of their property in Essequibo, July 3, 1664.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol, 2, pp. 132–133.]

Jan Doensen, skipper, of the ship *Zeelandia*, respectfully makes known that, in virtue of and in accordance with the liberties and exemptions offered and granted to all the world, he with several qualified associates has chosen and taken into possession a district of land and region in the river Essequibo at Brouwershoek, where he has placed as agent one Huibrecht Vinou, a Frenchman, provided with several negroes and other agricultural necessaries for the furtherance of a regular sugar-mill there and also of the plantation needed thereto—and being desirous to go on therewith and with God's help to carry everything into operation, after the intention and to the advantage of the company, to which end the aforesaid liberties and exemptions were granted, which cannot be brought about without still further very great expense for animals, copper utensils, and other things needed thereto—and it being only just that for their zeal, labor, trouble and great expense, they for all time should peacefully enjoy an absolute and free ownership for themselves and their descendants, always, however, under the protection and the regulations of the company—and inasmuch as there in that country they have or can find no opportunity for having the ownership of their aforesaid plantation recorded and registered; therefore, he, the petitioner, requests that he and his associates as owners be thus entered here at home in the books and made known as such, at least provisionally until further registration yonder shall have been ordered.

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No. 30.

Extract from proceedings of the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), 1670-1673.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 138–140.]

[*May* 28, 1670.]

* * * * * * *

Hendrick Rol appeared before the Chamber and informed it that he is ready to depart for Essequibo at the order of the Chamber, adding to this that the business in Essequibo and Demerara can be attended to by him at the same time, since they lie only 3 [Dutch] miles apart. * * *

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No. 30.

[*July* 20, 1673.]

* * * * * * *

There was read the private or secret letter from the Commandeur Hendrik Rol, from Rio Essequibo under date of 16 March, 1673, wherein the following points were noticed, which it was resolved to insert here:

* * * * * * *

Peace had been made between the Caribs in Barima and the Arawaks, and they now had intercourse with each other, and he was going to send a boat after carap-oil, intending in the mean time to make trial of the linseed oil.

He had sent some wares to Orinoco for the purpose of trade; by mistake these were carried to Trinidad, and, no opportunity being found to trade there, they had come back home.

Since that time the people of Orinoco have requested that we go there to trade, whereupon he has resolved to send thither Steven Tornaelje with an old negro who knows the language well.

* * * * * * *

No. 31.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Hendrik Rol, Commandeur in Essequibo, February 22, 1675.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 141.]

* * * * * * *

In regard to the trade in Orinoco, for which you are doing all you can, it would be good if we could get it. Yet, as to the lure of the Spaniards, who invite you to bring there some material of war for the King and under that pretext to get the trade, it must be considered whether this might not perhaps at some time be harmful to us—putting in their hands a knife to cut our own throats. Therefore we recommend you to give good heed thereto. * * *

* * * * * * *

No. 32.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Hendrik Rol, Commandeur in Essequibo, November 30, 1675.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 142–143.]

* * * * * * *

Furthermore we have been glad to learn that a certain Spanish nobleman having come over with our *Snaauw* from Surinam to be transported to Rio Orinoco, you had caused him to be carried over in a canoe manned by Indians, giving him for companion and guide Jacobus Asseliers, with a

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view thus to get an opportunity to obtain trade there; but that the latter, arriving there at the Spaniards' landing, had found a great crowd, as the Governor of Trinidad was present there, and was forbidden to set foot on land before he had received an order from the said Governor, who, in fine, shortly after ordered him to depart from there within 24 hours, leaving him free, however, to go among the Indians wherever he pleased; further, the said Governor, having gone from there, had through the captain left in command, and the contador and others besides, rendered thanks to you for the kindness shown to the said nobleman, but [adding] that he did not yet dare to trade freely because no letters had yet come from Spain, though such were every day expected, together with a new Governor, and that he trusted that when these had come we probably should obtain [permission to] trade; and that they had bought the small stock of wares which you sent along, he inviting Asseliers to come again, yet not to their own landing, but to an Indian one, and make known his arrival to them, promising that they would then come to buy from him the aforesaid goods. We have no doubt that accordingly you have caused a second trial journey to be made with satisfactory result, of which we hope to learn by your next; and that it will serve as a firm foundation of flourishing relations and trade with them, to the advantage and profit of the Company and those interested in it, as also to the praise and renown of your vigilance and prudent management.

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No. 33.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, December 30, 1678.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 144.]

* * * * * * *

And, inasmuch as we have received reliable information that on the Orinoco a good trade could be established with the Spaniards, we shall by next letter expect a list or petition, of the goods and merchandise required therefor.

* * * * * * *

No. 34.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, October 20, 1679.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 144-147.]

* * * * * * *

The river Pomeroon also promises some profit; for, in order to make trial of it, I sent thither in August last one of my soldiers to barter for annatto dye. But there lately came tidings of the approach of a strong

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fleet of Caribs from the Corentyn with intent to visit this river and Pomeroon, having perhaps a secret understanding with the Caribs here to make a common attack upon us. (This danger, thank Providence, we have escaped; for I now learn from Berbice that they long ago passed this river on their way back from Barima, and, seizing in Berbice an Indian boat, have gone back to their homes again.) On receiving the aforesaid ill tidings I called in to the fort the above-mentioned outlier[1] in Pomeroon, both to save him from being surprised, along with the Company's goods, by these savages and to strengthen ourselves in case of attack. Accordingly he came to the fort on the 8th inst. with all the goods, bringing with him a barrel of annatto dye which he had there bought up. The scare being now over, I shall send him back there within four or five weeks (the dye season not fairly beginning there before that date); and, if the trade prospers, it would not be a bad idea to build there a hut for two or three men, so that they may dwell permanently among the Indians and occupy that river. Thus these [Indians] would be stimulated to furnish a deal of annatto—for the place is too far off for them to bring it here to the fort. In that event, you ought to send me more men from the fatherland.

* * * * * * *

As regards the trade in Orinoco, it would succeed satisfactorily if only I were properly supplied with wares. I have twice now sent thither a Christian—one of my soldiers—with axes, cutlasses, knives, beads, etc., and with good result, except the last time, when almost all the wares were brought back because of their unsuitableness; moreover, the Silver Fleet from Peru had not yet arrived. The old Governor there had, on account of his evil ways, been carried to Spain a prisoner, and a new one put in his place. The latter has promised, and assured me in writing, that the forty-six dollars[2] for axes, etc., due me from his predecessor, by whom they were taken on credit, shall certainly come to me; for before the second trip thither he had already been carried to Trinidad, so that this new Governor has virtually pledged himself for those moneys. These two voyages have brought the company more than two hundred dollars. The date set me some time ago for the third trip by the said Governor has long passed; but for lack of wares it had to be given up. This trade must as much as possible be kept secret, that strangers may not spoil it. The Spanish brandy is very acceptable there, also the fine linen and the scarlet cloth; for the other things there is no demand. Great profits may be reaped there, if the business be well managed—above all, we must stand well with the Spaniards, for else they will not buy. We must note well, too, the date

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—As is clear from the extract, the Pomeroon *uitlegger* was only an *outlier*, not yet a *postholder*. To avoid implying more than is warranted, it has seemed wise to translate thus always *uitlegger* by *outlier* until, from the beginning of the 18th century on, it is certain that the outlier was always a postholder.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—Thus it seems wisest to translate the Spanish "piece-of-eight," the lineal ancestor of the American dollar.

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of the arrival of the Silver Fleet. This is now at hand; but, for lack of everything, it cannot be taken advantage of. By your next ship I shall send you a detailed report with a further description of the good opening there, along with an itemized statement of my trade and an account of sales.

In conclusion I again earnestly recommend you to send, as early as possible, the necessary goods, wares, merchandise, materials of war for Christians, the provisions and [things?] for the slaves, as specified in my previous letter, so that trade and our mouths may not come to a standstill: I hope they are already on the way. It would not be amiss to send 300 to 400 medium-quality axes, 100 to 200 dozen riveted knives, and several lbs. sky-blue beads more than is mentioned in the list sent you, [all] greatly needed and the best wares and most acceptable to the Spaniards—1 m[edium] axe for 1 dollar, 1 lot of beads for 3 dollars, 1 dozen riveted knives for 2 dollars, etc., and everything accordingly.

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No. 35.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, February 24, 1680.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 147.]

* * * * * * *

And, as for the prospective trade on the river Orinoco, we eagerly look forward to the result, and, in case something profitable can be done there, shall provide you with everything according to the list you shall send us. However, we shall first await the account in profit and loss of the trade now going on there.

No. 36.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, April 16, 1680.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 147–148.]

* * * * * * *

Trading to Orinoco must, to give least umbrage, be carried on by canoe. On the 14th of November of last year, I for the third time sent there a soldier with a canoe manned by Indians [and] with a considerable stock of goods. He was well received by the new Governor and allowed to carry on the aforesaid clandestine trade and favored to this extent, although at that time the silver had already been taken to Trinidad on account of my long delay for lack of the necessary stock. However, with about two hundred dollars, consisting of shilling pieces [he] safely arrived here at the fort on

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the 28th of December following, with an elaborate missive from the Governor aforesaid, full of expressions of his wish to enter into relations of cordial confidence and correspondence with me, fixing the time—to wit, in October next—for the return of the same soldier. At that time he will be back from Peru, whither he was four months ago deputed in person by the Governor of Trinidad for the execution of certain orders. But, to my sorrow, I have not been able to recover the 26 dollars which the old Governor who was carried off as a prisoner, as mentioned in my former letter, still owes; I am told to look to Trinidad, the place of his detention.

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No. 37.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 22, 1680.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 148–149.]

* * * * * * *

As to the trade here with Orinoco, we also trust there is a prospect of our accomplishing more in course of time, in case proper care be taken to provide us annually with proper wares, consisting of axes and cutlasses, which alone are taken there. We can even assure you that we have already seen some signs of good success, and shall in consequence not fail to be vigilant in the matter of the aforesaid trade.

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No. 38.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 28, 1680.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 149–150.]

The condition of the trade with Orinoco is as described in my accompanying[1] letter of the 16th of April last, and I refer you to the list of goods and wares therein asked for, which request I hereby repeat since the time set me by the Governor for the next trip will have expired by the coming September. I hope that, he having by that time returned from Peru,

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—To guard against the loss of a letter, the Essequibo Commandeurs were required to send a copy of each by a following ship. From 1708 on, they were in war time to be sent in triplicate, in as many separate bottoms.

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whither he went some months ago, I may then have good success in my trade on behalf of the Company. Herewith goes under No. 9 the account in profit and loss of what business has been done there on three different voyages. * * *

* * * * * * *

The trade in hammocks and letter-wood has this year not had the desired success, on account of the war between those [*i. e.*, the Indians] of Cuyuni, Essequibo, and Mazaruni and the Accoways who live in the country above; and we have repeatedly, with many but fruitless arguments, tried to pursuade the highest chief to make peace with the aforesaid nation, to that end offering axes and other wares. They even threatened, if we would not let them continue the war, to depart in great numbers to Barima and elsewhere. These being the most important traders in dye, I was, to my sorrow, compelled to desist; and hereby the river Cuyuni, our provision chamber, is closed. In addition, we lately have been vexed by the death of Giles, an old negro of the Company, recently up on the Cuyuni, poisoned, as the Caribs claim, by the Accoways. On that account the aforesaid old negroes have become afraid to be among that tribe; I shall, however, bethink me of means for conciliating that tribe. * * *

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No. 39.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, May 22, 1681.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 150.]

* * * * * * *

But, as regards the trade on the Orinoco, we have resolved to continue it, and to send you for that purpose such wares as are needed therefor, and are ordered by you, except the red cloth and the Spanish brandy; and we are expecting a good return from the aforesaid slight cargo. * * *

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No. 40.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company [1681].

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 151–152.]

By reason of the Accoway war in Cuyuni, of which you know, the trade in hammocks, especially in new ones, has resulted badly, for no one dares venture among that faithless tribe. As a result, no more than six of the common kind could be sent; the others were too small and not fit for you.

No. 40.

As for the trade in Orinoco, it has turned out wretchedly this year, since in place of the old genial Governor has succeeded another, very ill-natured and a kinsman of the one of Trinidad. Not only did he prohibit the trade, but he even caused Pieter Laman, who in January last was sent there by me to trade for the West India Company, to be put in irons, together with one of the Company's old negroes, although, according to their report, they had given not the slightest cause.

* * * * * * *

But later I have heard that the new Governor has lately been relieved and the old kind man has succeeded in his place. If I find this to be true, I shall have this voyage undertaken once more with caution, and in that case do not have doubt of success, and hope that this loss may be compensated by successful trade—which may God grant.

* * * * * * *

Moreover it would not be amiss to send the fishing-smack in the approaching dry season to the mouth of Orinoco, to salt manatees and turtles for the sustenance of your garrison here; the smack has been overhauled and is capable of navigating these waters for two or three years.

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No. 41.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, September 29, 1681.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 153.]

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We are sorry that the trade on the Orinoco has turned out so badly. When you begin it again, it should be taken in hand and carried through with caution, so that the Company may suffer no loss.

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No. 42.

Extract from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, March 2, 1682.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 153.]

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As for the trade in Orinoco with the Spaniards, it was in January last as successful as it should be.

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No. 43.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, June 18, 1682.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 154.]

* * * * * * *

We learn not without pleasure that the trade to Orinoco, of which you before gave us good hope, has again begun; and, since you well know how to do so, we do not doubt but you will use all prudence, that the trade be managed with safety. We shall not be backward in sending proper wares, provided only there is a demand for them.

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No. 44.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, July 18, 1682.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 155.]

Among the natives of the country, thank God, there is peace as yet, and we hear no rumor of evil, except only that the French are blockading and taking possession of Trinidad and Orinoco, though we do not yet know the exact outcome.

* * * * * * *

The victuals and especially the sweet oil will soon begin to run short; for, since on account of the war between the Caribs and the Accoways the river Cuyuni no longer furnishes provisions, we have to get along with the seaside alone.

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No. 45.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, January 8, 1683.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 155–157.]

* * * * * * *

To answer point by point your extremely gratifying letter, I shall first of all hereby declare that I am sorry about the low price of the annatto dye and sugar; I shall therefore, according to your last order, dated June 25, 1682, attempt to buy the dye from the natives at the lowest price possible without risk, and to impress them, though they are by nature dull and stupid, with the danger of ruin to that trade. For, if one did not proceed with caution in this matter, they would not only fail to bring the annatto to market, but out of obstinacy would plant no dye-trees hereafter.

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This letter is dated "8 Jan. 1682"; but both its place in the volume and its contents show that this is but the misdating so common at the beginning of a new year, and the missive of the Company in reply (dated October 13, 1683) makes it still more certain that we should here read, "8 Jan. 1683."

No. 45.

This would be the death-blow to that trade, to the irreparable damage of the future. For these people, like irrational animals, listen to no argument; inducements of every kind—good offices, wares—have no effect upon them; they meet you with the tart answer that they can get plenty of these by trade in Barima and other places, which partly squares with the truth, on account of the trade which the French from the islands carry on there.

* * * * * * *

The trade to Orinoco has been passably successful this year, and for lack of proper wares I have been able to undertake only one voyage thither. The head man there urged a speedy second trip, which in due season I shall undertake again with hope of good success.

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No. 46.

Extract from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, February 27, 1683.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission Report, Vol. 2, p. 158.]

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I have sent a negro up in Cuyuni, in order, if it be possible, to make peace between the Accoways and the Caribs, so as by this means to get the wild-hog hunting there, as hitherto.

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No. 47.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, December 25, 1683.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 158–159.]

In January last Mattijs Bergenaar made a fruitless voyage to Orinoco, having traded nothing, inasmuch as the Governor of Trinidad might arrive there at any time and this commander was a stern man and his kinsman. The soldiers there had forced the fort and carried off a deal of silver but some of them, being afterwards caught, suffered the penalty for this audacious deed on the gallows. Everything now having been restored to order, I hope for better success; with God's help they will have returned inside of a fortnight, and I shall then fully advise you of the result.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The second of the passages from this letter has been printed in Blue-Book No. 3, p. 59. It is here repeated because of its importance and because of slight differences in translation which need the support of the original Dutch. The reading "Barimaroome" finds no warrant in the manuscript; it is clearly "Baumeronne," a common spelling of the name of the Pomeroon.

No. 47.

In Barima I have had one of the Company's servants take up his abode, since there is much annatto and letter-wood there and it is close by Pomeroon. Recently, too, it has been navigated as many as two or three times by Gabriel Biscop and exploited with great success, much to the prejudice of the Company. I hope this will meet your approval. That trade, both there and in Pomeroon, I have forbidden to him, and to all others as well. I wish you would take that river also into your possession, as has provisionally been done by me, in order to see what revenues it will yield, since I am of opinion that the Company can do as good a trade there in an open river as can private individuals.

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No. 48.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, March 31, 1684.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 159–162.]

Pomeroon begins annually to furnish much and good annatto, and much was brought from Barima, as appears from the inclosed list under No. 7, from which you see how much has been got by barter here at the fort as well as by all the outliers. But Gabriel Biscop and other sea-rovers from Surinam not only spoil that trade, but buy up all the letter-wood, which is there fairly abundant and good, together with the carap-oil and hammocks, as a result of which I have obtained this year only very few old and bad ones; they traverse and overrun the land even into the river Cuyuni. In order somewhat to check this, I have caused a small shelter to be made in Barima, and Abraham Baudardt, who is stationed there [2] as outliner in place of Daniel Galle, who is going home, shall occasionally visit that place, and encourage the Caribs to the trade in annatto and letter-wood, which even the French from the islands frequently come and carry off with their vessels. It would, therefore, if I may suggest, not be amiss if the West India Company, in order to obtain the aforesaid trade, should take that river Barima into possession, and should establish there a permanent outliership.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The first part of this passage has been printed in Blue Book No. 3, p. 59. It is here repeated because of its importance and because of serious differences in translation.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—*I. e.*, In Pomeroon. See the next two extracts, p. 47, in which Abraham Baudardt clearly appears as the Pomeroon outlier. It is probable that *daer* "there," should here be translated by some such vague phrase as "in that quarter"—the Barima being thought of as lying in the region of Pomeroon.

No. 48.

On November 30, 1683, I sent the boat *'t Casteel Rammekens*, skipper Gerrit Schonck to Orinoco, and on January 21, 1684, he came back with 5 or 6 barrels of fish and meat, a large new canoe, and 6 corials. With him came Mattijs Bergenaar, who trading in the meantime among the Spaniards for your benefit with a few wares obtained from said boat (the greater part had been used in the annatto trade) has brought back 816 Spanish shillings. He traded off all the ironware I had given him, except knives and beads; they are not willing to give more than 6 shillings for a medium ax or cutlass, and other things accordingly as will be seen from the inclosed account under No. 8), and pay in light coin, which has been sent to you as it was received. Thus this trade is falling off, by reason of the various foreign traders and our neighbors, who cause the price of merchandise to fall. Had I been provided with more axes, which are most in demand among the wares, they would all have been sold for that price. Please advise me by your next whether you can accept that low price; I shall then govern myself accordingly, and in the meantime [shall] try once again with a canoe. For, the Governor having gone, another has succeeded to his place, who once before, many years ago, was in command there, and who allows that trade to go without interfering; and [I shall] try to send as many wares as can possibly be spared and dispose of them at the highest price.

* * * * * * *

The copaiba and curcai are much bought up by the Spaniards. The war which various nations there carry on with one another has been the cause that Daentje the negro has not been able to get so far among that nation and therefore has made a fruitless journey, and could get only a few bad hammocks for the negroes. The time of the copaiba season and his departure is now at hand, and an Indian who just now came from that region reports that at present there is a good stock on hand there.

The Jew Salomon de la Roche having died some 8 or 9 months ago, the trade in vanilla has come to an end, since no one here knows how to prepare it so as to develop the proper aroma and keep it from spoiling. I have not heard of any this whole year. Little is found here; the most of it is to be had in Pomeroon and Barima, whither this Jew frequently traveled, and he used sometimes to make me a present of a little. In navigating along the river, too, I have sometimes seen some on the trees and picked it with my own hands, and it was prepared by the Jew—although I was never before acquainted with the virtues and value of this fruit, which grows wild and after the fashion of the banana. I have, indeed, sometimes used it in chocolate. The Jew has without my knowledge secretly sent a deal home; however, I shall do my best to obtain for the Company, in Pomeroon or elsewhere, as much as shall be feasible, but I am afraid it will spoil, since I do not know how to prepare it. I shall take care that no private business be carried on in it.

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No. 49.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 18, 1684.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 162–164.]

* * * * * * *

Inasmuch as through Abraham Baudart, outlier in Pomeroon, and through divers Indians, I some time ago obtained information that the French, who are at war with the Spaniards, and are apparently (as I hear indirectly) about to come into collision with our nation, two or three months ago made themselves masters of the fort in Orinoco, after resistance from those inside, and after the loss of their commander and of many persons on either side; and they have taken prisoner the Governor of Trinidad on his way to Orinoco, but obtained little booty, since, the news having penetrated inland, the convoys of silver did not come down. It is still unknown whether the said French have abandoned the fort. They have for their assistance many Caribs from Coppenam, driven out thence by Mr. van Sommelsdijk [and] fleeing hitherward to our great disquietude. The aforesaid Caribs had just before suddenly set upon Captain Gabriel Biscop, who came with his barque from Surinam and Berbice to Barima, in order to trade there in annatto, letter-wood, etc.; and he with 15 of his men was killed, the barque was chopped to pieces and sunk, and to some other Indians, our friends, they made threats that jointly with the French they would come and if possible lay waste all the plantations and the fort of Essequibo. So the indications are that we may shortly expect an attack.

* * * * * * *

* * * Inasmuch as the trade to Orinoco has by reason of this invasion come to an end, of which trade a detailed account will be submitted to you by the next homeward bound ship. * * *

[Inclosure in above letter.]

[*Resolution of the Commandeur and Planters in Essequibo, July* 10, 1684.]

Firstly, it is found good and resolved to erect and make a strong-house, or redout, of palisades, on the said island New Walcheren, inasmuch as, through Abraham Boudardt, postholder in Pomeroon, we have received certain news and information that recently two or three hostile [bands of natives?] from Copenam have surprised and fallen upon the barque of Captain Gideon Biscop, lying in the Barima for trade with the said natives, have massacred and killed said captain with all his men, and have sunk said boat by chopping a hole in it, [and are] threatening to come and make

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an invasion at the earliest moment, and if possible lay waste all the plantations. * * *

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No. 50.

Letter from the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, August 24, 1684.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 164–171.]

[*August* 24, 1684.]

DEAR SIR:

The ship *Abram and Isaac* being ready to leave for Berbice, we have resolved to send you this missive from our chamber.

In the first place we inform you that on June 9, 1684, there arrived here the ship *Westsouburgh*, skipper Steven Keuvel, whereby you send us to the Company's account 157 barrels annatto dye, 87 p[s] [pieces] letterwood, 895 Spanish shillings, in part bad, light coin, 88 barrels sugar, all of which we have received in good condition.

From your preceding letters we had expected a rather large consignment of sugar. You must see to it in future that private persons no longer get ahead of us,—aye, even make twice as much as does the Company, as we saw and learnt the last time, though in the number of their mills, slaves, and horses they cannot compare with the Company.

You tell us of having bought from one Jacob de Jonge a plantation worth 1,400 guilders in view of his inability to pay for 6 Elmina slaves whom he had bought some time ago, and that in addition you had placed on this plantation 4 slaves which were bought by one Michiel Gangel, namely, 2 men, 1 woman and 1 boy, on which he had not yet paid a single pound of sugar.

All of these slaves, amounting to 10 head, and all that is movable, you say you intend to bring away from the aforesaid plantation to the plantation of Samuel Beekman filius Daniel, and you order copper kettels, spoons, skimming ladles, capstans, plates and carapouses, and also a cooper with his tools; and you say further that said Beekman now is to receive for the first 3 years 20 guilders and thereafter 24 guilders per month, and that you have also given him a foreman, whose wages you have raised from 12 to 16 guilders per month, and that you have further engaged this aforesaid Jacob de Jonge in the place of the sergeant Casimirus at 18 florins per month.

In reply to this we say that all these ways of doing seem very strange to us, and that we can clearly perceive therefrom that you play there quite the part of sovereign lord and master, buying a poor and ill-appointed plantation for 1,400 guilders, appointing and dismissing people, raising

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salaries, all according to your own whim; thus putting the colony to heavy costs, without our order or knowledge.

You know you wrote us last time that you had engaged said Samuel Beekman at a salary of 20 florins per month, to which at that time we had reason to give our approval. Now you put him (as said above) on a salary of 20 to 24 florins per month, with the title of director, and this on your own authority, and not only relieve Jacob de Jonge of his debt by buying from him his plantation for 1,400 florins, but moreover advance him to sergeant at 18 florins per month, all which we as yet in no way approve. Why did you not act in this matter subject to our approval, as you write you have done in the making of a contract with the surgeon Jean de Bruel for treating slaves at such a salary as we might name for him—which we hereby do, fixing it at —— florins per month.

On condition, that he treat only the Company's slaves; if private planters also wish to have his services, they must have private arrangements with him, and not otherwise.

We next ask whether the Company's surgeon there, Jacobus den Erffer by name, cannot as well be employed thereto as this Jean de Bruel; or, if he be worthless or unfit, he might as well come home, for the Company does not need to bear the burden of 2 surgeons in so small a colony, from which little if any profit is received.

You send us a sketch-plan for the building of a new fort on Stamper's Island; it is strange that you do not add how many or what this fort would probably cost, as we explicitly instructed you on October 13, 1683, in order that we might give exact information to the Board of Ten, who never will give their consent thereto unless they know this exactly. So it is through your own fault that you can this year come to no decision therein.

In the meantime you have had established and built on said Stamper's Island a new redout, with 6 pieces of ordnance of good calibre, under a lookout-watch of 4 or 5 men, likewise to the Company's heavy expense and against its orders.

You write that you have dismissed from his post and banished the secretary Jacob Nolet, because of calumny, slander, and conspiracy. We in no wise mean to protect or defend evil-doers, but on the contrary rigorously to punish them as they deserve; yet, from the scanty report and the unsatisfactory sentence in this case, we can as yet find no sufficient cause for treating him so harshly and sending him in irons to Surinam. In any case, he might as well have come direct by our ship. It was your duty to send us some authentic written documents bearing upon the case, as we hereby charge you to do, and also to send us definite and adequate answer to the documents herewith enclosed.

We suggest that henceforth you try to get as much letter-wood as can be got, and let us know how large a quantity is to be had annually; also, what will be the yearly cost of this to the Company, and what to the post-

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holder, that we may govern ourselves accordingly—the 87 pieces now received were sold at between 18 and 20 florins the hundredweight and the sugar at from 5⅛ to 5 or 4⅞ d. per lb.

As for the annatto trade, you must not approach the owners or Indians too eagerly, but somewhat indifferently; and take none but first quality, as the common kind fetches here only 3 to 4 d. per pound.

Concerning the trade to Orinoco we find it advisable that you stop it, and neither trade thither yourself, nor permit trade thither, directly or indirectly, until further orders; since we are of opinion that the Company bears all the expenses and burdens, and that others help themselves to the profits.

And we hold the same opinion as to the Berbice [1] trade, which we recommended you to carry on for the Company, whereupon you answer us, saying that this trade has come to an end through the death, 8 months ago, of a Jew named Salomon la Roche, and that he had sent a great deal home, but without your knowledge—truly a meagre and poor excuse. How is it possible that such a thing can occur without your knowledge, and likewise without the knowledge of skipper Isaac Keuvel. That won't do; we are astonished not only that you venture to write such transparent excuses to your lords and masters, but even more that you are not ashamed of wheedling them with lies, in order quietly to keep this trade for your own private profit—your own and that of the said skipper Steven Keuvel. Of this we think we are reliably informed; as also that this Jew (whose name is used only as a pretext to mislead) has not monopolized the vanilla, but that the Indians have furnished you a goodly quantity.

You write us that there had arrived there from St. Thomas one Rochus Abramsen with his barque, wherefore you thought yourself to have sufficient reason for confiscating said boat. We are astonished not only that you have not done so, as was your duty (since it is our will that no craft shall in any wise be let in there by you), but also that you have moreover given him credit for 25 dollars, knowing that he has taken service in Berbice; wherefore we do not hold ourselves responsible for that 25 dollars, but leave it on your account, and you will cause the said barque to be confiscated and sold.

You write also that next year you will have the sugar on the plantation of the aforesaid Jacob de Jonge ground by the Company's slaves and horses and at the mill of Samuel Beekman, on reasonable terms.

Also that you had dismissed the Company's carpenter, named Jan Rispe, from his position, and that he had taken service on Beekman's plantation.

Also that in his place you had engaged Beekman's carpenter as a soldier at 8 florins per month. All which things we do not quite understand; you must give a clearer and more precise explanation of these matters.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—Apparently a clerical error for "the *vanilla* trade."

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We see with no small wonder that you sent the boat *Rammekens* to Surinam, there to get 6 or 7 horses, at the request of and to accommodate private planters, namely Thomas Thomassen, Jan Joossen and Carel Tollenaar; and, when the boat came back, it had obtained only 4 horses and some other necessaries, in all amounting to 18,420 pounds of sugar, which business had to be transacted by our clerk Brusser with one Samuel Nassy.

The said 4 horses, having arrived from Surinam in Essequibo, the aforesaid Thomas Thomassen, Jan Joossen and Carel Tollenaar were unwilling to receive the horses, claiming that they were too lean and not fit for acceptance; to which you add that Brusser or Samuel Nassy had cheated the Company, and that the Company must remonstrate with them and ask damages.

This is loose talk for a sensible merchant, and still more so for a jurist. Who ever heard of any one's asking damages from a person with whom he has had no dealings and no acquaintance? We are of an entirely different opinion and in no way intend that such loss be shifted to the Company. Those who sent for them were obliged to accept the horses, and moreover not only to pay the damages but also freight and expenses, since it was at their request, and consequently on their account. We shall provisionally place the aforesaid 18,420 pounds of sugar upon your account. You could, as we understand it, make them pay, so that the Company suffer no damage; and, to preclude such fine transactions, we forbid you to send any more ships to Surinam or to have any trade carried on, directly or indirectly. This will likewise stop the private dealings both by the planters and by you—you who are able to sell sundry hammocks there for 8 florins apiece, though writing us that none are to be had—which is also contrary to the truth.

According to your request, we shall take care that our ship reach you by February or March, and shall send you by it some new persons for the Company's service, and such provisions and merchandise as we shall see fit.

We recommend that you henceforth write pure Dutch, without using so many Latin, French and other words which are out of place.

Let us know definitely how many plantations have been founded and taken in hand since you came there, and how many horses, cows, slaves, mills and other things there are on them, together with the names of the owners.

ABRAM BISCOP,
PIETER PEDECŒUR, and
CORNELIS VAN DER MERKT.

No. 51.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, January 15, 1685.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 172-173.]

* * * * * *

* * * that you stop the Orinoco trade is a good thing; that business has always brought in much glory and little gain, as will be seen from the declarations of Pieter Laman and Matthijs Bergenaar sent with the documents above-named. The expenses which you bore were small, and no one to my knowledge helped himself to the profits. You still have there as much as 80 dollars to your credit. * * *

* * * * * *

The French in the Barima likewise come even to the upper Cuyuni to get them, and have there burnt the houses in[1] the Pariacotten, [and] driven them away. These gather the copaiba from the trees, and [this] is the reason that Daentje, the negro, came back two weeks ago without bringing with him a single pound of copaiba, bringing only 30 hammocks, among them eight small new ones not fit to be used by any man, much less worthy of your service, as appears from the accompanying declaration of Matthijs Bergenaar, No. 9.

No. 52.

Extract from letter of the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, February 11, 1685.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 173.]

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You probably will have seen also from our last how it is our will and order that you no longer trade or permit trade to Orinoco, nor let any vessel go or come from Surinam or elsewhere.

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No. 53.

Extract from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, May 1, 1685.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 173.]

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* * * Of Orinoco the Spaniards again have possession. The dis-

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr. That this should have been written (as it is translated by the Blue-Book) "of" instead of "in" seems probable; but the manuscript has clearly "in" (*in* not *van*). The Pariacotten were doubtless, as the Blue-Book assumes, an Indian tribe—probably that known to the Spaniards as Pariagotos, or Guayanos.

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persed and expelled Coppenam Caribs are taking refuge just to leeward of us about Barima, Waini, Amacura; they often alarm this coast, sometimes slaying some unlucky Arawaks or Christians, as was seen in the case of Biscop and the men from Berbice, of which I have already apprised you.

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No. 54.

Extract from proceedings of the West India Company (the Ten), October 17, 1685.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 174-175.]

WEDNESDAY, *October 17, 1685.* (Afternoon.)

There was read the petition of Jacob Pietersz. de Jongh, whereby he requests payment of a sum of £42 13s. 4d. Flemish, according to the balanced account given him by the Commandeur Abraham Beekman on April 10 in Rio Essequibo; and furthermore that he be allowed to settle as a free planter on the river Pomeroon, together with other planters who have also made a request to this effect, and that for this purpose the rivers Essequibo and Pomeroon be thrown open; whereupon, there having been heard the considerations and opinions of the Committee of Directors of the Zeeland Chamber, it was, after discussion, resolved, that the first request of the petitioner, concerning the payment of a sum of £42. 13. 4. Flemish. be hereby referred to the Directors of the aforesaid Zeeland Chamber, in order that they decide thereupon as favorably as they shall deem consistent with the interests of the Company. And it was furthermore resolved to throw open hereby the rivers of Essequibo and Pomeroon to each and everyone who shall desire to navigate and trade thither, or to settle and dwell there, on condition that he pay to the West India Company the dues and take out the Commission as others of the second class are required to do who navigate to the district of the Charter; the West India Company reserving to itself expressly the trade and the exportation in the aforesaid rivers [of?] the annatto dye and the letter-wood, with prohibition to all others, on penalty of confiscation of the annatto and the letter-wood exported by others besides the company, and its use to the profit of the company.

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No. 55.

Extracts from proceedings of West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), 1686.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 175-180.]

THURSDAY, *January 3, 1686.*

There was read a letter from the Committee of Directors from the

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respective Chambers of the General Chartered West India Company, dated the 24th of last month, concerning the establishing of a new colony in the river Pomeroon and the appointing of a Commandeur over the same, * * *

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[MONDAY, *January 7, 1686.*]

The minutes were submitted and approved, with the exception of the resolutions taken concerning the creation of a Commandeur and further control for the river Pomeroon, it being taken into consideration that the cities of Middelburg, Flushing and Vere, had, as early as 1657, made a contract with the company in regard to the settling of the aforesaid river, and thereafter had actually established there a colony called Nova Zeelandia—for which and other reasons the Burgomasters of this city had requested that the resolution taken upon this subject last Thursday by this body be not carried into effect, at least not until such time as, this matter having been more fully examined, it should be found that the company was entitled to take to itself the aforesaid control. Whereupon, the matter having been put to the question, it was resolved not to approve the aforesaid resolution, much less to carry it into effect, until a conference has been held with the Burgomasters, and in the meanwhile Messrs. Van der Merct and Biscop were appointed a Committee, together with the Advocate, to examine the minutes kept by the directors of Nova Zeelandia, and also the contracts made upon this head by the aforesaid cities with the company; and to the respective Chambers the necessary communication shall be given of this resolution, with the request that they appoint committees to confer upon this matter with the aforesaid cities and to adjust this affair with the Burgomasters, or else to authorize this Chamber to do so.

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[WEDNESDAY, *January 9, 1686.*]

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There was heard the report of Messrs. Van der Merct, Biscop van Serooskercke, and the Advocate, concerning the colony of Nova Zeelandia.

Whereupon, the question having been put, it was resolved to thank the aforesaid Committee for the trouble they had taken, and to insert here the aforesaid report.

* * * * * *

[FIAT INSERTIO.]

Messrs. Van der Merckt and Biscop, together with the Advocate, having examined, in pursuance of the resolution of the 3rd inst., whereby they were appointed a committee, the minutes and resolutions kept by the Directors of Nova Zeelandia, and having compared therewith the

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minutes of the old Company, both those kept here in this city and those of the Board of Nineteen, have reported :

1.

That the administration of Nova Zeelandia was established in the year 1657.

2.

That as Directors thereof were appointed two members from the magistracy of Middelburg, one from Flushing, and one from Vere, together with four directors[1] from and on behalf of the aforesaid cities, in such manner that the aforesaid administration consisted of eight persons.

3.

That the city of Middelburg shared in the aforesaid administration to the extent of one half, and the cities of Flushing and of Vere to the extent of one quarter [each].

4.

That the book of minutes kept by the aforesaid Directors concerning the aforesaid administration was entitled : "Resolutions concerning the new colony in Essequibo."

5.

That the first session was held November 1, 1657.

6.

That on December 16, 1657, the aforesaid three cities made an agreement together concerning the distribution of the outlays to be made for the support and maintenance of the aforesaid colony ; and that the conditions drawn up for the planters had been approved and promulgated everywhere, before even a provisional agreement had been made about the aforesaid colony between the aforesaid cities of Walcheren and the Company, at least before it had been approved by the Board of Nineteen.

7.

That the aforesaid agreement was approved and signed by the members of the Committee on the 24th of the same month.

8.

That on January 21, 1658, there was made between the Directors of this Chamber, on the one part, and the Burgomasters and magistrates of the cities of Middelburg, Flushing and Vere, on the other part, a provisional contract, containing among other things :

1. That the aforesaid cities are considered as founders and colonizers of the aforesaid coast ;

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[1]Note by Prof. Burr.—*I. e.*, directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company, but at the same time residents and representatives of the respective cities.

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2. That the aforesaid cities shall have jurisdiction over it after the fashion of a fief, to this end appointing in turn a person on whom the fief shall be conferred upon payment of certain seignorial dues;

3. That the aforesaid colony shall extend between one and ten degrees on the aforesaid Wild Coast, which agreement was also approved by the Board of Nineteen.

9.

That on September 9, 1658, the cities began to consider making the aforesaid colony over to the Province; and that on October 3, 1658, a committee was appointed to broach the matter to the respective members of the estates of the Province.

10.

That the invested capital was increased or augmented to the sum of £12,000 Flemish.

11.

That on April 15, 1659, the committee wrote to the aforesaid Directors, sending them an extract from their minutes of the 11th of the same month, requesting them to give the provincial estates their opinion on it, and especially to make a statement of the sums which would be required for the maintenance and continuation of the aforesaid colony.

12.

That the members for Vere as early as 1660 failed to furnish their quotum, and that in view thereof on December 16 of the aforesaid year, a discussion was begun as to the measures that should be taken in order to constrain them thereto.

13.

That the Directors, having on March 12, 1663, very earnestly considered the condition of the aforesaid colony, and especially the capital still necessary for the continuance thereof, had resolved to make report thereof to their principals, in order that the Chamber deliberate and decide thereon for the best interests of the Company.

14.

That the minutes of the aforesaid Directors end with November 19, 1663, and that the Company, both before and after that date, had advanced the sum of £7,000 Flemish.

15.

That the river of Essequibo, being in the year 1665 captured by the English, and these being driven out again in the same year,[1] under the leadership of Matthijs Bergenaar, Commandeur of Berbice, with some

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—*I. e.*, within less than a year after the capture; the English were expelled in 1666.

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troops drawn from the garrison there and joined to the Company's negroes and other servants who had retired from the aforesaid river into the woods, the soldiery of this state[1] at last stationed itself there and continued to occupy the aforesaid river of Essequibo until the year 1670, when the river was again given over into the hands of the West India Company in its Chamber here, as appears more fully in the conditions made therefor on April 11, 1670.

16.

That the aforesaid contract made with the Committee from the Councils was also, after various remarks, finally approved by the Board of Nineteen, containing among other provisions that the Company was required to furnish every year a goodly number of slaves in Surinam for a certain reasonable price, so that the restitution of the aforesaid colony took place only under an onerous stipulation.

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No. 56.

Extracts from letter from Jacob de Jonge, Commandeur in Pomeroon, to West India Company, May, 1686.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 60–61.]

To give your Noblenesses news of our journey, we have progressed as well with it as could possibly be. On the 31st January we started from before Flushing, and henceforward Y. N. will be pleased to see it as per accompanying day register. To give Y. N. news of our arrival in River Essequebo, it took place on the 4th April, as Y. N. will also be able to see by the accompanying day register. As soon as I arrived in the aforenamed river I addressed myself to the Commandeur Beekman, whom I showed my letters from the Noble Chambers, so as to be able to make my voyage to Bourona as speedily as possible. I therefore requested the aforenamed Commandeur to cause me to be convoyed into the boat to the river aforesaid, with my necessary provisions, for the purpose of surveying, that I might find the most suitable spots for being able to place the fort and the plantations. Then Commandeur Beekman told me that he had orders from the Noble Lords to assist the skipper, Machiel Dircksen, but that I could easily make a journey to and fro to Bourona in the boat, in order partly to survey it. As he had no immediate need of the boat aforesaid, my intention was to give Y. N. information as to the condition of the River Bourona, but through lack of time I have but caused the river to be laid with buoys. I should willingly have gone there alone, but was compelled to take all my people with me, be-

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—It was a force sent by the province of Zeeland, with the approval of the States General.

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cause the Commandeur Beekman said that he was not well furnished with provisions, so that I have but left my assistant by himself at the fort. Concerning my goods, have duly received all the provisions with which Y. N. have been pleased to supply me; all has come safe to hand with the exception of a half hogshead of prunes and other groceries besides that were therein. So my assistant has been on board of the ship "De Vrijheijt," and asked the mate if he did not know anything of it, who showed him his Memorandum book, and found there nothing about it, so that I believe has happened through fault of the purveyor. I having thus arrived in Bourona, the natives of the land have been very friendly to me. I have been well able to see that it is a good land, by surmise about 11 to 12 miles in the river. I have found the most suitable places, where formerly the magazine stood, for the purpose of constructing a stronghold there, because that nowhere is any land round empty which was suitable for laying down plantations except on the creek.

* * * * * *

The goods sent for, which I, as per accompanying Memorandum, have sent for, is quite ordinary, for some red slaves to barter for oriane dye and vessels and provisions and whatever comes up. But so Y. N. be pleased to send further cargoes in order to make a journey as occasion offers to Orinoco; there Y. N. will be pleased to send forward also other cargoes, in order to traffic among the Spaniards there. Y. N. will likewise be pleased to send some slippers and shoes and white shirts, as well as hats and white fustian, in order to sell them to the soldiers and other folk; also, Y. N. will be pleased to send me five or six red coats and breeches, with some sham gold and silver lace, to keep on friendly terms with the upper Chiefs of the Indians.

* * * * * *

The postholders placed in Bourona to barter dye I had determined to keep, but the Commandeur Beekman said that he had need of his people, so the Commandeur summoned them and made them stay here at the fort.

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No. 57.

Extract from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 7, 1686.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 182.]

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Just as I am closing this, Daentje, the Company's old negro, comes from the savanna up in Cuyuni, from the Pariacotten. He has been away for fully seven months, and was detained quite three months by

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the dryness of the river. Because the French scour the country up there and buy up everything, he was able to get but little carap-oil and few hammocks.

* * * * * *

No 58.

Extracts from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, January 7, 1689.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 187-189.]

SIRS: These few respectful lines serve only to inform you that the ship *den jongen Indiaen*, skipper Gerrit Schonck, having left on the 13th of December last with my letters to you without any return freight, since he had no instructions therefor, and having got down to near the mouth of this river, met there the fishing boat, skipper Steven de Waterman, coming from Orinoco, who told skipper G. Schonck that on the sea, a little below this river, he had met and boarded a large barque, whose skipper had informed him that he had come in seven weeks from Texel, and, intending to go to Surinam, had fallen off too far to leeward, and that shortly before his departure from Texel war had been proclaimed between France and our country, and that our fleet, 100 ships of war strong, was at sea, since there was fear of a rupture with England. This caused skipper Gerrit Schonck to resolve to touch at the coast of Biscay.

Inasmuch as skipper Steven de Waterman is ready to depart to-day with his boat for Surinam, I did not wish to let pass this opportunity of informing you how this news has caused me to look about and employ all means necessary for our defense; that is, above all, to keep a good lookout-watch four or five miles down the river,—to fortify with a double row of strong palisades the house of the Company's plantation New Middelburg, which stands upon a high hill,—to have Mels Goethals and one foreman with all the slaves of the Company's plantation, since the latter is very weak in slaves, transferred to it,—and to add to the six men of those two plantations five or six more men, with two or three small pieces of ordnance, so as to be able to resist a hostile barque or other small craft and not be forced every moment to seek shelter at the fort from so slight a force. This undoubtedly, according to all indications, will happen, as the French are daily sojourning in Barima with the Caribs, often with two or three barques, and the English from the islands may do likewise. And, for a proper occupation of so many posts and the fort, we lack the men, our force consisting of a sergeant and 18 soldiers and three or four workmen, with a surgeon, the skipper of the barque, and six men on the two plantations.

Considering, then, that in Pomeroon the company has nothing to lose but a small bread and yam garden, with five or six decrepit negroes,

No. 58.

the others having been sold to the free planters, and moreover two one-pounders, lent by me to the Commandeur at his earnest request until he should have obtained others (I have sent him, too, at various times, the larger share of the wares, such as beads and heavy ironware, of all of which I have sent you a list by the ship), and the whole force there consists of only nine or ten men, surely a feeble garrison to resist his neighbors the French and Caribs in Barima and elsewhere (though, as these know well, that little or nothing is to be got there, probably no attack is to be feared)—for these reasons, then, and others too long to detain you with, I thought it well, since beyond all question more is to be lost here, and, moreover, both were the Company's property and servants, to notify the Commandeur Jacob de Jonge, to consider, since nothing of consequence and no stores are there, while here are many of importance, whether it would not be to the best interest of the Company, if he, with all his men, and everything he could bring with him, should come hither at the earliest opportunity, and join us, in order here in union with us to help protect what is of most importance, and the more vigorously to resist and in every way to beat off the foe. Upon the receipt of this message, he came in person three or four days ago, since he was not able to write, and his assistant has long been sick here with consumption; whereupon I orally set forth the matter to the Commandeur aforesaid, who said that he was also inclined thereto and considered all those arguments sufficient, but begged a delay until the boat from Surinam should come back and more particulars of the war should be obtained from home *via* that colony, and [added] that, if our affairs were really in such a dangerous state, he would, upon notification from me, come with all his men and material of war. And, since no provisions are left in Pomeroon, I have, in order to supply his men and replenish our provisions, which likewise were becoming scant because the seaside produces little, requested the Manager Gideon de Bourse to buy for us ten or twelve barrels of fresh meat, together with some refreshments of wine and brandy, and to apprise you. * * *

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No. 59.

Letter from Jacob de Jonge, Commandeur in Pomeroon, to West India Company, July 6, 1689.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 66.]

This letter of mine humbly to service to make Y. N. acquainted with what has happened since my last, as to how that we in the River Bourona have been suddenly attacked and overpowered by 33 French and about 300 Caribs, the one party by water with 10 canoes and 3 corials, and the other party by land out of the wood (since we had no cannon and were

No. 59.

but six men strong), to wit, the last day of last April ; but I effected my escape, accompanied by some red slaves. The Caribs of the French party pursued me vigorously, so that I was compelled to hurry through the wood to escape them with my clothes all thrown off, and came at last with great distress into Essequebo to the fort, to give them warning of our miserable experiences. They had on the next day, being the 1st May, taken their departure from there, and had taken, moreover, with them everything that was there, and had used strong threats to the people that they would burn everything, unless they sought me out. Yet seeing that they were unaware in what direction I had taken flight, they left it alone, but if they had caught me they would without doubt have made me seek out the red slaves who had escaped. The reason why I was obliged to fly was that I had gone with my surgeon to a house standing some 20 paces from the fort for some business. The French had meanwhile approached from below through the sugar-canes without our knowing anything of it, and were 60 feet from me when they all stood up and rushed upon the house in which I was. When we first became aware of them they stood on the path by which I must needs return to the fort, so that I could not reach the fort, but to my vexation was obliged to betake myself to flight. A few days after this I left again for Bourona to inspect what was the state of things, because not otherwise did it appear whether they should have murdered everyone, since they had so many Caribs with them. But I found my people all still alive, and continued my sojourn with my people there, until I received a letter from the Commandeur of Essequebo, telling how the French were in the River Berbice engaged in hostilities against the other settlements ; whereupon I straightway determined with my people to hasten to Essequebo, since we besides had no provisions to live upon. The bread that the Caribs had left there, not cut level with the ground, was very little, so that we in a body have departed for Essequebo, since the people of Berbice had warned the people of Essequebo, that they firmly believed that the French would also make an attack on Essequebo. There are still some red slaves (who had fled before the French), all of these same I shall seek to get hold of among the Indians. We have then carried ourselves over into the Company's service again in River Essequebo until further orders arrive from Y. N. I had thought to have set out for Surinam with the Company's red slaves, and sold the same there to the Company's profit ; but hearing the French with seven royal ships of war were attacking Berbice, I was obliged at last to turn away from there without effecting anything, and to continue, therefore, my sojourn here still for a time.

The reason wherefore I have not written more to Y. N. is because that my Secretary Cornelister Bergh has been ill for a long time and unfit for duty, and on the 26th January last is deceased. I was also

No. 59.

astonished in sixteen months to have had no letter from Y. N. or from the Chamber of Zeeland, nor to have got any assistance of any kind, so that I have needs been in lack of everything, and since the time does not permit greater length I shall, having made this sacrifice to my bounden duty remain,

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No. 60.

Extract from letter from Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, October 12, 1689.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 190.]

The French are making a strong-house[1] in Barima ; they come there often with 3 or 4 barques to traffic with those hostile Caribs, and threaten soon to come and pay us a visit. We are now, thank God, in a condition to resist the enemy, with our 40 able-bodied men, all strong negroes, in this fort with a thick stone wall and heavy palisades a foot thick erected outside against the wall. But the great scarcity of provisions forces us to let 10 or 12 men seek their sustenance outside of the fort, down the river, where they also serve as a lookout watch. Yet, the river being broad and having many mouths, light craft can come in everywhere without [our] having the least [knowledge] of it.

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No. 61.

Extract from proceedings of the West India Company (the Ten), November 15, 1689.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 190-191.]

* * * * * *

It was further resolved that from the colony of Pomeroon shall be removed whatever has been brought thither on behalf of the company, both the employees and the slaves and other commodities, there being left there only three men with a flag for the maintenance of the company's possession at the aforesaid place, and that the aforesaid employees and commodities be transported to Essequibo in order there to be employed for the service of the Company.

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[1]Note by Prof. Burr.—For the local meaning of this term see p. 47, above, where it is used of the redout building in Essequibo, and De Jonge's letter of April 6, 1688 (Blue Book, No. 8, p. 65), where is described the blockhouse with overhanging upper-story destroyed by the French in Pomeroon in April of this year 1689.

No. 62.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Abraham Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, May 18, 1690.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report Vol. 2, p. 191.]

* * * * * *

You write that the French were said to have made a fort in Barima or that they were engaged in making one, and that they at times not only came to trade there with 3 or 4 ships, but also threatened to come with the Caribs to visit you, so that it was necessary to keep watch continually, in order not to be suddenly attacked by them. Time gained is much gained, says the proverb, [and this is true] especially in war, for in the meanwhile one can put oneself in condition for defense, as you apprise us you have done, and that at present there are in the fort 40 able-bodied men and 10 or 12 strong negroes, and consequently little, if any, danger of being surprised by the enemy, which God grant may be so; but when we consider the dissension among the men, and the little respect they have for their Commandeur, we are, and not without reason, afraid of mishaps, and we therefore recommend you to avoid all those occurrences whereby the discontent and ill-will of the men are daily increased, * * *

* * * * * *

No. 63.

Extract from Muster Roll of the Company's servants in Essequibo, September 6, 1691.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 192-193.]

18 men at Fort Kykoveral:

6 men at the new plantation *Poelwyck:*

4 men at the new plantation *de Hope:*

2 men at the bread-plantation *de Fortuyne:*

2 men at the outlier's house in Demerary:

2 men at the outlier's house in Pomeroon:

5 men on the bark *Rammekens:*

4 men, four outrunners, who are constantly employed, both among the Indians in company with the old negro traders and for the fisheries for the fort.

No. 64.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Samuel Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, October 23, 1693.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 194.]

* * * * * *

No slight advantage, moreover, has been brought to the Company

No. 64.

through you by your having found out, up in the river of Cuyuni, a trade in horses, which here cost the Company much money for their purchase and involve it in heavy expenses for their transportation thither. We are confident, too, that the native horses are better used to the nature of the country. You are therefore most urgently recommended and instructed to retain this trade for the Company alone. We give you, however, permission to dispose of them to the private planters at a reasonable profit.

* * * * * *

No. 65.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beckman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, March 26, 1694.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 194.]

* * * * * *

I hope you will approve of my having begun to make here again a new plantation, in the river Cuyuni above the fort, on very good and suitable ground, and having appointed as master planter Abram Baudaart, my former butler, at his old pay, until it shall be your pleasure to send slaves.

* * * * * *

No. 66.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beckman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 24, 1695.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 195.]

SIRS: This is a copy of my last letter, dated April 19 of this year, by the ship *'t Casteel van Souburg*, Captain Pieter van Goethem, which sailed from here on the 29th of the same month. We have been kept here in continuous alarm, since at various times we have had tidings that some French, aided by Caribs from Barima, are staying in the mouth of the river Pomeroon, who say that they will come here to visit us. In view of this I have at once sent order to all the planters to send down all the male slaves, in order to strengthen the fort, so that we may defend ourselves well in case of an attack. This removal of slaves has already hampered our work on the plantations, and will be in part the cause of our inability to send more than 700 hogsheads of sugar in October. Another important cause is the disease and mortality that now again prevails, both among Christians and slaves, and among the natives of the country as well, whereby I daily suffer great loss, and it is to be feared that, if you do not very soon provide the colony with both Christians

No. 66.

and slaves, it will again decay, in order to prevent which I earnestly beseech you not to be backward in sending the men I asked for.

* * * * * *

No. 67.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, April 1, 1697.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 196-197.]

* * * * * *

As for what you say in regard to the horses, that I am to write you how much each horse would cost us, I cannot state it exactly, since in merchandise it sometimes amounts to twenty guilders and sometimes again to a little less, as you can see from the books. Again, you wish to know at what price I could dispose of them; of this also I cannot inform you, inasmuch as almost all the plantations of the free planters are sufficiently provided with horses, and, if they need any, they send and get them from Orinoco, at quite as low a price as is paid for the horses bought for you up in Cuyuni, as permitted and approved, in accordance with the proclamation of February 15, 1696, on the authority of the Company. So that none of the free planters cares for any horses to be paid for at convenience, and my own four horses I had sold before the aforesaid permit was issued by proclamation.

* * * * * *

No. 68.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, January 2, 1700.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 197.]

And because our barque which we sent to Waini on November 11 last, in order to salt fish and to trade for victuals, has arrived here on December 29 with a very bad catch and without having done any trading. * * *

* * * * * *

No. 69.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, May 14, 1701.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 198.]

The trade in horses up in Cuyuni does not go as briskly as it used to;

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still, the negro traders brought, on March 24th of this year, twelve fine ones, eight head of which I have disposed of to the plantation "de Vrijheid," and inclose the bills of exchange therefor.

* * * * * *

No. 70.

Extracts from Regulations and Warnings issued by the Court of Policy in Essequibo, July 5, 1701.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, Vol. 8, pp. 67–68.]

* * * * * *

And whenever certain signal shots shall be made by the outpost guard on the discovery of the enemy, shall it be the duty of every planter likewise to give warning the one to the other by a signal, and to continue such until report be made at the fort, on pain of death and confiscation of goods, and if the enemy came to approach in strength, shall the aforesaid signal shots be made with two following after one, and after the danger be experienced, shot on shot on shot be given, and two canoes shall at all times be obliged to be held in readiness so as with the larger one at once to come to the fort and make report, and with the smaller to give warning to Messieurs the planters of the situation of things; *and if any vessels shall come to reconnoitre*,[1] it is most expressly forbidden that any one shall have to go over to such vessel or vessels, except only with all foresight with the view of hailing, so as to learn from where the same are coming and to discover their design, and at the same time as speedily as possible give information to the Noble Heer Commandeur. Also at time of attack (which God in His mercy forbid) shall the women and children of the whites, for their security, come and betake themselves on the Island Carria, under protection of twelve men, an officer, and four pieces of cannon.

Further it is resolved and found good while awaiting these disturbances (which God in His mercy forbid) to restrain the granting of passports to sail to the River Orinocque as to the Island Trinidad, so as to forestall all mischief.

* * * * * *

And in order that no one without cause might be alarmed or made uneasy, it is found good that in the future no "santés" or healths, of whomsoever it should chance to be, may be given with the discharging of any fire-arms, unless the Noble Heer Commandeur be present in person and give his consent to it, under penalty of 50 Caroly gulden. Item, two Commissaries shall every one or two months, or at least four times a year, time undefined, be sent off to go and visit all plantations, and to give instructions to the new planters, to wit, those dwelling in Maser-

[1] Note by Prof. Burr. The words here italicized are as in Blue Book. It should rather be translated "*and if they shall discover any vessels.*"

No. 70.

oene; the plantations lying in the river being the first district: since they find it good to divide the Company's river into two districts: as from the plantation Poelwijk down as far as Van Rump's Court. The second district is the River Essequebo, and stretches from the plantation Bosbeek to the plantation New Cortrijk.

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No. 71.

Muster Roll of the Company's servants in Essequibo, July 17, 1701.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 199.]

Concise enumeration of all the Company's servants, and where they are stationed; also of the free settlers; all Europeans; how far they are from the fort, and from one another; namely:

		Number	Distance in [Dutch] miles from the fort
At the Fort			
His Exc. Samuel Beekman	Commandeur		
On the Company's yacht Rammekens		51	
Jan Bruyn	skipper		
Pieter Kleynknegt	sailor		
Pieter Sybranteen	"		
Anthony Pietersen	boy	4	often 8 or 9 miles down
At the lookout-watch			
1 sergeant			
5 soldiers		6	9 miles below
At the outlier's house in Wacupo			
Jan Debbaut	chief	1	25 miles
At the outlier's house in Demerara			
Amos van Groenewegen	chief		
Cornelis Rocel	bylier	2	"
At the outlier's house in Mahaicony			
Joost Gerritsen Pik	chief	1	"
Negro traders			
Samuel Stoffelsen			
Jan Stoffelsen		2	"
		67	

No. 72.

Extract from proceedings of the Court of Policy in Essequibo, October 24, 1701.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 200-201.]

The Council having met, with nobody absent, the Commandeur, in

[1] Note by Prof. Burr. This muster roll bears no date, but was inclosed by Commandeur Beekman to the West India Company in his letter of July 17, 1701.

No. 72.

addition to the communication made before, once more brought before it the arrival of a certain brigantine in Demerara, named the *Greyhound*, Captain William Wanton, coming from Rhode Island, laden with fifty-four horses, meat, butter, flour, and other provisions, all of which were useful, necessary, even profitable, for the Company and all the inhabitants of this colony * * *

* * * * * *

with polite request that he be permitted to put in at this river in order to provide himself with his necessaries, at the same time urging that he would like to dispose of the merchandise he had with him, at a reasonable price, in exchange for squared timber (which is to be had here in abundance), rum, syrup, or bills of exchange; and, inasmuch as we by the impending war might perhaps be brought into straits for provisions, and as moreover there is already a considerable difficulty, especially as to horses, needed for the newly made [sugar] works of the free inhabitants, and as the Company has not enough to accommodate any of them, and as, moreover, the horses from above are not being any longer brought down as formerly, and this might get still worse in case of war;

[For these reasons] the aforesaid Commandeur requests the Councilors to consider what should be done in this matter; which having by them been duly considered, they have resolved by unanimous vote (notwithstanding the prohibition last sent by our superiors), for special and urgent reasons, and moreover under the continuous pressure of the interested public, that they agree and consent hereto, the more so because all the lands where we carry on our horse-trade, are under the King of Spain, as we know by experience from the prohibitions we have already met in the trade to Orinoco; furthermore, at his, the Captain's, urgent request, there is placed at his disposal the skipper Jan Bruyn, in order to pilot the aforesaid ship into this river and bring it safely before the fort.

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No. 73.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beckman, Commandeur in Essequibo to West India Company, September 28, 1702.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 69.]

* * * * * *

I can no longer delay in making Y. N. acquainted with the great mortality of horses in this Colony, there being already almost 100 head dead through mange and other forms of sickness. That truly is a great

No. 73.

loss to the Colony, the more so since the Spaniards will no longer permit any trafficking for horses on their territory, so that I shall be perforce compelled to make use of an English barque, or other vessels such as those which came in this river, to go and fetch horses, or else Y. N. will be obliged to send out the same to me from the mother-country, because it is impossible to deliver sugar without horses, as Y. N. will be pleased to consider well.

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No. 74.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beckman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, May 10, 1703.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 70.]

* * * * * *

BE it known likewise to your Noblenesses that the Governor of Surinam, Paulus van der Veen, shows himself ill-disposed because that his traders here in our district, namely, Essequebo, Baumeron, and Demerary, were not permitted to trade.

* * * * * *

No. 75.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beckman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 14, 1703.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 205.]

I am very sorry to be obliged to notify you that, owing to the present war, no horses are to be had above here as formerly, inasmuch as those Indians think they stand under the crowns of Spain and France, and this trade is thereby crippled. We cannot, however, get on without these and attain our object, having lately lost many of them by sickness. * * *

* * * * * *

No. 76.

Muster Roll of the Company's servants in Essequibo, July 27, 1703.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 205–206.]

Muster Roll of all Employees, both high and low, officers, soldiers and sailors, as well as workmen, at present in the service of the General Chartered West India Company in the Chamber Zeeland, in the Colony Essequibo, under the direction of Governor Samuel Beekman.

* * * * * *

Distance from the fort 1½ [Dutch] miles	*At the Company's plantation "Nieuw Middelburgh."*	
	Jan Agtens, of The Hague	Director
	Pieter Verstraate, of Cadzand	Foreman
	Louis Zeege, of Roermond	Hostler
	Jan Pieterse, of Goes	Outrunner
	Adriaan de la Ruel, of Courtrai	Rum Distiller
Distance from the fort by sea 30 [Dutch] miles	*Outliers in Rio Demerara*	
	Amos van Groeneweegen	Outlier
	Cornelis Roseel, of St. Anne ter Muyden	Bylier
Distance from the fort by sea 40 [Dutch] miles	*Outliers in Mahaicony*	
	Pieter de la Reviere, of Curaçao	Outlier
	Joost Gerritse Pick, of Gouda	Bylier
Distance from the fort, by sea, 4 days by boat	*Outlier in Pomeroon*	
	Jan Debbout, of Ghent	Outlier
Up in the savanna, 6 weeks by boat	*Outlier in Cuyuni*	
	Allert Lammers, of Meenen	Outlier
	Negro Traders	
	Samuel Stoffelse, of Essequibo	Traders
	Jan Stoffelse, of Essequibo	"
	In all, seventy-two men, scattered far and near, as you will be pleased to observe here-above	

[1] Note by Prof. Burr. The muster-roll itself is undated, but it was transmitted in the Commandeur's letter of July 27, 1703 (as appears from the list of enclosures—fol. 91 of the same vol.). It is an exact duplicate of that printed in Blue Book No. 3 (p. 70, No. 29), which is by error ascribed to "June 19, 1703." That printed higher on the same page of the Blue Book is but a slightly varying transcript of the same muster-roll, and is erroneously described as an "Inclosure in No. 27"—*i. e.*, in a letter of September 28, 1702. A careful study of the original (in the records at London) shows that, while as at present bound it is not far from this letter, it was clearly inclosure No. 9 by the ship *de Jonge Jan.* in June, 1703, accompanying the Commandeur's letter of June 14; while that printed as No. 29 was as clearly forwarded with the letter of July 27. The contemporary list of inclosures, specifying this muster-roll under the number it still bears, may be found as Document No. 97 in the same volume ("List of papers sent by the Company's ship *Pinnenburg*, Capt Anthony Wouterman, 27 July, 1703"). In the letter of June 14 the muster-roll is thus referred to: "The number of the Company's servants in the colony scattered in all directions, you will be so good as to notice in the accompanying muster-roll, my prayer being constant that this number may be increased to a hundred persons, without which this colony can not well be defended at present against a revolt or attack of the negroes or Indians" ("*'t getal der Comp dienaaren in de colonie wydt en zydts verspreyt zynde, zult U Ed. Agtb. in de nevensgaande Monsterrolle gelieven te beoogen, instantelyk versoekende t'selve getal may vergroot werden tot hondert koppen, zonder dewelke dese colonie jegenwoordig voor den oproer ofte aanval der negros ofte Indianen, niet wel en is te bewaaren.*")

No. 77.

Extract from Pay Roll of the Company's servants in Essequibo, 1704.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 207.]

At Fort Kykoveral, Anno 1704.

DEBIT.	CREDIT.
Allart Lemmers, of Meenen, outlier in Cuyuni.	
May 20, 1703.—By Governor Samuel Beekman enrolled in the Company's service as outlier in Cuyuni, wages per month £2. 10 Flemish.	
Oct. 1, 1703.—To the Treasury, his confiscated wages, paid to Governor Samuel Beekman.....£10.18.4.	*Oct. 1, 1703.*—From the Company, £10.18.4. for wages for 4 months 11 days, at f.15 per month, earned by him from 20 May, 1703, up to this day, when, on account of insubordination, he is, by sentence of the Governor and the Court, placed as sailor on the yacht "Rammekens," at f. 8 per month. .....£10.18.4.
Received in 1703..... 2.	
Total.....£12.18.4.	
Aug. 10, 1704.—To the Company, balance of credit.....£11.15.7.	*Aug. 10, 1704.*—From the Company, £13.15.7. for wages for 10 months 10 days, earned by him from 1 Oct. 1703 up to this day, when he is allowed by the Governor to go home by the frigate *De propheet Samuel*..13.15.7.
Total.....£24.13.11.	Total.....£24.13.11.

No. 78.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 12, 1704.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 208.]

* * * * * *

What you have been pleased to write as to not yet tolerating that the inhabitants of Rio Surinam carry on any trade at places lying under the charter of the company, I shall not fail to take scrupulous care that this do not occur, and shall then await further orders.

* * * * * *

No. 79.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, July 30, 1706.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 72.]

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That the Company's horses purchased up country in Cayuni should always die, and the horses belonging to private individuals never, is but a false tale of a party of scoundrels, who could never prove it, for I can

No. 79.

assure Y. N. it frequently happens in descending the River Cayuni that the horses of private individuals die as well as those of the Noble Company, there being no trickery in the world towards Y. N. in this matter.

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No. 80.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, October 14, 1707.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 208.]

* * * * * *

We cannot as easily as formerly get the horses from above, and in such quantities as they are needed. * * *

* * * * * *

No. 81.

Extract from letter from Samuel Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, January 23, 1708.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 78.]

* * * * * *

The enemy being gone I have consulted with the Council what would be the best course to adopt to make this Colony secure, were it practicable, against the enemy, whereupon the most were of opinion that a stronghold might be made on Stamfers Island, others again on Vlaggen Island, or even above this on Paepen Island, whereon then I asked whether such a stronghold could be protected by a small number of people. They gave me answer, by nine. But such a resolution implied that this fort should be stripped of its people, and that all should betake themselves thither, to which I have not been able to agree, and also am of opinion that the present Fort Kijkoveral should be kept and defended as long as is possible, if that Y. N. should be pleased to give instructions to fortify the river lower down as far as practicable, the which, in fact, is highly necessary in this critical conjuncture, because without that I consider the greater number of the plantations lost before that one receives the news that the enemy are in the river.

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No. 82.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Samuel Beekman, Commandeur in Essequibo, May 2, 1708.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 229-230.]

* * * * * *

And as for your proposal to lay in the river[s] of Moruca and Pomeroon a toll for the traders to Orinoco, namely, for every new canoe f. 3.., for a corial 1 florin and 10 stivers, for a red slave f. 6.., and for all articles which are weighed or measured five per cent., we can as yet give no positive answer thereto, but you should first inform us whether this can just now be properly and lawfully done,—furthermore, what that tax might be estimated to produce yearly to the company,—and, still further, what expenses would probably have to be made to lay and collect that toll there; when we have obtained this information, we shall submit it to the Board of Ten and send you their decision.

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No. 83.

Extracts from Journal of the Secret Expedition to the Orinoco, March 18 to July 13, 1711.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 225, 227.]

* * * * * *

9 ditto [*i. e.*, April, 1711.]—Started again from there in the morning and came about noon into a creek named Mora and came in the evening into the river of Barima.

10 ditto.—Started again from there and came in the evening to the mouth of that river.

* * * * * *

14 ditto [*i. e.*, June, 1711.]—Started from there and in the afternoon came into the river of Barima.

15 ditto.—Started from there in the morning at 3 o'clock and slept at an unknown shelter.

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No. 84.

Extract from letter from Johan de Goijer, Governor in Surinam, to the Society of Surinam, March 31, 1712.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 229.]

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No whites are allowed to enter the Orinoco except with a pass. The

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thing we have in view could be accomplished only under pretext of trading with the Indians, for which we would need the permission of the commander of the Orinoco. He was favorably inclined towards us, and if he[1] had remained in command we might have expected everything from him; this was why Mollinay had orders to address himself to him. Now there is another commander, who is not willing to allow anyone there; but possibly this may change with time, and I shall therefore continue to exert myself elsewhere in order to attain our object.

No. 85.

Extract from letter from Pieter van der Heyden Resen, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, July 31, 1712.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 74.]

Concerning the 600 to 700 stoops of balsam (oil), of which I spoke in my former despatch that I would have in readiness with this same merchandize, I am obliged, to my vexation, to say that this past year not a single pound has been procured for the Noble Company, since they in Orinoco had all at once prohibited the traffic in it to the Hollanders, these changes having come to pass with the arrival of a new Governor at Trinidad, who, with this object, has caused several manned vessels to cruise in the River Orinoco, so as to confiscate and bring in as good prizes all Dutch vessels who should wish to come thither; that has forced me to put a stop to the journey, since of necessity I dared not hazard and put in danger on such like a journey the Company's cargoes, slaves, vessels, and other goods, the which I hope Y. N. will take well; yet some, however, have undertaken to send thither with small vessels, but at how great risk! But at the present moment the traffic is again free, so that shortly I shall send thither, as before, a proper vessel, and I think that next year I shall have about 600 stoops ready for the Noble Company.

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No. 86.

Extracts from letter from Pieter de Blaake, Postholder in Wacupo, to the Commandeur in Essequibo, January 2, 1713.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 236, 237.]

To you, very worshipful Commandeur Pieter van der Heide Riseere. I make known to you, that on 30 December, in the morning, at day-

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—I. e. the *old* Commander.

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break, about 25 hostile men, as well French as Spaniards, half-breeds and red nation, were received by me very affably at the house Wacupo under a delightful attackation; our force consisted in four men without more, to wit Pieter de Blacker, Jan van Stralen, Jan Vervis, and Aerens of Surinam, and three times delightfully repelled, through God's blessing and His strong arm who has faithfully delivered us in this great distress.

* * * * * *

Jan Patist they have touched at on 29 December in the mouth[1] and chased even into Moruca and has above the savannas of Korey thus come to Wacupo on 1 January, and all my folk of the house whom I sent to the seaside they have taken away their corials and chased into the bush and chopped the boat to pieces.

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No. 87.

Extract from letter from Pieter van der Heyden Resen, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, April 19, 1713.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 238.]

* * * * * *

In pursuance of your order, the prohibition concerning the trading-in of red slaves, annatto dye, and balsam copaiba, issued by me on 24 July of last year, shall provisionally be left standing, and be executed until I receive counter orders: although this causes great regret among the free, who have complained about this at various times, urging that they did not claim to trade within the territory of the Company, but asked only permission to do so on Spanish territory, such as Orinoco, Trinidad, etc.; which I refused them.

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No. 88.

Extracts from letter from Pieter van der Heyden Resen, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, May 31, 1713.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 239-240.]

* * * * * *

What has been said about the annatto, might likewise be observed with respect to the copaiba trade—that is to say, when that trade exists; but for a considerable time it has not been possible to carry it on, because of some dislike which the Spaniards (on whose territory the copaiba is

[1]Note by Prof. Burr—I. e., doubtless, the mouth of the Pomeroon.

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traded-in), have taken to our nation ; they also have now been cruising after the Dutch boats which go thither ; so that I have not dared to risk so greatly the Company's wares and other effects—all of which I have fully reported to the Chamber Zeeland in my letters of July 31, 1712, and April 19, 1713. Consequently, there is, as yet, no stock of it on hand.

* * * * * *

But as to the copaiba oil, that, together with the trading-in of red Indian slaves, was prohibited by me to the inhabitants of this colony, in pursuance of orders from the Chamber Zeeland, so lately as on July 24 of last year, as can be more fully observed from the inclosed copy of my letter—upon this subject I wrote at much length to the Chamber at the time ; therefore, it cannot be denied that copaiba was ere this sent from here to the Fatherland, because this trade has been permitted to be free, as it took place outside of the Company's district and was only carried on upon Spanish territory in the river Orinoco, where the inhabitants of the colonies Berbice and Surinam trade likewise ; however, since the prohibition, no copaiba oil has to my knowledge been sent, and it shall remain prohibited until I receive counter orders. This is the only information about that matter which I am able to furnish to the Board of Ten.

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No. 89.

Extracts from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Pieter van der Heyden Resen, Commandeur in Essequibo, May 14, 1714.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 240-241.]

* * * * * *

We leave it still most urgently recommended to you that you strictly maintain the prohibition of trade in red slaves, annatto dye, and balsam copaiba ; for the Company desires as heretofore to keep that trade exclusively for itself, in order thereby in a measure to provide for the costs and heavy expense of keeping up that colony, and we can therefore give no heed to the complaints of the inhabitants.

And, as for their protestations that they are not going to trade within the territory of the Company, that is absurd indeed ; for, although Orinoco, Trinidad, etc., is [*sic*] under the power of the Spaniards, still it also lies within the charter of the Company, where nobody has the right to trade except the Company and those to whom the Company gives permission to do so ; so that it all is the territory of the Company, even though we have no forts there. And it is an untruth that an enactment was ever published making that trade free ; but the contrary is clearly

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enough to be seen in the resolution of the Board of Ten. This has therefore crept in there only through neglect; for which reason you are instructed, as above stated, to see closely to it that the Company suffer no injury herein. * * *

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No. 90.

Memorial of the Free Settlers of the Colony of Essequibo to the Directors of the West India Company, (Zeeland Chamber), May 24, 1717.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 75–76.]

Pressing difficulties compel those who are distressed to look out for proper remedies in order to prevent them ; in this condition the undersigned free settlers of the Colony Essequebo in America find themselves compelled to take the freedom to trouble your Noblenesses with the following representation, trusting that you will favourably consider the same, and will grant its requests.

It is now nearly five years since we have been prohibited by the Heer Commander Pieter van der Heijden, acting under the orders of Y. N. from trading, as well within as without this Colony in Red Indian slaves, balsam, &c.; through which prohibition we find ourselves deprived not only of the advantages the said business, however small, would have been able to bring to us, but further must see the profits, which were to be expected therefrom, accrue before our eyes to our neighbours, to wit, the colonists of Surinam and Berbice, and seeing that it has pleased Y. N. to make a prohibition of such a character to take effect, we trusted that it, through the serious recommendation of our aforesaid Heer Commandeur would have been suspended, so we take liberty, Y. N., simply and directly to show how little advantage it is for the Noble Company that the aforesaid prohibition continues to remain, how much prejudice we suffer therefrom, and how it favours the inhabitants of Surinam and Berbice, and also encourages them to push on the business more and more to their profit.

Your Noblenesses are well aware that it is permitted to those of the said *colonies*[1] to traffic in everything they can get, nothing else is left for us than the bartering for Indian vessels, canoes, and corials, and occasionally some hammocks or cacao from the Spaniards in Orinoco ; so that we are restricted in a river, which is outside the territory of the Noble Company, where the same has no more power than a private merchant, which is in the Spanish possession, and where the commonest person of our neighbours is allowed to carry on trade in anything that he pleases, as well as the Noble Company, without exception from what place they come. Y. N. are also aware (or at least we suppose so) that

[1] For this word *colonies* the Blue Book has *provinces*.

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Orinoco is a river which is accounted as the property of the King or Crown of Spain, and consequently that nation there master,[1] and whenever a vessel from Essequebo (we represent the matter truthfully) be now come in Orinoco, whether it be for trading in vessels or otherwise, and likewise a canoe out of Surinam or Berbice find itself there, and that according to the fashion of the Indian traffic one of these Indians with some of his wares (whether it be slaves, balsam, or anything that for us is contraband, and nevertheless to those of our aforesaid neighbours is allowed), be come alongside of the Essequebo canoe (to which be it said without flattery they also sell more eagerly partly because they have better cargo, partly because they are able to come to an agreement with us more peaceably), then are our settlers obliged to answer the Indians that such merchandize cannot be traded in by them, thus sending them back to the Surinam canoe; in consequence against their will they are obliged to contribute to the profits of the same, or otherwise the French and English barques know well how to pass up. Yet further, whenever a canoe, be it of Surinam or Berbice, having set sail, has in the neighbourhood of this river or elsewhere met any free Indians who have red slaves for sail, they buy the same in, yes, bring the purchased slaves within the river, deliver them to one or another of our inhabitants, proceed on their voyage, traffic in the Rivers Marocco, Weijne, Barima, Pomeroon, Orinoco, Trinidad, and wherever it is convenient to them, aim at the greatest profit, and when they have got everything they can in repassing, take in again their slaves that they had left here, and push on their journey to Surinam, being well pleased that the Essequibo inhabitants were oppressed by those who ought to protect them and their gains (from which the Noble Company can make no profit) taken away and driven into the Surinam purse. That which relates to their business presents itself to us very painfully, seeing that the Indians get just as good payment in cargo, no matter with whom they deal, yet they of Essequibo are much the best supplied, and being the nearest situated have always before the prohibition been on the most friendly terms with them.

We cannot so far comprehend what is the object of Y. N. in prohibiting the business to us, seeing that you cannot hinder those from Surinam and Berbice—yea, not even French, English, and other foreign nations—it appearing to us as if Y. N. wished to place the yoke on our neck alone, because, so long as Essequibo has been in European hands, there cannot be any instance shown that the inhabitants of this Colony alone were restricted so as not to be able to carry on this traffic, &c.

Y. N.'s very obedient servants, the free settlers of the Colony of Essequibo in America.

(Signed)

A. HOLANDER (and others).

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[1]The translation of this and the preceding line differs slightly from that in the Blue Book.

No. 91.

Extracts from reports by E. D. Maurain-Saincterre, Engineer in Essequibo, to the West India Company, March 19, 1722.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 248.]

* * * * * *

23.

The ground is even better above in the rivers Essequibo, Mazaruni, and Cuyuni than below; but because they are full of rocks, falls and islands, and much danger is to be feared for large sugar canoes, this is the reason why up to this time the Europeans have not been willing to establish sugar plantations there.

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No. 92.

Extract from letter from Laurens de Heere, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, Apr. 1, 1723.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 249.]

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* * * I likewise intend to send in the coming May, 1723, two buoy-canoes to Orinoco, to get from there horses for the Company.

* * * * * *

No. 93.

Extract from instructions for Jan Batiste and Hendrik van der Win, sent to the Orinoco by the Commandeur and Court of Policy in Essequibo, March 4, 1726.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp, 249-250.]

* * * * * *

ART. 6. Whereafter they shall betake themselves to Aguire, and find out whether there is opportunity there to barter up copaiba and slaves; and, in case there is, he shall leave there Hendrik van der Win with the necessary wares for that trade, and meanwhile buy up as many horses as can conveniently be loaded in his boat, and shall bring them as speedily as possible into this river.

No. 94.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy in Essequibo, Dec. 2, 1726.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 80.]

* * * * * *

In October last the Commandeur informed the Court of his intention to proceed to the Post of Wacquepo, lying between Orinocque and this river, at the end of the aforesaid month, and to inspect the same in company with the Councillor and Secretary; knowing that the said Post lies far out of the ordinary course of boats which come hither through the inland waters, it was his intention to choose a fit place in the river of Marocco to which he might transplant the house and Post, since all vessels which come through the inland waters must pass that way. Everything having been closely examined by the said gentlemen, they decided that the fittest place was *where the horse-dealers from Orinocque generally moor their boats in the river of Marocco* (*called*[1] in the Indian language Accoujere), it being possible to build a house there so close to the river side that a hand grenade can be thrown into the boats, the river being at its narrowest there. The unfortunate state of affairs in Europe having been taken into consideration, it was resolved to establish the house and Post of Wacquepo upon the aforementioned site as soon as possible, and thus have an opportunity of being kept well informed of the hostile boats that had any intention of coming to disturb this river, and so enable us to place ourselves in a position to resist the same.

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No. 95.

Extract from letter from the Court of Policy in Essequibo to the West India Company, March 1, 1727.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 80.]

* * * * * *

At the end of August of last year twenty-three red slaves ran away from the plantation belonging to Pieter la Riviere to Orinocque, and he having sent his son there to claim them, but without any results, resolved to go there in person, but on arriving at the usual mooring place in that river he was attacked by a vessel flying the Spanish flag, and was unfortunate enough to be killed. Those with him begged for quar-

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The italicized words are those of the Blue Book; it should rather read *at the landing where those fetching horses, coming from the Orinoco into the river Moruca, usually make a stop* (*a place called*, etc.)

No. 95.

ter, whereupon the Spaniards took all their merchandize, and told them that they had orders from the Governor of Trinidad to stop the trade in that river.

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No. 96.

Extract from letter from the Commandeur in Essequibo to the West India Company, Sept. 26, 1727.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 80.]

* * * * * *

Turning now, my Lords, to the matter of the River Essequibo, it is now about two years since I myself, with Mr. van der Kaey, proceeded up the river to find out whether it was not in any way possible to successfully set on foot some enterprise up above the falls, but we found the river very dangerous, so that in some places we were obliged to be drawn up in a corrial through the falls, with great danger to our lives. It is absolutely impossible to navigate the river with large boats, such as canoes, and it is equally impossible with barques, because, above the plantation Nieuw Cortrijk there is fall upon fall. With regard to the land out there, it seems to me very good, but having inquired how high the water rose in those parts, it was pointed out to me in different places that it rose in the rainy season between 25 and 30 feet, so that nearly all the land is then under water, and there are also many great hills there which are nearly all rocky and very steep at the river side.

I have also carefully inquired, my Lords, what kind of trade might be done there with the Indians, and have up to the present not been able to discover any other trade but a little maraen which is brought thence, and sometimes a few red slaves. To this end two creoles went up the river only last year, who, having been out for seven or eight months, brought very little home. The only profit that this Colony derives from the River Essequebo is, that the latter is very rich in fish, and is therefore visited annually both by the company and by the private colonists for the purpose of salting, to which end two boats have again been prepared for your Lordships, which will be ready to depart in the month of October. I see no profit for your Lordships in sending any man up the river, because I can discover nothing of the savage nation.

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No. 97.

Extract from Minutes of Court of Policy in Essequibo, May 12, 1728.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 81.]

* * * * * *

The Secretary, H. Gelskerke, having communicated to us a certain letter written by Jan Batiste from the Post in Wacquepo, and opened by him (the Secretary) in the absence of the Commandeur, in which information was given that the Spaniards of the Orinocque had, with armed force, taken possession of a Suriname vessel fishing in the neighbourhood of the aforesaid river, and having also received information from Barbadoes that there was great probability of a war:

It was resolved to reinforce the aforesaid Post of Wacquepo with two soldiers, and to direct Jan Batiste to keep the necessary *lookouts*,[1] so that we may receive the earliest information in case the Spaniards should send any armed ves sels to this Colony in accordance with the rumours afloat. And in case the Post of Wacquepo should be attacked, the aforesaid Jan Batiste shall defend *himself*[2] to the utmost, and immediately inform the Commander of such hostilities, the Secretary Gelskerke being hereby authorized, in the absence of the Commandeur, to give all the necessary orders for the accomplishment of the aforesaid.

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No. 98.

Extract from letter from H. Gelskerke, Secretary in Essequibo, to the West India Company, April 26, 1729.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 81.]

* * * * * *

Referring to the documents and papers sent your Lordships by this vessel, showing the state of your Lordships' property here, and referring also to the letter of the Court of Policy in this matter, I shall now proceed to inform your Lordship that for some years past your Lordships' slaves, as well as those belonging to the colonists, run away to Orinocque as soon as they think they have any grievance. There the Spaniards keep them, and will not give them up when we have claimed them. This makes them so insolent that measures have been devised to provide

1 Note by Prof. Burr.—For this word *lookouts* the Blue Book has *beacons in order*.

2 Note by Prof. Burr.—For this word *himself* the Blue Book has *it*.

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against this, and having been informed that the Governor of Trinidad was acquainted with the French language, the late Commandeur sent the accompanying letter to his Honour, but having up to the present received no reply, we shall see whether, by presents or by setting a price upon each slave, we shall not get them returned.

No. 99.

Extracts from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to H. Geiskerke, Commandeur, and the Court of Policy in Essequibo, March 14, 1731.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2. pp. 253-254.]

* * * * * *

That the explanation which you furnish by the same letter as regards the buying of provisions from the English cannot appear satisfactory to us, you probably can deduce from what we wrote about the matter in our missive of December 29, 1729, to which we hereby refer, and we continue to hold the same opinion. We have little fear that the English would bring no horses, if you did not also buy from them what they had intended to sell in the river; moreover, you are well aware that it is far more advisable for the Company to foster the trade to Orinoco with the Spaniards than to favor this dealing with the English. We also wish to have exact information where those English get the horses which you say they bring to the river, so that we may be able to give this matter further consideration.

* * * * * *

What has been the outcome of your plan of the proclamation of a pardon for the deserters to Orinoco and of the negotiation at the same time projected with the Governor of Trinidad, as voted by Resolution of the Court of Policy on July 4, 1729, we shall hope to learn.

That by Resolution of April 2, 1730, you have forbidden to private colonists the trade in the rivers Mazaruni and Cuyuni meets our full approval. Nevertheless, however, we could wish to be informed of what profit to the Company in particular this trade is, above and beyond that buying up of red slaves, and moreover whether from these rivers some further profit for the Company than has been customary thus far might not be drawn; and, further, what quantity of red slaves are there bought up yearly, or can be, and at what value red slaves may be rated in comparison with negro slaves; and, furthermore, what the cost of their buying up amounts to.

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No. 100.

Extract from Letter from the Court of Policy in Essequibo to the West India Company, July 4, 1731.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 255.]

* * * * * *

The trade to be done with the Spaniards in Rio Orinoco cannot be relied upon, since they allow no trade above their fort with the Indians, but only with themselves, that they may have the more opportunity for confiscating the trader's goods because of any trifle, as happened quite recently with two inhabitants of this colony who, their goods having been taken from them and they sent off in a small boat, have perished. Besides, the Spanish horses are not as good as those of the English, as is often seen in this colony; especially they do not thrive on plantations which have a marshy soil; moreover, we should have to send thither two or three times a year expressly to get horses for your plantations, for which purpose a deal of wares would be needed, and this could not be done without risk, and would prove much more expensive than buying the horses here for sirup and rum.

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No. 101.

Extract from Letter from the Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company, July 14, 1731.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 88.]

* * * * * *

Concerning the advantages of the trade in the rivers of Masseroeny and Cajoeny for the Honourable Company alone, this consists only in red slaves, and the order has been renewed because the veto was one kept up by all former Commandeurs. But most of the Indians having left those parts that trade is now of less profit, except for the orange dye. The plantation Poelwijk, lying up in the first-mentioned river, sometimes buys one or two red slaves in a whole year, but they are mostly children of about 8 or 10 years old, who are bought for about twelve or thirteen axes and choppers, together with a few provisions. The red slaves, too, cannot work together with a black slave, and are mostly used on the plantations for hunting and fishing, the women looking after the cassava for the daily consumption of the plantation. The great number of rocks which lie in these two rivers, and which occasion the falls by reason of the strong stream rushing over them, makes these

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rivers unnavigable for large vessels, wherefore it is impossible to establish any plantations there, although the soil is very well fitted for it.

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No. 102.

Extract from Letter from H. Gelskerke, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, December 5, 1733.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 256-257.]

* * * * * *

* * * the need of horses having become great, on your plantations as well as on those of the inhabitants of this colony, I shall by all available means try to be helped by the Spaniards.

* * * * * *

No. 103.

Extracts from letter from H. Gelskerke, Commandeur in Essequibo, to the West India Company, June 8, 1734.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 257-265.]

* * * * * *

It is also to be feared that through this untoward event we shall suffer great need of horses, to obviate which I have by all available means tried to make arrangements with the Governor of the Orinoco and to put the trade, both in horses and other things, upon a firm footing. Having obtained an opportunity to propose this to him, he has politely excused himself, and this trade will be possible only by the Governor's connivance and during his pleasure.

* * * * * *

He handed me two letters from the new Governor, Don Carlos de Sucre, dated March 28 and 29 last, who in very polite terms communicated to me that he had arrived there to assume command of the Spanish provinces, and he requested that I be pleased to continue with him the pleasant relations entered on with his predecessor. He goes on to communicate to me that he has brought some troops to the Orinoco and is expecting ten or twelve more barques with soldiers, of which he informs me in order that there might not be disquiet or the slightest alarm on that account, giving, as a reason for the sending of so many troops to these frontiers, his having been advised of the intention of the Swedish nation to establish a colony in the river of Barima, situated be-

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tween the Orinoco and your post Wacupo. And, being unable to persuade himself that the Dutch nation could tolerate in their neighborhood a nation so proud and haughty as the Swedish, he in good faith and frankly declares this to be the cause of his arriving with so much soldiery, at the same time earnestly requesting me, if I should have received any advice thereof, to be so good as to share it with him.

* * * * * *

And although I am sure that the said Jacob Reiter will not be returned, because it is not probable that the Governor can or dare force thereto the Jesuits, who are wont to make their own will prevail, yet I thought it my duty to insist upon his being returned, for the greater part of your employes, and many inhabitants of this colony who have little to lose, are Catholics, who, if they saw that such things were allowed to pass without remonstrance, would probably soon follow this example, especially as the force of the Spaniards in the Orinoco is so great.

* * * * * *

First, as the Spaniards are making themselves so formidable in the Orinoco by gathering a considerable number of troops, and we on the contrary are very feeble here, whether it is not of the greatest necessity to send a military reinforcement hither, since the real design of the Spaniards is unknown to us.

Secondly, if the Swedes should undertake to try to establish themselves between the Orinoco and this colony on your territory, it would be my duty to prevent this, which could hardly be done with any chance of success with the small military force we have here. And I beg leave to inform you in this connection that after the departure of Captain Laurens Brander (who came to this river in March, 1732, with the ship *de Fortuyn* from Gottenburg to take in water and fuel) a rumor has gone about in this colony that the said Captain Brander was to come back and take possession of a tract of land in the river Barima which the King of Spain is said to have presented to the late Elector of Bavaria, who was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and which this Elector in turn gave to the King of Sweden. As, however, up to this time nothing has been undertaken regarding it, it is my impression that the Spaniards use this as a pretext in order to conceal their real purpose.

* * * * * *

Fourthly, since I deem it certain that Jan Jacob Reiter will not be returned, and since, this case being generally known, every one is commenting upon it, therefore the colonists, who are wont to venture something in the Orinoco trade, and who, for the reasons above named and because they cannot sell their goods at so low a price, find themselves crowded out (as I can incidentally detect) would gladly see passports denied to everybody. But, when one duly considers our situation here,

No. 103.

how absolutely we depend upon the Spaniards for the horse trade, because the English bring them no more, this consideration alone would suffice for the maintenance of that intercourse. If we add to this the profit on other trade, whereby coin comes and circulates in this colony, it would seem that the staying away of the said Jan Jacob Reiter is not of such importance as to warrant us in stopping this necessary and also very profitable trade.

* * * * * *

On the 30th of last month the aforesaid Abraham Buisson, who had returned from Orinoco, handed me a letter from the aforesaid Spanish Governor Don Carlos de Sucre, by which I see with astonishment that he seems to be very angry at the rightful claiming of Jan Jacob Reiter, and with reasons which are set forth with Spanish gravity, and rather haughtily he further points out that he would be stripped of all his honors and possessions and be moreover exposed to exemplary punishment by the Inquisition if he should accede to my request; and, in order [he said] to prevent the recurrence of such incidents, he had determined to end the intercourse, wherefore he notified me that from now on the commerce was at an end. This unexpected change would greatly surprise me, because there are as regards our claim not the slightest grounds therefor, had I not been led by the aforesaid Buisson himself to suspect, and by others been informed, that the Governor has granted him a pass to go on trading in the Orinoco. And they do not hesitate to add that no others beside him will be tolerated, but that, on the contrary, all their goods will be taken and confiscated; if, however, any one should come with him under his pass, this would be allowed to go unnoticed.

This man having been made by the Governor sole master of the trade, even to the exclusion of the company, all of which is entirely contrary to the company's honor and authority, and also very hard and ruinous for some colonists who look to this trade for a living, I have decided to announce, after the ship *de Standfastige* has left, that until further orders no more passes to Orinoco will be issued by me, and that nobody whosoever will be allowed to set out without one on penalty of a heavy fine.

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No. 104.

Extract from letter from H. Gelskerke, Commandeur in Essequibo, to the West India Company, November 4, 1734.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 270.]

* * * * * *

Now, that this Orinoco trade is again under way, I shall do every-

No. 104.

thing possible and reasonable to make it permanent and extend it; however, as all this depends upon the Governor, we can count but little upon the certainty of this business.

* * * * * *

No. 105.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to H. Gelskerke, Commandeur, and the Court of Policy in Essequibo, January 20, 1735.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 271.]

* * * * * *

It is for this reason that we have decided hereby to give you express order, that by proclamation, to be read and posted as is customary, you without delay forbid each and every one, whoever he be, to take any hand-arms or material of war from the river to Orinoco, or to any other places not under the jurisdiction of the States General, on penalty, for the first offense, of confiscation of such arms and in addition of a fine to the double value of such arms; and, if any one be found to do it a second time, that he be banished from the river all the days of his life, persons thus banished being sent direct to this country.

* * * * * *

No. 106.

Extract from letter from H. Gelskerke, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 1, 1735.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 273–274.]

* * * * * *

The Governor of Orinoco urgently asking me for a good quantity of bread, not only did politeness demand that I send it to him, but there was another important reason in the profits which this colony derives from trade with the people of the Orinoco. As long as peace continues and this trade remains open, such things cannot well be avoided, for, if I should not send anything in your name, the Governor could easily obtain it from the colonists, unless the export of provisions and bread were to be prohibited. However, inasmuch as this matter has greatly changed its aspect, this trade shall for the present not be interrupted except for weighty reasons; and in this matter, as also in all other cases that may present themselves, I shall try to act prudently and cautiously. I hope you will approve of my conduct up to this time. And, to finish this

No. 106.

subject of Orinoco, I shall inform you briefly that on the 20th January last I sent to Orinoco the necessary rum, wares, etc., to pay for six mules, with a boat to bring them back; but, as none had yet arrived at that time, and as the colonists to whom I had given passes brought back for the same reason only two of these animals, the Governor has kept the wares, sending provisionally three horses on account and answering me by a short complimentary letter, saying moreover to Van der Maale that he would furnish the mules at the earliest opportunity.

* * * * * *

No. 107.

Extract from letter from H. Gelskerke, Commandeur in Essequibo, to the West India Company, January 12, 1737.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 278.]

* * * * * *

The post Wacupo and Moruca, formerly the most important trading place for the Company's annatto trade, has these last few years fallen off in this business. I have taken much pains to ascertain the reason, and it was told me that the postholder Jean Baptist was neglecting his duty; but after careful investigation I have found that, as most of the Indians who live in that neighborhood derive more profit from slave trade with the Surinamers, their wives grow listless about keeping up the heavy work on the dye. While I see no way of changing this, we must, nevertheless, keep up this post, because it was established for the maintenance of your frontiers stretching toward the Orinoco.

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No. 108.

Extract from letter from the Court of Policy in Essequibo to the West India Company, August 9, 1738.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 280.]

We have the honor to inform you that three of your soldiers here in service have not hesitated, in the night between the 6th and 7th of last month, to desert from the new fort, where they formed a part of the garrison. But, through the wise direction of the first undersigned, they were speedily pursued and were arrested on the way to Orinoco, near the river Waini, and brought hither as prisoners. * * *

* * * * *

No. 109.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to H. Gelskerke, Commandeur, and the Court of Policy in Essequibo, February 26, 1739.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 281–282.]

* * * * * *

And our attention has in no less degree been aroused by the Secretary's writing that he is persuaded that minerals are to be found in the mountains up in the river Cuyuni. We know no reasons, moreover, why this should not be so, and have ourselves for many years been persuaded thereof; but the first question is whether he, the Secretary, can find out where work should begin in order to detect them, and what is his impression of those mountains, whether they are of earth or wholly of rock, in order that we may direct the miners, in case we send them, as to the tools they should take along.

And, in the second place, we must also know whether, in case this work should be undertaken, you would be in condition to maintain yourself against the natives, if any are there or are to be looked for. We shall not hesitate to send you two able miners, if you can offer us prospect of success, but without that, the Company cannot afford to lay out needless costs on a shaky foundation, for the reasons adduced by the Secretary for his belief in this matter may be well grounded, and still it might be impossible of execution. In the meantime we earnestly recommend you to lend the Secretary a helping hand as to everything he thinks he can discover and as to what he may need to that end; and we promise him, and you also, that we will show you our appreciation of your success by a grant of a percentage of the profits. If by this ship we could receive some ore, so as to have it assayed here, this, in case of a good result, would stimulate us the more.

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No. 110.

Extracts from letter from H. Gelskerke, Commandeur in Essequibo, and L. S. van's Gravesande, Secretary, to the West India Company, May 20, 1739.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 282–283.]

SIRS: We have the honor to send you by this bottom a case marked with the Company's mark and numbered No. 1, wherein you will find certain ores specified in the inclosed list.

* * * * * *

[Inclosure in the above.]

No. [1]. This section contains some stones dug about eight

No. 110.

minutes above the Company's plantation Poelwijk, being a hill of white stone with golden dots, through which run numerous very broad veins westward straight through the river Mazaruni to a small island and eastward through a great hill on which there is a sugar plantation. * * *

No. 2. This section contains stones with which a mountain above the plantation de Pelgrim (about 2½ hours) is also covered to the depth of three to four feet. * * *

Nos. 3, 4 and 12 contain specimens from some veins which run through a hill, just as above Poelwijk, being presumably of the same kind; these lie close by the company's coffee plantation.

* * * * * *

No. 8. A small piece of ore found up in the mountains of Cuyuni, not quite so high as the coffee plantation, but inland. This seems from outward signs to be copper, but has also auripigment in its veins, which ought to signify gold.

No. 9. Also of another from the aforesaid mountains resembling silver.

Nos. 10 and 11. Besides a piece of talc and a piece of terra lemnia, or sigillata, here to be had in abundance.

No. 111.

Extract from letter from H. Geiskerke, Commandeur in Essequibo, and L. S. van's Gravesande, Secretary, to the West India Company, September 15, 1739.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission Report, Vol. 2, p. 284.]

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* * * As the continuous rainy season since the sailing of *den jongen Daniel* makes the road above the falls very dangerous, it has prevented the making of any further discovery—assuming that there especially something is to be found.

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No. 112.

Extract from letter from H. Geiskerke, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, Nov. 23, 1739.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 284-285.]

On the 3d of this month of March the surgeon Hortsman[1] set out

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—La Condamine, who later used this man's papers, spells his name Horstman.

No. 112.

with two of the best soldiers, well provided with arms and everything else necessary for his proposed journey above the falls of Essequibo, furnished with proper instructions and passes in the Latin and Dutch languages, to be used in case of necessity. We have moreover given him four skilled Creoles to serve as interpreters and guides among the Indians whom they shall pass on this journey, and who must be induced by small presents to help facilitate it.

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No. 113.

Extracts from Report of the Mining Engineer, Thomas Hildebrandt, March 9, 1741.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 285-286.]

For the Amsterdam Chamber.

I made a beginning of prospecting December 16, 1740, up in the rocks of the Mazaruni. I find there, from one side of the river to the other, rough, hard rock in sight, with wild, uninviting fragments of quartz interspersed; and the rock is of this sort for an hour, from above the plantation Poelwijk all the way to the river Essequibo. But beyond this there is another [sort of] rock, which extends its strata as far as towards the Blaauwenberg.

I also prospected in the river Cuyuni—not further than a half-hour above the coffee-plantation—but found the rock w holly different from that in the river Mazaruni.

* * * * * *

At the [end of the] above-named rock which runs towards the Blaauwenberg from the river Essequibo I struck off across to the other side, to the so-called Blaauwenberg, and by way of this mountain came to the plantation New Walcheren (it is soft red and yellow rock, and has in it *spaet trummeren*), where I began a shaft, No 1, in order to cut through this *spaet trummer*, and to see what sort of metals it has along with it. * * *

* * * * * *

* * * In the rough rock up in Mazaruni, a half-hour above the plantation Poelwijk, I also opened a shaft, No. 2. * * *

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* * * In the aforementioned river Cuyuni, a half-hour above the coffee-plantation, I opened a shaft, No. 3, beneath a high hill. * * *

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—Hildebrandt was clearly a German, and his broken Dutch is often very puzzling.

No. 114.

Extracts from the Journal of the Mining Engineer, Thomas Hildebrandt, April, 1741.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 288, 290.]

* * * * * *

Monday, April 24.—While my people carried the things to above the great fall and with great difficulty dragged the two boats overland, I meanwhile washed the sand and examined the rocks, but found nothing of lodes; also found nothing [in] the sand washed. When the things were again loaded in the boat I pushed on again to a difficult fall, where I ate at noon and had again to have the things taken out of the boat and the boats dragged over again; this done, went on to a fall named Awaroutaru, and having passed it stayed over night at an Indian path two nights, for this reason, that I had to write two letters to the [West India] Company, one to Amsterdam and [one] to Middelburg, as likewise also one to the Commandeur. Also prospected there somewhat, but found nothing, save that I saw that a fine savanna lies about one.

* * * * * *

Sunday, April 30.—In the morning at 6 o'clock left the place where we had stayed four nights, at the creek Tibokoeykoeroe and came to a great fall named Tokeyne, where we had great[er] trouble to get up than we had yet had anywhere, the perpendicular height of the above-named fall being 4½ fathoms. If I had not had the luck [to meet] six Indians who showed themselves helpful in dragging over my boat, I should have found it impossible to get up; and I kept these Indians by me still after they had helped me, in order to show the way further through the many islands and two other difficult falls, one named Simierie and the other Motoesie. Having passed these, I came to an island where three old Indian tents stood. Had these somewhat repaired and took our night's rest there. This island was named Arwattapauoeroe, that is to say, Monkey's Island.

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No. 115.

Extract from letter from Thomas Hildebrandt, Mining Engineer, to the West India Company, June 3, 1741.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 292.]

I also inform my lords and employers that on April 23 I began the

No. 115.

journey to the Blaauwenberg,[1] in order to examine the mountains. Accordingly, I made a beginning above the indigo plantation at the first small fall, but found only unpromising rock. Then I went higher up to a creek called Moroko-eykoeroe,[2] and up to this point I have explored as carefully as anybody could do, round about the Blaauwenberg. I have indeed found beautiful lodes, but it will take severe labor to work it, since the moutain is covered with heavy iron rock as far as this aforesaid creek, which lies full four hours above the Blaauwenberg. I have found at this place a beautiful copper vein which is worth going on with. * * *

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No. 116.

Extract from proceedings of the Court of Policy in Essequibo, June 4, 1741.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 293.]

* * * * * *

The scarcity and lack of horses being taken into consideration, it was resolved that the respective plantations send to Aguire in order to barter up horses and that the cargos therefor be advanced out of the Company's stores.

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No. 117.

Extracts from the Journal of the Mining Engineer, Thomas Hildebrandt, 1742.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 294-295.]

The prospecting expedition to up in Cuyuni.

Wednesday, January 10.—In the afternoon at 2 o'clock took up my journey to the Blaauwenberg, and went no further than to the indigo plantation, and there spent the night.

Thursday, January 11.—Broke camp again in the morning and came to above the first great fall and there spent the night and had great discomfort.

* * * * * *

Saturday, January 13.—In the afternoon at 3 o'clock came to be-

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—It would perhaps be better to translate this "blue mountains," as Hildebrandt does not honor it with a capital initial; but the Dutch name, having found a place on the maps, is for clearness' sake preferred. It must be remembered that these "mountains" are, according to later surveys, only low hills, not rising above three or four hundred feet.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—I. e. Moroko creek, "*eykoeroe*" (*icuru*) being Carib for creek.

No. 117.

neath the second great fall and saw almost no chance to get up, so was the water swollen, which in my former journey I could not get through; so that the additional Indians were very opportune for me, and it was dark by the time we had the two boats up above. * * *

* * * * * *

No. 118.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to the West India Company, April 1, 1744.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 303]

* * * * * *

The chief of the said Indians has offered me to answer for all the runaway slaves of this colony who make their way toward Orinoco, in case I would establish a postholder in Barima. This would be of great utility for the buying up of boats and slaves; but I have not ventured to undertake it without your orders.

No. 119.

Extracts from letter from the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, August 24, 1744.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 303–304.]

* * * * * *

It surely would be reasonable for the Company to enjoy five per cent. on the exports of syrup and rum; it were even to be wished that we could prohibit one stoup of those articles to be exported anywhere but hither. But, because we fear that the colony cannot yet do without the English and those of Orinoco, on account of the scant navigation from this country to Rio Essequibo, we as yet do not venture upon a prohibitory resolution.

* * * * * *

As for establishing a postholder in Barima for the purpose stated in your letter, we are not averse to your making a trial; we, however, recommend that you take proper precautions that by this channel no frauds be practiced.

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No. 120.

Extract from Minutes of the Court of Policy in Essequibo, January 3, 1746.

* * * * * *

Surgeon Juan Pedro Bolle has asked for the deserted stubble land in Cartabo; it was granted with the condition that the Noble Company shall reserve the right to build thereon at least those houses which it shall deem necessary.

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No. 121.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to the West India Company, March 19, 1746.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 304.]

* * * * * *

I have not yet established any post in Barima, because I have not been able to find any competent person to my liking to whom to intrust the same, for I think that post might become of great importance.

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No. 122.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to the West India Company, July 20, 1746.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 306.]

* * * * * *

The inhabitant C. Finet, having come down from up the Cuyuni, has also informed me that the report of the Caribs made to me some months ago is true, namely, that the Spaniards have established a mission up in this river, and have built a small fort there, he himself having been there and spoken with the priest and soldiery; that they were busy making much brick there, with the intention next year to found yet another mission and fort some hours nearer, farther down this river, [while] all the Indians, coming away from those parts, are fleeing this way and praying for protection. As this matter puts me in great perplexity, I beg you to send orders as speedily as possible how I am to conduct myself in this matter, assuring you that they shall be exactly carried out. I would have not the least difficulty in driving them from there and capturing the forts; but such a step being one of great consequence,

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I dare not take the responsibility, especially as the true frontier-line there is unknown to me. The river Cuyuni, where the aforesaid works are being built, is the same in which your indigo plantation lies, and where the coffee plantation once lay, and falls into the river Essequibo at the place where the old plantation Duynenburg used to stand on the one side and where Mr. Van der Cruysse dwells on the other side, half a cannon-shot below Fort Kykoveral.

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No. 123.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to the West India Company, December 7, 1746.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 308-309.]

* * * * *

I had the honor to inform you *via* Rio Berbice of a mission, together with a little fort, erected by the Spaniards up in Cuyuni, in my opinion on your territory; and I have it from a reliable source that they have been thinking of founding next year yet another nearer, whereat the inhabitants are much aggrieved, and the Carib Indians much more still, since thereby the slave trade in that quarter, from which alone that nation derives its livelihood, is wholly shut off. They wanted, too, to surprise that mission and level it to the ground, which I, not without trouble, have prevented; for, since they belong under our jurisdiction and carry on all their trade in the Dutch colonies, such a step would by the Spaniards surely be charged to us. It is very perilous for this colony to have such neighbors so close by, who in time of war could come and visit us overland; and, above all, the making of fortifications upon our own land is in breach of all custom. I say upon our own land: this [assertion], however, I cannot put forth with full certainty, because the boundaries west of this river are unknown to me * * *

* * * * *

No. 124.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to the West India Company, March 23, 1747.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission Report, Vol. 2, pp. 309-311.]

* * * * *

That in Wacquepo and Moruca all is again still, as the nation which

No. 124.

came down there with the intention of killing the Caribs dwelling there was received by them reasonably, and thereupon they again retired back up the Orinoco. But the undertakings of the Spaniards go so far that, if proper provision be not made in that matter, it may cause in course of time the total ruin of the colony.

* * * * *

Besides, it has been reported to me by the Burgher-Captain S. Persik, on his arrival from Orinoco, and confirmed by some Spaniards, that the Spaniards there had made a journey in the southwest right behind us, and had there discovered the source of the Rivers Cuyuni and Mazaruni (which two are the real source of this river Essequibo), both flowing out of a great lake or sea which is 60 [Dutch] miles long and 20 broad, and very deep, the water azure blue, without fish therein, from seventy-five to eighty hours in a straight line above Fort Kykoveral; that their intention was to settle and to fortify themselves near the source of the rivers mentioned, so that we then should be hemmed in by a cordon.

* * * * * *

I should already long ago have seized and demolished the first fort above in Cuyuni (which as yet is easy of accomplishment on my part through the Caribs), if I were but rightly conscious how far the limits of your territory extend, both on the eastern and northern sides as well as back to the south and westwards (regarding which no documents whatever are to be found in this office). I therefore earnestly request you to be pleased to transmit hither the necessary information concerning this matter, because an error in this might be the cause of quite too evil consequences.

* * * * * *

No. 125.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Graveande, Commandeur in Essequibo, August 7, 1747.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 311.]

* * * * * *

As to the forts already established in Cuyuni for the Spaniards, and those they might seek to establish there hereafter, we have thought it best to await the action to be taken thereon by the Board of Ten, of which we shall then notify you at the earliest opportunity.

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No. 126.

Extracts from proceedings of West India Company (the Ten), 1747.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 313–314.]

* * * * * *

[September 6, 1747.]

That in case there could be found in Essequibo a competent surveyor, he cause to be made an accurate chart, not only of the plantations in existence there and of their size, but also of the lands still uncultivated and not yet granted.

* * * * * *

That all the respective Chambers, each by itself, investigate and inquire whether it can be discovered how far the limits of this Company in Rio Essequibo do extend; that nevertheless, if in the meantime he can by indirect means, and without himself appearing therein, bring it about that the Spaniards be dislodged from the forts and dwellings which they have, as he maintains, made on the territory of the Company, and be prevented from further extending themselves there, he shall be authorized to carry this out.

* * * * * *

And lastly, all the respective Chambers are instructed to investigate whether it can be discovered how far the limits of the Company in Rio Essequibo do extend, and to report to the other respective Chambers what they find and discover. Whereupon, after discussion, it was resolved to adopt the aforesaid report, and furthermore to convert it into a positive resolution, and to thank the Committee for the pains taken, and Mr. Backer for the report made.

* * * * * *

No. 127.

Extract from letter from West India Company (the Ten) to Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, September 9, 1747.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 314–315.]

* * * * * *

We have requested all the Chambers to investigate, each in its own records, whether it is possible to find out how far the limits of the Company in Rio Essequibo do extend. Nevertheless, if in the meantime you can, by indirect means and without yourself appearing therein, bring it about that the Spaniards be dislodged from the forts and buildings, which, according to your assertions, they have made upon the territory of the Company, and can prevent them from spreading further in that quarter, you will do well to accomplish this. * * *

* * * * * *

No. 128.

Extract from letter from the Court of Policy in Essequibo to the West India Company, February 6, 1748.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 316.]

* * * * * *

[We have the honor to report] that, in fulfillment of your salutary intention, we have caused to be posted everywhere the announcements of the sale, on January 8 last, of the burdensome and unprofitable indigo plantation. But, to our sorrow, we must report that in this matter we could in no way attain the desired end, inasmuch as, although the conditions were arranged very favorably, not one person was willing to bid a single stiver thereon, presumably on acount of the great distance and the insalubrity of the river Cuyuni. We had therefore to keep it for the Company, to whom, even for bread-grounds alone, it is worth at least two hundred rix-dollars and more.

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No. 129.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to the West India Company, February 11, 1748.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 316-317.]

* * * * * *

I shall also, as soon as the opportunity seems to me somewhat favorable, execute the orders of the Board of Ten as regards the forts of the Spaniards. Concerning the fishery I have brought the matter so far with the Commander of Orinoco that I do not believe it will again be interfered with.

* * * * * *

Your honors in the Board of Ten having ordered me to have a map made of the colony and the plantations, if a good surveyor could be found here, I have in the absence of such a person not been able to execute this. However, to satisfy your desire as far as was in my power, I have myself, as well as the shortness of the time has permitted, made up a map from various small charts which from time to time I had drafted as a pastime. It is not of the extremest exactitude, but [it] will not be found greatly wanting, excepting only that down below there are many more islands which do not appear in it because I have not charted them, and, being uninhabited, they are of little importance. The plantations where the number of slaves is not set down are those of which the lists for the year 1747 have not yet come in.

* * * * * *

No. 130.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, May 30, 1748.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 318.]

* * * * * *

It gave us especial pleasure to learn through a subsequent letter from you, dated September 9, how, by the zeal you have shown, the trade of the Spaniards in the river of Essequibo begins to develop more and more, and we hope that all further means will be put in operation to make it altogether flourish there.

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No. 131.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, December 2, 1748.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 321-323.]

* * * * * *

The Spaniards were beginning to approach more and more up in Cuyuni; but a war having some weeks ago arisen between the Carib nation and that of the Warrows, which is carried on very obstinately, this will stop their further progress, and possibly, if the Caribs obtain the upper hand, they will be driven somewhat farther away, without our having in the least degree to meddle therewith. I could wish, however, that, if it were possible, I might know the true boundary. According to the talk of the old people and of the Indians, this jurisdiction should begin to the east at the creek Abary and extend westward as far as the river Barima, where in old times a post existed; but this talk gives not the slightest certainty.

* * * * * *

A wanderer of the name of Pinet, having gone up the river Cuyuni to obtain hammocks by barter with the Indians, was requested by me carefully to spy out the going of the Spaniards in that region—a duty for which he is very well fitted, because he understands the Carib language thoroughly, and is by no means destitute of intelligence. He returned here on the 13th of November, four months after his departure, and has made report to me that the Spaniards had not yet undertaken the building of any forts or missions lower down, as had been their intention, but that they

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cruelly illtreated the Indians subject to us, continually taking them by surprise in their dwellings and carrying them off, with their wives and children, to send them all to Florida; that he had spoken to the chief of the Spaniards, and had placed before his eyes the unfairness of this treatment as well as the consequences of it, but that the latter had replied that the whole of America belonged to the King of Spain, and that he should do what suited himself, without troubling about us.

* * * * * *

Seeing that all my remonstrances and letters to the Spaniards are of no avail, and that no redress is obtainable, I intend to tell the chiefs of the Indians, when they come to me, that I can provide no redress for them, and that they must take measures for their own security. Then I feel assured that in a short time no Spaniard will be visible any more above in Cuyuni. I have always, but with great difficulty, restrained them and prevented all hostilities by fair promises.

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No. 132.

Extract from letter from Storm's van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company (the Ten), March 27, 1749.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 91.]

There should sometime be some profit gained with the Spaniards, though the attempt is made as far as possible to pay attention thereto. But many Spaniards, come and go out of the river without coming under my observation: that is in breach of all rules and custom, but being there at the instance of some great persons, and also in order not to frighten away the Spaniards, I have until now remained quiet in consequence of pressure, and have only ordered the Postholder of Marocco always to advise me when any come, stating their names, and to whom addressed, so that I have always been informed thereof.

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No. 133.

Extract from letter form Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, April 10, 1749.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 92.]

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Inclosed is the copy of a Proclamation which has been placarded by the Marquis of Cailus, the Governor of Martinique, all over the Island of

No. 133.

Tobago, the original of which was torn down there by Captain Sayer, commanding His Britannic Majesty's war-ship the "Richmond," and sent to me by Mr. Gidney Clarke on the 6th of this month, from which your Lordships will plainly see that it is the firm intention of the French to establish themselves there—an intention which they have already fairly carried out.

The title of "Governor of the Continent from the River Amazon to the River Orinoque" (in which district Surinama, Berbices, and this Colony are situated), which that Marquis gives himself, seems to me somewhat strange, although the title itself is of little importance when it is not accompanied by immediate possession, and I would by no means grudge him the title of Governor of Tobago, in the same manner as that of these Colonies, where he has the title and we the possession.

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No. 134.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 10, 1749.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 324-325.]

* * * * * *

I also consider it my duty to inform you that I summoned before the last regular session of the Court one Pieter de Blaker, because the slaves of the plantation Aegtekerke in their bread plantations had been greatly injured by his men, their raspstones stolen, their manavis[1] and parses[1] burnt, and however frequently I had upon accusation of the director Malgraef, addressed him in this connection, I could obtain not the least satisfaction for the slaves.

However, except that he was ordered to restore the property, I attained nothing, it being urged that the bread-plantations of Aegtekerke are on his land.

I am greatly mistaken if this argument holds good, for those plantations lie fully two hours further inland, behind the plantation of the said Blaker; and if a man may thus reckon backward by the compass, the land of his plantation extends westward to Rio Orinoco. I know and am convinced that this is absolutely inadmissible; but on this account it becomes highly necessary that the estates as to their depth be defined by you, for the Court of Policy is frequently troubled with disputes concerning lands lying thus back in the interior. * * *

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[1]Note by Prof. Burr.—The meaning of these words is unknown to the translators. They seem names of implements used in the culture or preparation of cassava. The *v* of *manavis* may be an *r*.

No. 135.

Extract from letter from Adolph von Rosen, Colonist in Essequibo, to Mgr. Tessin, Prime Minister to the King of Sweden, July 20, 1749.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 325–326.]

* * * * * *

MOST NOBLE LORD: May it please your lordship to forgive me for being so bold as to bring to your notice a matter of great importance, inasmuch as I have learned that here, between Orinoco and etc.[2], a large and very fertile land lies uninhabited and wild, with two large rivers or rather streams, the first from here Waini, the second river Barima[3] at the mouth of Orinoco; and I have learned that this land belongs to His Majesty the King of Sweden by inheritance and in his own right, and this land could yearly produce great sums if it were cultivated and planted.

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No. 136.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, September 8, 1749.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 327, 328.]

* * * * * *

It has been looking for some time as if the Orinoco trade were at a standstill; for, ever since the peace, so many French ships have come there that everything is glutted with wares, so that very little chance is left for our colonists.

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For six months I have seen no Indians from that side, so that I do not accurately know now how matters go on there.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This letter, seized among Rosen's papers after his arrest in Barima in 1766 and forwarded to the West India Company in the Director-General's letter of September 6, 1767, has been already printed in translation in Blue Book No. 3, p. 147.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—This is clearly the reading of the manuscript. Whether meant as an abbreviation of Essequibo, as seems assumed by the British translators, or as a concealment of the name of that river, is matter for conjecture.

[3] Note by Prof. Burr.—The original was written "the first from here Barima, the second river Waini," and the British translators have followed this; but the writer himself saw his error and placed over "*Wyne*" a "1," over "*Barima*" a "2," indicating their transposition—wherefore it is here so printed and translated.

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But out of curiosity I sent this question[1] over and took advice on it from the foremost jurists in the province of Holland. * * * *

* * * * * *

At the conclusion of the aforesaid advice I was astonished to note that the owners of the *Baskensburg* were deemed to have treated me with the utmost ingratitude because I had for their sake risked my honor, reputation and property, inasmuch as this ship had been stranded at Pechy and therefore on the territory of Spain and I had had no right to touch it. Of this I had absolutely no thought, and it shall make me in the future somewhat more prudent.

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No. 137.

Extract from proceedings of the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), including the Report on the Colony of Essequibo, submitted in person by Commandeur Storm van's Gravesande, June 22, 1750.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 328–331, 333.]

* * * * * *

The Commandeur Laurens Storm van's Gravesande having arrived here by the aforesaid ship *de Goude Spoor* and having sent in his name this morning to this Chamber, he was by vote of the members admitted, and when he had taken a seat, by invitation of the President, and had greeted the members, he laid before the Chamber his written memorial or report, setting forth both the present state of the Colony of Essequibo and his plans for the correction and improvement of various matters there. * * *

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Report of the Commandeur Laurens Storm van's Gravesande.

* * * * * *

The lookout-watch has been washed away by the heavy swell of the water and must be transferred to another place. At the Company's trading-places also everything is well at present, they being provided with good postholders. The one at Arinda up in Essequibo I have ordered to be transferred to four days' journey higher, at the creek Rupununi, this being the actual route of the tribes who come from up in

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This refers to the taking possession, by the Essequibo Commandeur, in 1744, of the slave-ship *Baskensburg*, stranded on the west coast of Moruca. (See Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 85, 86, No. 75.) In reporting the affair to the West India Company (February 11, 1745), Storm van's Gravesande had described the location of the wreck as "between Camoeni and Peche, about 15 [Dutch] miles below [*i. e.*, west of] the Post in Moruca" (*tusschen Camoeni en Peche omtrent 15 mylen beneeden de Post in Maroco*). The bay of Peche, according to the Bouchenroeder map (Atlas of the Commission, map 46), is a little east of the mouth of the Waini. The minutes of the Zeeland Chamber later (October, 1747) speak of "the ship *Baskensburg* stranded in the year 1744 near the river Orinoco" (*ontrente de rivier d'Oronocque gestrand.*)

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Orinoco and Corentyn and pass through the country to trade or make war higher up.

* * * * * *

Hereby[1] the colony would attain a flourishing and in course of time a formidable state, and the interior (which is unknown) would be explored and cultivated, the lands which lie along the river being devoted to growing sugar and rice, and those in the interior to other crops; and thus many discoveries would doubtless be made which would bring great utility and profit. For this nothing is lacking but able and industrious people, and it is a shame (if I may use the word) for the Dutch, that two nations not to be compared with them for industry, namely the Portuguese and the Spaniards, who are situated at the right and the left of these colonies, and who are groaning under so hard, even slavish, a rule, are owners of so many treasures and so fortunate in their discoveries.

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ARTICLE IV.

It is urgently necessary that the limits of the Company's territory be known, in order successfully to oppose the continual approach of the neighboring Spaniards, who, if they are not checked will at last shut us in on all sides, and who under pretext of establishing their missions are fortifying themselves everywhere. And, because the limits are unknown, we dare not openly oppose them as might very easily be done, by means of the Carib nation, their sworn enemies. Please study in this connection the accompanying map, drawn up by the Spaniards themselves and copied from theirs.[2]

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ARTICLE VI.

The frequent and well-founded complaints which the Spaniards make of the damage done to them by the Carib nation well deserve your attention, not only on account of the damage which the Spaniards suffer, for by their harsh and unjust dealings they give cause for this, but on account of the inevitable consequences which in course of time might befall the colony. For it is the extreme of imprudence in the colonists that, urged on solely by an unworthy thirst for gain, they themselves put into the hands of that warlike nation, who beyond dispute are the bravest and most numerous on this coast, the weapons which in future may bring about their own destruction—I mean the firearms, powder, and ball so often given them in exchange for slaves. The meagre excuse to which they resort, namely that these are only bad

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—He has been urging, at much length, the need of more settlers.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—Atlas of the U. S. Commission, map 61.

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trade guns, is far from satisfactory, for not only are good ones sometimes found among the trade guns, but this dealing has already brought about this result, that the great terror which the tribes formerly had of such weapons has almost disappeared, which is bad indeed.

Wherefore it should be deemed of the greatest importance that that trade be absolutely prohibited on penalty of heavy fines.

* * * * * *

The determining of the limits being an object of His Highness's[1] attention, to whom in this connection a certain small map, mentioned in the Commandeur's memorial, had been handed by him, the Committee was of opinion that His advice thereon should be awaited.

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No. 138.

Extract from letter from Adriaan Spoors, Secretary and Acting Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, September 8, 1750.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 334–335.]

* * * * * *

The Commandeur having at his departure given me to understand that there was information that the Spaniards were beginning to construct a new mission close by here, and that it was necessary to pay attention thereto, I have carefully informed myself about it through the colonist Fredrik Persik, who in person has gone thither, and has the greatest intercourse with the Spaniards. He has assured me that the last mission which is being constructed is in a certain little river called Imataca, situated far off in Orinoco, and which (in my opinion) is certainly far outside the concern of this colony. And concerning those which are said to have been constructed up in the river Cuyuni, I am instructed that they are decidedly nearer to the side of the Spanish than to our territory. I have, for the reasons aforesaid, thought it my duty to make report of this to you. The aforesaid Persik has also informed me that the Fathers up in Orinoco were inclined to open a trade with this colony in cattle, which they, if able to obtain permission, could transport overland.

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[1]Note by Prof. Burr.—The Prince of Orange, the Stadhouder. Unfortunately that prince died only a few months later, and no communication from him on this subject is to be found.

No. 139.

Extract from letter from Adriaan Spoors, Secretary and Acting Commandeur in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 10, 1751.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 335-336.]

* * * * * *

The colonists, Louis Marcand and Niels Andreas Schutz, being on a journey to Orinoco to buy tobacco, chiefly on behalf of Mr. Dudonjon, they both had the misfortune, the former in April and the latter in May, to be taken by the Spaniards. * * *

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No. 140.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, April 10, 1752.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 336-337.]

MIDDELBURG, *April 10, 1752.*

SIR, ETC., ETC.: While on the one hand we have always proposed to ourselves nothing more than in every way as much as possible to facilitate and aid the commerce which is carried on, not only from here to the river and colony of Essequibo, but also there with the natives [and] Spaniards, and especially with those of Orinoco; we have, however, always tried besides to see to it, that all this be done not only without any prejudice to the company's privileges and rights, but also especially with this always in view, that in the carrying on of that trade no opportunity be given from which in course of time any disadvantage or harmful consequences might result to the colony.

This was the reason why, for instance, in the year 1735, desiring to take proper precautions against the trading away and selling of any materials of war, especially there to the Spaniards, we in the year 1735 instructed the late Commandeur Hermanus Gelskerke that by proclamation published and posted he forbid and prohibit each and everyone there to ship any arms or material of war whatsoever from the river to Orinoco or any other places not situate under the jurisdiction of the States-General, on penalty not only of confiscation of such goods, but also of such further fines as are therein named.

We later, indeed, made some modification in this our aforesaid Resolution, and altered it in so far, that by our missive dated October 30, 1737, to the late Commandeur Gelskerke aforesaid we gave permission to connive at the free importation and exportationof material of war; still

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this was at that time done by us only under all such limitations and conditions as we had enumerated in our aforesaid missive, and also for reasons which at that time seemed to us to render necessary the changing of that former resolution, particularly on the ground that assurance was given us that gunpowder and other materials of war were brought from Surinam, Curaçao and other places to the Orinoco and to the inhabitants of the adjacent rivers, in as great quantities as the inhabitants of those places could possibly wish.

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No. 141.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 4, 1752.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 96.]

* * * * * *

If your Honours will please refer to the 6th Article of the project aforesaid, you will find that I there distinctly speak of the trade in arms with the Indians, and especially with the Carib nation, in which proposal I earnestly persist, and now more than ever, because the Spaniards have attacked and driven away the Caribs below Oronoque, and these have all retreated to our side, and thus their number has considerably increased.

Now they are more than ever incensed against the Spaniards aforesaid; they lately overran two Missions and have murdered everyone there, and since my return here they pitifully murdered a certain B de Beaumont, as well as six of the men he had with him when on their return journey with tobacco. The other two, although severely wounded, were rescued by our colonist, J. Smit, who was returning from Oronoque with horses, so that the reasons for not supplying these men with firearms grows weightier as time goes on.

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No. 142.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, July 23, 1753.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 341.]

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We agree with you in believing that the correspondence with the commander of Orinoco, and also the commerce and trade with him, can accrue only to the advantage of the colony, and we hope that with the

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arrival there of the Governor-General of Cumaná it will be brought to greater proportions. We therefore once more earnestly recommend to you the necessary attention to this matter.

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No. 143.

Extract from Minutes of Proceedings of the Court of Justice of Essequibo, held at Fort Zeelandia, January 7, 1754.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 97.]

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Seen the Petition of the Militia Captains to place a Post on the side of the Maroca to prevent the desertion of slaves. Councillor E. Pypersberg is commissioned with the above-mentioned gentleman to inspect the proposed site.

This matter to be disposed of after the report.

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No. 144.

Extract from Minutes of Proceedings of the Court of Justice of Essequibo, held at Fort Zeelandia, April 1, 1754.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 98.]

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Mr. C. Pypersberg, who was commissioned along with the Militia Captains at the last meeting to view the place in Maroca which was proposed for the erection of a Post to prevent the desertion of slaves from here to the Orinoque, has sent in at this meeting the Report of his Commission, stating that a Post could be erected at this place, and that the place was fairly good, though subject to some inconvenience, but that the place would not, in his opinion, answer for the proposed object for several reasons.

This having been maturely considered, and the expenses of the Colony being high enough, it is resolved to do nothing at present.

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No. 145.

Letter from a Dutchman in Orinoco to the Commandeur in Essequibo, August 19, 1754.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 343–345.]

First I beg you to pardon me for taking to myself the honor and the liberty which I count myself to take, of laying before you an affair which is ominous for the colony and its inhabitants. For I am a stranger among the Spaniards, but it would grieve me if any disaster should befall my countrymen and if I had knowledge thereof and did not warn them when there is opportunity.

Therefore I cannot let this good opportunity pass to inform you of something resolved on and to be carried out, which will tend to the harm of the colony; for in Cumaná there arrived in the past month of April three ships from Spain with a Commandant-General, who has sway over all the Governors here in America, and is moreover Viceroy of Santa Fé, and has brought along three colonels and mortars with their bombs of *all sorts of war and materials*,[1] and five hundred saddles and bridles to equip cavalry, and they are drafting folk in all provinces here in America, to the number of three or four thousand men.

For in Cumaná they have bought twenty large boats, here eight yachts are making, which must be ready in the month of December, for the boats and the folk are to be expected every day, and the Commandant-General with the company he has with him, consisting of engineers, three persons who understand mathematics, three who understand the course of the heavenly signs, four persons who have knowledge of mines, are to be expected here in the month of November, in order to make everything ready here, and to consider here how they shall go about it; for I have information from a good source, from a faithful countryman of mine who lives in Cumaná and is married there. He wrote to me recently that they have designs upon the colony of Essequibo; for they will attack by water and by land, since they will come with a great force of folk, and when their plan has so far succeeded, they will march to Berbice overland to do the same thing—for these two colonies are greatly in their way. For all this project and trouble comes from nowhere but from the priests here in Orinoco, for in the year *1751* they informed the King, when the Caribs here in Orinoco raided and burned the missions, they made great complaints to His Majesty about the two colonies, for they have pretended that Dutchmen are hidden among that nation who have incited the tribe[2] to do this evil, therefore they have asked assist-

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The sentence should doubtless read: "and all sorts of materials of war."

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—I. e., the Caribs; or, perhaps, as often, for the plural, "the tribes," i. e., the Indians.

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ance of the King in order to have their missions in freedom. For to believe me better I have in my hands the copies of the letters which they have sent to Spain and the complaints which they have made therein about the inhabitants of the two colonies, and likewise that of Surinam, which has moved the King to assist the priests, and the rumor goes that the same chief will reside here in Orinoco as Governor-General and has great authority from the King, both to reconnoitre the land by water and by land alike as far as the river Amazon, and to open the mines; therefore they wish first to assure themselves of the two colonies, in order that they can be no obstruction to them, for they are minded to inhabit these colonies, for there are coming four hundred families to be used thereto, but it might happen that they are making their calculations wrong, therefore I cannot neglect to inform you as I have been informed, for I hope you will not take offense at the poor lines which I send you and trouble you, but the good intention and love which I have for my nation this compels me not to exceed my duty and to warn in time and in time take good measures and put in good defense both on land and outside the river, for in the latter part of January or the beginning of February they will set out from here.

No. 146.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, September 2, 1754.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 346-348.]

* * * * * *

For some weeks a rumor has been current here that a Major-General with three or four engineers and some troops were expected every day at Orinoco. Having inquired into this, I was told and also written to from Orinoco that it was true, and that the object was to measure and closely examine the mouth of the Orinoco, to see if it were not possible for a register-ship to come there every year to bring the pay of the garrison, etc., so that it might never more have to be fetched so far overland. To me that appeared very apocryphal, because for that a nautical man and sailors would be more suitable than a Major-General, and I surmised that there must be something more behind this.

The inclosed letter from Mr. Clarke lays the secret bare, and my surmises turn out to be not unfounded.

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This being so (and I fear it is only too certain), what is to come of it, or what shall I do? With the small number of soldiers I cannot repel the least aggression in those quarters. It is even

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impossible for me (however necessary at this conjuncture) to detach eight or ten men to garrison and defend as far as possible the post of Moruca, which will, I fear, see trouble. All that I can do is, with the aid of the Carib nation, whose flight from Barima I daily expect, to cause all possible hindrance to the undertaking; but then I should want ammunition and food and have none of either.

I have the honor to assure you that I shall not slumber in this matter, but shall do everything in my power, and meanwhile await your orders, at the earliest moment, as also the so long sought definition of frontier, so that I may go to work with certainty. (Is not this regulated by the Treaty of Münster?)

There are also Swedish emissaries (as I understand) arrived at Surinam to examine Barima, so that this old matter begins to revive again; but I am not so much disturbed about this as about the other matter.

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No. 147.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, September 11, 1754.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 349.]

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The Council having met and Mr. Persik having appeared, he handed over his letters (under promise of secrecy as to the writer's name). Having seen from these that according to all human reckoning we are threatened with an invasion, we thought of every means of defense possible to us. We have ordered the Captains to make lists without delay of their men and ammunition, to warn the Caribs and other Indians at the earliest opportunity, to make ready as soon as possible ships to serve as outlying posts, and to send a messenger to Orinoco with a letter from me to the Commandant there, of which a copy herewith. To-day I also write all the postholders to use the necessary precautions.

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No. 148.

Extract from letter from Adriaan Spoors, Secretary in Essequibo, to the West India Company, October 11, 1754.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 350–351.]

* * * * * *

On September 10 last we were put in extreme disquietude by certain

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advices (of which the Council, and especially the Director-General, circumstantially inform you) that it was the intention of the King of Spain to invade this colony with many boats and numbers of men, and if possible completely to occupy it and take it in possession. But, thank God, on the 8th of this month, on the return of the messenger sent to the Orinoco, I myself was informed through the letters, above all [through one] to Mr. Salomon Persik (the colonist best known and dealing most with the Spaniards), that those rumors were absolutely unfounded, as seems to me clear, and more than clear, from a comparison of the reports. In the meantime these reports have, besides the consternation, caused considerable expense to the colony in general and the Company in particular, especially to the latter, since all the messages and post expenses must be paid for by it; and, there being on hand not a grain of powder, except what you sent by the *Essequeebsche Vriendschap*, a barque was hired and sent to Barbados for powder. Moreover, all the slaves, men and women, of all three plantations of the Company, have these three weeks been gathered here at Fort Zeelandia, and I do not know when this will end. You can easily see what a delay and loss this will cause, both to the sugar-grinding and otherwise.

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No. 149.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, October 12, 1754.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 100–101.]

* * * * * *

All the Caribs have also been warned to keep themselves ready and armed, but I find this warning in no instance was necessary, since I have learned from one of their Headmen who came to me last week the nation is furious with the Spaniards because they have located a Mission in Cayuni between them and the nation of the Panacays, and hereby try to hinder their communication with that nation, and entirely to prevent their whole Slave Trade on that side; already, too, they have impressed and taken away some.

Wherefor they have made an alliance with the Panacays aforesaid, who were as malcontent as themselves.

And both together surprised the Mission, massacred the priest and ten or twelve Spaniards, and have demolished the buildings; after which they have sent knotted cords to all persons of their nation (as is their custom) for a general summons to both together to deliberate on what further remains for them to do.

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23d of this month I have received this information from Mr. C. Boter, who thereupon told me the common rumour was that one of our colonists had been near by there, and upon further inquiry, having found that that person had been about the same time up the Cayuni, I caused him to be apprehended and brought to the fort. Because such a matter would be of consequence, and would afford the Spaniards real and well-founded reasons for complaint, I have always taken punctilious care therefor.

However, this sad accident for the Spaniards has covered us on that side, so that we have nothing to fear from that direction; on the contrary, if luck will have it that we are to be attacked, these nations will make plenty of play on their side for the Spaniards.

* * * * * *

The negroes of your Honours' plantation Pilgrim, when the Director told them to keep good watch, so that at the first alarm they might retire *up*[1] the creek, have replied that in such a case they request the Director to be good enough to retire with their wives and children, but that they were not inclined to yield a foot, that they would station themselves on *both sides*[2] in the forest, and then they would see if any Spaniards would come through the creek and to the plantation.

* * * * * *

While busy in writing this there comes to me a trusty Indian bringing me a letter from Oronoque with a circumstantial account concerning the intention of the Spaniards. This informs me that their intention is to attack this Colony and Berbice; that the General-in-chief will be in Oronoque on the 20th September; that in Cumana twenty, and in Orenoque eight, vessels were being made, which must be in readiness by the last of November, the intention being to come down upon us in the end of December or beginning of January; that they were busy with all their energy to recruit and press people, and the corps was to consist of 3,000 or 4,000 men.

As the matter becomes more serious as time goes on, we have to-day resolved to send a vessel to Barbadoes on the 30th September, and to order thence a lot of ammunition and cartridge cases, because it is impossible without these to make proper resistance.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For this word *up* the Blue Book has *above*.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words *both sides* the Blue Book has *the other side*.

No. 150.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, October 27, 1754.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 102.]

* * * * * *

Since the departure of Captain Tikrey, who, on the 16th October, took his course for the sea outside the Demerara, I have learned no particular news from Oronoque except alone that three barques and nine large canoes have arrived there, and have sailed up to the fort, and that the Surinam wanderers and most of the Carib Indians have retired from Barima, and have departed to the Wayne.

We shall still be in uneasiness here for the period of about three months. Before the end of January they must discover everything, because, by the middle of February, the time for navigating up the Oronoque River will have expired.

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No. 151.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, November 26, 1754.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 102.]

* * * * * *

The spies sent by me, both to the Oronoque and to the Cayuni, have not yet come back, but the Indians above in Cayuni have still this week caused me to be assured that they will well guard the passage, and that I had nothing to fear from that side.

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No. 152.

Extracts from Minutes of the Court of Policy in Essequibo, 1754-1755.

[*January 7, 1754.*]

* * * * * *

Having seen the petitions of the captains of the militia for the establishment of a post on this side of Moroco, for the purpose of preventing the desertion of slaves, the counsellor, E. Pypersberg, is commissioned to

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make a personal visit, together with the aforementioned gentlemen, to the proposed spot, and further arrangements will be made after having received their report.

* * * * * *

[*October 6 and 7, 1755.*]

* * * * * *

The respective officers of the militia, having presented a petition with a certain plan by means of which they believe that by moving the trading post of the Company at Moroco, the slaves deserting from this river might be prevented from passing so easily to the Orinoco, and since the Colony will bear the expenses of the same, it has been resolved to discuss with the captains of the militia the means by which they believe that the necessary slaves may be procured from the Colony for this purpose, the Company meanwhile to defray the expenses of the "post-holder" and contributing, as far as may be convenient and to the purpose, to the building of the houses.

* * * * * *

No. 153.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, January 6, 1755.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 357–358.]

* * * * * *

We would we were able to give you an exact and precise definition of the proper limits of the river of Essequibo, such as you have several times asked of us; but we greatly doubt whether any precise and accurate definition can anywhere be found, save and except the general limits of the Company's territories stated in the preambles of the respective charters granted to the West India Company at various times by the States General, and except the description thereof which is found in the respective memorials drawn up and printed when the well-known differences arose concerning the exclusive navigation of the inhabitants of Zeeland to those parts, wherein it is defined as follows: "That region lying between those two well-known great rivers, namely, on the one side, that far-stretching and wide-spreading river, the Amazon, and, on the other side, the great and mightily-flowing river the Orinoco, occupying an intermediate space of ten degrees of north latitude from the Equator, together with the islands adjacent thereto."[1] For neither in the Treaty of

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This quotation is from the memorial of the Zeeland Chamber in 1751 in support of the Zeeland monopoly of the Essequibo trade. The passage occurs in a description, not of the Dutch colonies, but of all Guiana. The document is printed in full in the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* for 1751 (pp. 1079–1135).

No. 153.

Münster (mentioned because you suggested this to us), nor in any other, is there to our knowledge anything to be found about this; the only thing we have discovered up to this time by our search, is a definite boundary-line made in the West Indies between New Netherland and New England in the year 1650, but nothing more or further.

For which aforesaid reasons, it is therefore our opinion that one ought to proceed with all circumspection in defining the Company's territory and in disputing about its jurisdiction, in case this may have led to the aforesaid preparations of the Spaniards, and that it would be best in all befitting and amicable ways to guard against all estrangements and the hostile acts arising therefrom.

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No. 154.

Extract from letter from Christiaan Finett and Adolph von Roosen in Demerara to Frederick, King of Prussia, May 22, 1755.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 147.]

We beg most humbly to submit that we, the undersigned, did in the year 1754 go to the Rivers Wijne and Barima which lie at a latitude of eight degrees north, and did inspect the same, and found there an immense tract of good and fertile land which could be used for sugar, coffee, cocoa, rice and other plantations; which rivers have on the east the Hollanders to the River Essequibo, and on the west the river of Orinocque belonging to the Spanish crown. The River Barima is quite capable of being navigated by the largest vessels without danger; we therefore beg for the favour (since we, the undersigned, have ascertained that the said river belongs to Your Majesty) of being granted Your Majesty's commission, and if it pleased Your Majesty to order one of us two to come over, we are ready to obey such royal order immediately and to bring the map of that river with us.

* * * * * *

No. 155.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, May 31, 1755.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 364–365.]

* * * * * *

All this notwithstanding, they [the Spaniards] will try to creep in

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softly, and, as far as possible, to approach us and hem us in. And it is certain that they now have taken complete possession of the creek Orawary,[1] emptying into the Cuyuni, which indisputably is your territory. The Post located by order of the Council above in Cuyuni is situated not more than ten or twelve hours from the Spanish dwellings.

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No. 156.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, September 9, 1755.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 105.]

* * * * * *

After the despatch of my last, the Postholder of Marocco has come, and has brought me a letter from a missionary Father written to him from Oronoque, wherein he has requested him to deliver up and send to him some Indians of the Chiama nation, by us called Shiamacotte, and who have already (over ten years) been dwelling under the Post, adding that, in case of reluctance, he would come with sufficient force to fetch them, and take them away in chains. The letter has appeared to me a very surprising one.

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No. 157.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 27, 1757.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 108.]

* * * * * *

In the matter of J. Knott's request my feelings were quite different from theirs (the Court of Policy), and since I was outvoted in this affair, I consider it my bounden duty to respectfully lay before your Lordships my views and the grounds upon which they are based. Your Lordships are pleased to say that the question of opening or not opening the River Pouwaron is bound up with the consideration of J. Knott's request. In reply to this, I beg to observe with all due deference that this does not appear to be so. Because it is a certainty and as clear as the light of Heaven that the opening of the Pouwaron would be most injurious to

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—Thus, and not "Iruwary" (as in the Blue Book), the name is clearly written, both in the Hague transcript and in the autograph original at London.

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this river and to the Demerary. It is a matter—and I say so with all respect—that ought not to be thought of until Essequibo and Demerara are so thickly populated that not a foot of unappropriated land is to be found.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 373.]

* * * [I regard] the river of Pomeroon as a district bringing no earthly profit to the Company; and I am, moreover, convinced that, if once we should be so fortunate as to have this river [Essequibo] and Demerara completely settled (which cannot be expected inside of fifty years, for a considerable number, possibly even more than 300 plantations, can still be laid out if some pains be taken), no one would then be kept from settling in Pomeroon by the fact that there is no bourewey wood left there.

No. 158.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, March 18, 1761.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 116.]

* * * * * *

I am frequently coerced into taking a course which I really believe to be disadvantageous, and into which I am forced because I do not want to have seven-eighths of the Colony against me.

This is the case with the order I gave last year to allow no more Spaniards to come up the river, for this measure really appears to me to be injurious to our interests.

I have always imagined that it was best for our inhabitants to send few or no boats to Orinoco, and so compel the Spaniards to come here with their merchandise; in this way our people would not be exposed to the least danger, and the arrangement began to work very well. But the jealousy of those who had been accustomed to have that trade in their own hands caused many remarks to be made concerning the permission given the Spaniards, and brought me many remonstrances. Seeing that I took no notice of all this, and merely answered that the trade was free, and that it was only right that all the colonists should be able to profit by it, they brought things to such a pass that, just before the arrival of R. Robberts, a Petition was laid before the Court in the name of the colonists, asking, amongst other things, that the permission should be withdrawn from the Spaniards, and that they should be forbidden to come here.

Finally, on the receipt of a despatch from Mr. Spoors in Demerary, which I have the honour to inclose, I was obliged to bring myself to

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issue the desired orders, which still hold good. From that despatch your Lordships will see how Mr. Spoors is also deceived. The report of the negro (who was no doubt put up to this) contains a most evident falsehood. The Spaniards whom he accuses, and who had come here with a large quantity of tobacco, could not have got so far on their return journey, and it has also been ascertained that they were in reality still at the Honourable Company's Post at Maroco when the event occurred; and I am also informed on very good authority that the canoes were taken by an armed boat, commanded by Captain D. Flores, who was sent out expressly to catch the Surinama *traders*[1] in Barima, and who captured everything that came in his way.

Trade is now at an absolute standstill, because everything in Orinoco being in disorder, the Commandant having been summoned to Cumana to answer several charges brought against him, no boats dare to go to that place, and none being allowed to come here, the people who have always devoted themselves to this trade are left with their stocks in a state of great embarrassment.

No. 159.

Extracts from letter from Storm van 's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, July 7, 1756.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 868-870.]

* * * * * *

As peace has not yet been made with the Accoways of Mazaruni and Essequibo, I am obliged to leave the garrison at the old fort, and cannot yet imagine how this matter will turn out. It is, however, of the extremest importance to this colony. I send you herewith a copy of the report of the bylier of the post Arinda up in Essequibo, who recently came down.

This report, if one could firmly rely on it, gives much reason for anxiety. Please remember that, on the small map which I handed to his late Illustrious Highness [the Stadhouder] and to you, there are marked two or three places where, according to the report of a Jesuit Father, the Spaniards were establishing themselves, wherewith this report very well agrees.[2] If this be true, we should be shut in by them in the same manner as the English in North America by the French forts of the Ohio, which would be of the very worst consequences to this colony, and must by all means be stopped, directly or indirectly.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For this word *traders* the Blue Book has *pirates*.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—See atlas of the U. S. Commission, map 61.

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The colonist D. Couvreur, who has just now come from up in Mazaruni where he lives, has given me information which confirms the report of the bylier in Essequibo, saying that various Indians from above have retreated to his place; that between two and three days' journey above his plantation, which is equal to about 12 or at most 15 hours of travel, there live some whites who have there a great house and more than two hundred Indians with them, whom they make believe a lot of things and are able to keep under absolute command. He has proposed to me that, in the month of August, when the water at the falls is somewhat lower, he shall go himself with some other colonists and creoles of the Company and kidnap those whites and bring them here. This was very acceptable to me, as I know him to be a man capable of a daring deed; wherefore I have accepted this and shall in the next session of the Court submit this matter for consideration.

* * * * * *

[Inclosure in above.—*J. Steyner, Bylier at Arinda post, to Gravesande, May 28, 1756.*]

Your Excellency, you still remember the rumors of those three Christians who are above in the savanna, now they have made themselves masters of the entire savanna: Your Excellency, I do not know what will come of this, they make themselves masters of all rivers, Your Excellency, I believe that they are Spanish folk, that they make themselves masters of all places, they come by way of Cuyuni. You must know that they have three fast places, one in Wenamu, a branch of Cuyuni, the second up in Mazaruni in Queribura, the third up in Siparuni at Mawakken, those places are all of them gruesomely strong. On May 3, they came to the Caribs' and began to clear gardens; on May 17, they went with 10 corials to Demerara to dwell. Your Excellency, much though I ask them whence they come, they give me this answer, that they have arisen from the dead, and they say that as many more will come.

No. 160.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, February 15, 1757.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 372–378.]

* * * * * *

Among the Accoways it remains quiet; we hear nothing more of them, but their chiefs have not yet come to me, so that we must still be on our guard.

The complaints having often been reiterated by the Commandant of Orinoco concerning the evil conduct of the traders, or rovers, in Barima, both those from Surinam and those from here, I have written circum-

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stantially about it to the ad interim Governor there,[1] Mr. J. Nepvue, whose reply I daily await.

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No. 161.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, March 6, 1758.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 109.]

* * * * * *

Ignatius Courthial, having undertaken another voyage to the Spanish coast, in which he was very successful, was watched for by the Spaniards as he came down the Orinoco, and deprived of all he had. He and his crew (with the exception of two, who are prisoners) managed to escape overland, and have now arrived here. The man is almost entirely ruined.

* * * * * *

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 375.]

* * * * * *

The six mules which for want of space in the canoe of Aegtekerke were left behind in Orinoco have been brought here by Mr. Persik's boat; but the Commandant there instead of 6 sent 8 head, because there was room for them, giving for reason that no more can be got for a long while, because one of H. M.'s ships is daily expected from Spain, which will stay at anchor in the mouth of the Orinoco. Thus the trade is stopped and even the salters will have to keep away from there until things take a different look.

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No. 162.

Letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to Felix Ferreras, Commandant in Guayana, Protesting against the outrages committed by the Secret Expedition on the Dutch Post on the River Cuyuni, September 30, 1758.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 98-99.]

It is with the greatest surprise that I learned from some Indians a few days ago that our post in the River Cuyuni had been attacked by Spaniards, the chief of the said post, his second in command, a creole slave of the Company, and a creole woman with her children taken prisoners, and the house burned down, &c.

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[1]Note by Prof. Burr.—*I. e.*, in Surinam.

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This news, which I find it difficult to credit, appeared to me incredible, and a thing impossible. It is on that account that I did not wish to take the least step without first sending proper persons to make an ocular inspection.

These persons, on their return, confirm to me not only the truth of the fact, but from another report I learn that the foregoing mentioned are actually prisoners of war in Guayana.

What, sir, am I to infer from an offence so directly opposed to the law of nations, and to the Treaties of Peace and Alliance subsisting so happily and for such a length of time between His Catholic Majesty and their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces?

How is it possible that one dare act in a manner so violent without any antecedent cause for such proceeding?

I am thoroughly convinced that His Catholic Majesty, far from approving an offence of this nature, will not be remiss in rendering the fullest justice to my Sovereigns, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon those who thus dare to abuse their authority.

That great King has given such signal proofs of his affection and friendship for our Republic that, as far as that is concerned, I should be content to transmit a Report to my Sovereigns of the affair, leaving it to their prudence to obtain the satisfaction which the case demands; but the post I have the honor to hold obliges me to make the first advance, and, in their name, to address myself to you, sir, for the purpose of demanding, not only the enlargement of the prisoners, but a proper satisfaction for an outrage so opposed to Treaties and the law of nations. So long as I have had the honour of being at the head of this Colony, I have always tried to cultivate the friendship of the Spanish nation, our nearest neighbours. I have always employed every means in my power to prevent the savage Caribs of doing the least injury, and if those who have been employed in this irresponsible action have taken care to seize the papers that were at the post, you will see that one of the principal articles of the instructions contains an express order not to give the least cause of complaint to our neighbours the Spaniards.

It would be by no means difficult to me to make reprisals, having the necessary resources at hand to do so, but I find no reason to make use of them, considering that contrary to the character of a Christian, and which it is not permitted to employ only in extreme cases, and when all other means are found unavailable.

By a vessel leaving here this week for Europe I have made a full report of this outrage to my masters. I have not the least doubt of the great surprise it will cause them by quickly presenting a complaint concerning the same at the Court of His Catholic Majesty.

Now, sir, I demand, in the name of their High Mightinesses my Sovereigns and Directors of the Company my masters, the enlargement and

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immediate return of the prisoners, together with an indemnity for the losses and damages suffered.

Protesting in the most formal manner, in case of refusal, of holding you responsible for whatever may naturally result from an affair of such gravity, that there never has been occasion of reproaching me, having always been disposed to cultivate the friendship and good correspondence of our neighbours, and I shall persist in the same feelings so long as I shall not be forced to act contrary thereto.

Awaiting with impatience your reply to this, I have, &c.

No. 163.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, September 9, 1758.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 109–110.]

* * * * * *

Having had the honour of writing to your Lordships but a short time ago respecting the state of affairs in Essequibo, I should have very little to say in this letter were I not obliged to inform your Lordships at the earliest opportunity of an occurrence that caused me not only great surprise but also great embarrassment. Nearly all the Caraiban Indians living on the River Cuyuni came down the stream last week, and informed the *creoles*[1] of your Lordships' living just below the great fall of that river that the Spaniards of Orinoco, according to their computation about 100 strong, had come down the stream, and made a successful raid upon your Lordships' Post; that they had carried off as prisoners the Post-holder and his assistant, and a creole belonging to your Lordships, together with his wife and children; that they had laid waste the Post and all round it, and had threatened to come down stream again and serve the whole Colony in the same way.

I immediately sent two trusty creoles up the river with Manna, the old negro who buys our turtles for us, and told them to find out all that they possibly could. They cannot get back before the departure of the ship which is to take this letter, but I will not fail to inform your Lordships of the result of their mission as soon as they return.

The deed I have described appears to me to be not only a violation of international law, but also entirely contrary to the usual mode of procedure followed by nations who are at peace with each other. Had Don D'Ituriaga, who has recently been appointed Viceroy of this portion of America, and who resides in Orinoco, been of opinion that the Post of

[1]Note by Prof. Burr.—For this word *creoles* the Blue Book has *agents*.

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your Lordships' Company was on Spanish ground, which is utterly and indisputably untrue, it would have been his duty to draw my attention to the matter in a friendly manner, to demand the removal of the Post, and in case of refusal to abstain from any act of violence until he had first reported the case to his Sovereign.

They have had their eye on the river for some time, and I have always had to *be on my guard for it.*[1] All these attempts of theirs furnish convincing proof that the stream must be of much greater importance than we are aware of. It is my opinion that this river is of the greatest importance to your Lordships, much more so than any one of the others, and also that it is perfectly certain and indisputable that they have not the slightest claim to it. If your Lordships will be pleased to look at the map of this country, drawn by Mr. D'Anville with the utmost care, your Lordships will clearly see that this is so, *and that even our boundaries are portrayed on it, whereof it appears, he was informed on good authority.*[2]

As soon as my people have returned, and I am in receipt of reliable information, I will send someone to Orinoco to ask for the reason of this behaviour and to demand satisfaction. It would not be very difficult for me, by making use of the Caraibes, to pay them back in their own coin and drive them from their present position. But since the Indians are unwilling to go without having some white men at their head, and since the arms and supplies of such an expedition would cost a great deal, I shall not think of it without having received express authority. I trust that this may not be necessary, and that everything will be satisfactorily settled without proceeding to such extremities. My only fear is that this man will devise some fresh attack before orders come from Europe, in which case we shall have to return blow for blow.

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No. 164.

Instructions of Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the Cuyuni Postholder, November 29, 1757.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 248.]

Translation which I, Constable Juan Andres de la Rivera, made, in virtue of the office of interpreter and translator, conferred on me by the Señor Commandante *ad interim* of this place, of a document con-

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For these words *be on my guard for it* the Blue Book reads *defend it most vigorously*.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words here italicized the Blue Book has the following sentence: *Our boundaries, too, are defined in a way which proves that the compiler was very well-informed.*

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taining instructions for the Post or guard in the River Cuyuni, under the jurisdiction of the States-General, written in the Dutch language, which was delivered to me by the afore-mentioned Notary. The contents of this paper, literally translated, are as follows :—

Article 1. That the Chief of the said Post or guard, by our express and positive orders, will treat the neighbouring Indians with the greatest consideration and friendship, without distinction or favour of any kind, and be careful not to injure them in any way ; and if, perchance, the said Indians should request his help against any of the savage nations, he is bound to assist them with the guard as far as possible.

Art. 2. That the Chief of the said Post will be very careful not to cause any injury to be done to the Spaniards, who are our good neighbours, and in all he will maintain good friendship and correspondence with them. But at the same time, he will be most careful not to permit the said Spaniards to pass to the River Cuyuni, if by any chance they are desirous of so doing, or in any part of the territory of our Colony ; and in case they attempt to molest the official of the said Post or guard, he will immediately dispatch a man to the Governor's Castle to advise him promptly of the same.

Art. 3. That the Chief of the said Post or guard will on no account allow any one to carry on trade except in the river or in his district, or unless the party be provided with a proper passport, when he will grant the necessary permit to do so. But should any Indians pass, coming to the post from the Essequibo, down the river, or going in the opposite direction, bringing with them Chinese slaves, or any other merchandize, for the purpose of making purchases, and that the Chinese slaves or merchandize be intended for the inhabitants of the River Essequibo, we then command absolutely by this our order that the above-mentioned tribes be permitted to pass freely without let or hindrance in any way.

Art. 4. That the Chief of the post will take the greatest care in apprehending all fugitive slaves from the Colony, whoever they may be ; that, if necessary, he will pursue the same until he apprehends them, and when caught he will deliver them to their respective owners, in conformity with the orders of the States-General ; and that for every slave so captured he will receive a gratification of 10 fl. for the trouble thereby imposed upon him.

Art. 5. That, in case any slaves belonging to the residents of the said River Essequibo should attempt to escape, and should be pursued by their owners—who, owing to the necessity of the case had no time to provide themselves with necessary passports—he will permit them to pass the said post ; and we likewise command him expressly that whenever he be informed of a case of this nature by any inhabitant of this Colony, he will lend them every assistance in his power in order to retake them, always provided they be slaves.

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Art. 6. That the Chief of the said post is granted liberty to trade by the noble Company on his own account, on condition that whatever fruits or produce or other articles he may so acquire, the Company shall have the refusal of the goods at the same price as others, in good merchandize and for good prices.

Art. 7. That the Chief of the post is obliged to collect all outstanding debts remaining due to his predecessor, the former Chief of that post, for which duty 10 fl. will be paid for every fugitive slave, and 1 fl. for every hammock, the Governor being informed of all the sales and purchases.

Art. 8. That in like manner the official of the post is bound to make a report twice a-year of all matters of interest relating to his district, and, as a good and loyal officer, he should always reside at his post.

(Signed) LAURENS STORM DE GRAVESANDE.

River Essequibo, November 29, 1757.

No. 165.

Extracts from letter from L. L. Van Bercheyck, Military Commandant in Essequibo, to the Spanish Commandant in Orinoco, December 8, 1758.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 377–378.]

SIR: I received safely the letter which was written to me by Mr. Don Nicolas de Castro, whose person or quality I do not have the honor to know, in answer to the letter which our Governor had written to you on the subject of the outrage committed in our river of Cuyuni. I have communicated that letter to His Excellency, who was extremely surprised to see that you did not even deign to give him an answer.

Having read the contents of the aforesaid letter, and seeing the frivolous pretexts which are alleged in order to justify a proceeding so directly contrary to the law of nations (for, sir, even if the allegations were true, which we in no way admit, usage among neighboring, friendly, and even allied, nations demands previous complaints before having recourse to violence), His Excellency has ordered me to write to you.

That in the name of the States General his Sovereigns he persists, and now for the second time demands the freeing of the prisoners and a suitable satisfaction for this violation and insult done to the territory of his Sovereigns, and that, since it seems to him, according to the letter in question, that you in Guayana and at Cumaná are ignorant of the boundaries of the territory of His Catholic Majesty and those of the States General according to the treaties at present subsisting, he has ordered me to send you the enclosed map on which you will be able to see them very distinctly.

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The letter which I have received shall be sent next week to Europe, and His Excellency has no doubt but the States General will be able to obtain from His Catholic Majesty, of [whose] great justice and royal equity we are convinced, a full and ample satisfaction.

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No. 166.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, January 24, 1759.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 379.]

SIRS: The Governor of Berbice having acquainted me that a clipper there is to depart for Europe in the beginning of next month, I profit by the opportunity to inform you that my envoys to Orinoco have returned from thence with a very unsatisfactory reply of the Governor of Cumaná to my letter to the Commandant of Orinoco, wherein he maintains among other things that the river of Cuyuni is Spanish territory, and refuses to give back the imprisoned postholder, by-lier, and creoles.

* * * * * *

In closing this letter, I take the liberty earnestly to recommend to your attention the occurrence in Cuyuni, as being of the greatest importance to this colony, that river constituting one of the three arms of this river, wherein your indigo and coffee plantations and a great part of Duynenburg used to lie. If the Spaniards hold possession of it, we have them in the heart of the colony, and no one is for one hour sure of his possessions, the mouth of the said river being only a cannonshot from the old fort Kykoveral.

Wherewith,

L. STORM VAN'S GRAVESANDE.

RIO ESSEQUIBO, *January 24, 1759.*

No. 167.

Letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, (no date.)

[Reprinted (with correction) from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 110.]

The fact of Captain G. E. Boef having changed his mind and put into Rio Demerary for another fortnight, in order to avoid all cause for complaint, affords me the opportunity of writing your Lordships the present letter, my last being already on the way to Essequibo, and of informing

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my Lords that the men I sent to the Upper Cuyuni to inquire into the reports of the Indians have returned. The said reports turn out to be only too true, the Post-house being burnt down to the ground, the Post-holder and his assistant, together with the creole Ariaen, and his wife and children, carried off to Guiana as prisoners, and all that the Post contained taken away.

There not being the slightest difficulty or doubt concerning the ownership of this *branch*[1] of Essequibo, most undoubtedly belonging, as it does, to the West India Company, this unexpected and unheard-of act is a violation of all existing Treaties—a violation even of the universal law of nations, and as a matter of the greatest importance it demands your Lordships' attention and vigilance.

Yesterday I sent Mr. Spoors a letter addressed by me to the Commandant of Guiana, to be communicated to the Council, and then to be sent per express to Orinoco. In this I spoke of the raid in the most serious terms and demanded full satisfaction and compensation. As there will be no meeting of the Council until a day after the departure of the "Peter and David," I cannot have the honour of sending your Lordships a copy of the above-mentioned letter, not knowing whether the Council might not consider some alterations or additions necessary. I shall not fail to send your Lordships a copy of the letter at the earliest opportunity, together with whatever answer I may receive. I have explained to them amongst other things how easy it would be for me to exercise the right of reprisal, but have added that I have not the slightest intention of doing so unless I receive express orders to that effect, or my hand is forced by extreme measures on the other side, being convinced that their High Mightinesses would be able to obtain full satisfaction from His Catholic Majesty.

No. 168.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, May 29, 1759.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 380.]

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The letter from the Commandant here to the Commandant in Orinoco, of which I had the honor to speak in my letter *via* Berbice, has been sent back unopened, there being joined to it two letters, the contents of which are as yet unknown to me, as I do not know the Spanish language and await the arrival here of Mr. Persik to have them translated.

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[1]Note by Prof. Burr.—In place of this word *branch* the Blue Book has *portion*.

No. 169.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, May 31,1759.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 380-381.]

* * * * * *

We have not as yet received the originals of your letters per the *Pieter en David*, but our correspondent at Cork has furnished us a faithful copy of two letters written by you, the first in Rio Demerara, September 9, 1758, and the second without mention of place or date. We defer answering these until we shall have received the originals, or at least until the sailing of *Essequebo's Welvaren;* but we cannot help remarking, as to the surprisal of the post of Cuyuni by the Spaniards, that not only does it exceedingly astonish us, but also seems to us of the gravest consequence for the Colony. For that reason we shall not fail, as soon as we shall have received fuller information from you, to make upon that subject the necessary representations to the States-General. Meanwhile we should like on this occasion to be exactly informed where the aforesaid post on the river of Cuyuni was situated; for in the latest map made by you of the colony we have found, indeed, that river, but have not yet succeeded in finding the post itself. Furthermore, what grounds you might be able to give us to support further our right to the possession of the aforesaid post—perhaps a declaration by the oldest inhabitants of the colony could in this connection be handed in, which might be of service. We should also like to have a more specific description of the map of America by Mr. D'Anville, to which you appeal; for that gentleman has issued many maps dealing with that continent, and in none of these which have come to our notice have we been able to discover any traces [of what you mention].

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No. 170.

Extracts from proceedings of the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), July, 1759.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 381-383.]

[*July 2, 1759.*]

* * * * * *

Read a letter from the Presidial Chamber of Amsterdam, written there the 26th of last June and addressed to this Chamber, containing, in answer to this Chamber's letter of the 18th of the same month, that

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they were of opinion that it was not for them to present to the States General a remonstrance regarding the attack of the Spaniards upon the Company's post in Rio Cuyuni, because neither they nor any other Chamber had concerned themselves about the river Essequibo since the well-known differences in regard to the said colony had arisen between them and the Chief Shareholders of this Chamber. For this reason they returned the documents which had been sent them, together with a translation of the Spanish appendix, that we might make such use of them as we should see fit.

Whereupon, after discussion and taking the sense of the meeting, it was resolved to file for reference the aforesaid letter with its appendices, and, this notwithstanding, to request the Committee on Commerce that they consider more fully the documents bearing upon the said attack; and that they instruct the Advocate to formulate their views in a remonstrance to the States General, and submit it for approval to this Chamber.

* * * * * *

[*July 23, 1759.*]

* * * * * *

Mr. de Chuy, in the name of the Committee on Commerce, reported that in fulfillment of the instructions of the 2d of this month they had examined the letters of Director-General's Gravesande, and the appendices concerning the attack of the Spaniards upon the Company's post in Rio Cuyuni, and that the Advocate had formulated their views in a remonstrance to the States General, which they submitted for approval to this Chamber. Whereupon, the remonstrance aforesaid having been read and the question put, it was, after discussion, resolved to approve said remonstrance as it stands, and, moreover, the Committee on Commerce were thanked for the pains they had taken, and Mr. de Chuy for the report he had made.

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No. 171.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, July 20, 1759.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 111.]

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The despatches received from Orinoco having been translated by Mr. Persik, I found one to be from the Commandant Don Juan Valdez, in which he informs me that, being forbidden to enter into any correspond-

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ence concerning the matter of Cajoeny, he is obliged to send back my letter unopened ; he adds that he has brought the matter to the notice of the King of Spain, and that he has no doubt that I, too, have informed their High Mightinesses of the same, and that, therefore, the case would have to be decided not by ourselves but by our respective Sovereigns. This matter is of very great importance to the Colony, because if the Spaniards remain in possession of Cajoeny, which is one of the arms of this river, and in which there *were*[1] coffee and indigo plantations belonging to your Lordships, as well as the estates of Old Duynenburg (now allotted to private holders), there will be no safety at all in this Colony. A way for all evil-doers, deserters, and bankrupts will be quite open and free, and the Colony will be ruined immediately there is the least misunderstanding with Spain. Your Lordships will therefore see that this matter is fully deserving of your attention. The Spaniards continue to stay where they are, and to entrap and drive away all the Caraibans living there. The latter, on their part, are not taking matters quietly, but are beginning to make a vigorous resistance, and to do much mischief in Orinoco itself. Two well-armed boats have been kept cruising up and down the river, *whereby the Spanish trade is at present wholly blocked.*[2]

The second despatch is written by order of the Government, and signed by the Commandant and the Contadoor. I am informed in this that the measure providing for the apprehension and restitution to the owners (on payment of costs) of all fugitive negroes from this Colony and Berbices has been approved.

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No. 172.

From the Proceedings of the States-General, July 31, 1759.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 383-386.]

Read to the [States-General in] session the Remonstrance of the Directors of the West India Company in the Chamber of Zeeland, acting on account of the Company in general as having the special direction and care of the Colony of the river Essequibo and the rivers pertaining thereto, setting forth that they, in the aforesaid capacity, have been from time immemorial in undisturbed possession, not alone of the aforesaid river

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For this word *were* the Blue Book has *are*.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words here italicized the Blue Book has *and the Spanish commerce has suffered a good deal.* Gravesande here means, of course, the illicit Essequibo-Orinoco trade.

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Essequibo, but also of all the branches and tributaries which flow into it, and especially of the northernmost arm of that river, named Cuyuni.

That they, the Remonstrants, in virtue of that possession, have always considered the said river of Cuyuni as a domain of this State, and have, in consequence, built on its banks a so-called post, being a wooden habitation, which they have guarded, like several others in the Colony, by a postholder, an outrunner, with some slaves.

That, accordingly, it is only with the most extreme astonishment that the Remonstrants have learned from the Director-General of the said Colony, Laurens Storm van's Gravesande, that a troop of Spaniards, reckoned at full a hundred men, had come from Orinoco toward the end of August of the last year, 1758, had attacked, overcome, and burned the said post, and, further, had carried off to Guayana as prisoners the postholder and the by-lier, as well as a creole man and woman with their children.

That the said Director-General, Storm van's Gravesande, suspecting nothing else than the said outrage was committed by a wanton troop of people, without the knowledge or orders of the Spanish Government, addressed a letter, in the first instance, dated the last day of September, 1758, to Don Juan Valdez, Commandant of Guayana, requesting in language which, though earnest, was nevertheless considerate, reparation for the said outrage, as may be seen from the copy of the Director's letter which forms Inclosure No. 1 to the above-mentioned Remonstrance.

But that he, the aforesaid Commandant of Guayana, instead of satisfying this altogether just demand, had on the contrary simply ordered to be written by one Nicolas de Castro at Cumaná an in every respect haughty and unsatisfactory dispatch, addressed curtly to the Dutch Commandant in Essequibo, as is shown by the copy of this letter which forms Inclosure No. 2 to the Remonstrance aforesaid.

The Remonstrants therefore pray, for the reasons alleged, that their High Mightinesses may be pleased to cause such representations to be made to the Court of His Catholic Majesty, that reparation may be made for the said hostilities, and that the Remonstrants may be reinstated in the quiet possession of the said post on the river of Cuyuni, and also that through their High Mightinesses and the Court of Madrid a proper delimitation between the Colony of Essequibo and the river Orinoco may be laid down by authority, so as to prevent any future dispute.

Whereupon, the above question being deliberated upon, and the Lords Deputies of the Province of Holland and West Friesland having taken copies of the aforesaid dispatches and addenda in order to become more conversant thereof, it is, without prejudice thereto, resolved as follows:

"That a copy of the said letter and the documents annexed shall be sent to Mr. van Wassenaar, Ambassador of their High Mightinesses to

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the Court of Spain, and that he shall at the same time be instructed to make this incident known in such quarters as he shall judge useful, to represent the injustice of the aforesaid conduct of the Governor of Guayana on this occasion, and to insist on prompt reparation for these said hostilities and on the reinstatement of the said Directors in the undisturbed possession of the aforesaid post, as well as to demand that the necessary measures be taken to obviate such causes of complaint in the future."

Extract of this their High Mightinesses' Resolution to be transmitted to Senor de la Quadra, His Catholic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, with a request that he will be so good as to second to the best of his ability the representations of their High Mightinesses at his Court.

No. 173.

Letter from J. L. H. de Wassenaar, Ambassador of the States-General at Madrid, to the Spanish Secretary of State, (with Inclosure), August 26, 1759.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 102-103.]

Before the undersigned Ambassador can set before your Excellency the acts which form the subject of the present communication, and with respect to which he is directed by his masters to demand due satisfaction of this Crown, he must first call your Excellency's attention to the fact that his masters have been from time immemorial in undisturbed possession of the River Essequibo, and all the little rivers which flow into it, and especially of the right arm of the said river, which flows northwards, and is called the Cuyuni; that, in virtue of the said possession, his masters have for a very long time considered the whole of the said river as a domain belonging to them, and have consequently caused to be constructed, as they have in many other places in the Colony, a wooden station, to serve as an outpost, as to which the Spanish Governors have never raised any objection, or made the least complaint, understanding that such outposts are absolutely necessary to us for the maintenance of the peace of the Colony against the raids of the savages, and are constructed with no other object.

After this your Excellency will learn with surprise that a troop of Spaniards, numbering about 100 men, came down from the Orinoco towards the end of August, 1758, attacked the said station, and at once took and burned it, and carried off with them to Guiana the master of the said post, his second in command, and a creole man and woman with their children.

Such an act of hostility appeared surprising to the Director-General of the Colony, and as it seemed to him impossible that it could have been

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done by superior orders, he first gave notice of it by a letter (of which a copy is inclosed numbered 1) to Don Juan de Valdes, Commandant of Guiana; he was persuaded that as soon as the latter was informed he would obtain full reparation from him; but so far from that being the case, the said Commandant, instead of complying with the just demands of our Director, instructed a certain Dr. Nicolas de Castro at Cumaná to answer by the letter of which a translation is inclosed (No. 2).

Therefore, Monsieur, since the said Commandant wishes to support, without any good reason, an invasion and hostilities committed upon territories properly belonging to my masters, and since their Director has not been able to obtain from the Spanish Commandant the reparation due for this act, and the demand for which is based not only on international law, but upon the good friendship and harmony reigning between my masters and His Catholic Majesty. They have directed the undersigned to communicate the above to your Excellency for the information of His Catholic Majesty, and they are confident of obtaining, from His Majesty's sense of justice and through your Excellency's good offices, satisfactory reparation for the past and orders for the future, so that they may see themselves in undisturbed possession as before of the said post on the river called Cuyuni.

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[For Enclosure No. 2, being letter from Don Nicholas de Castro, Governor of Cumana, to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, and dated November 10, 1758, see Documents from Spanish Sources, November 10, 1758.]

No. 174.

Extract from letter from the Netherlands' Ambassador at Madrid to the States-General, August 27, 1759.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 113.]

* * * * * *

I had the honour to receive by last post your High Mightinesses' Resolution of the 31st July, and, pursuant to your August orders, I gave information orally of the matter to Señor Wall, and yesterday I repeated my complaint against the Commander of Guayana by a written Memorandum thereof, and pressed for prompt reparation for the hostilities complained of. I must now await reply to the said Memorandum, but think that, meanwhile, I have fulfilled your High Mightinesses' orders; and I shall, further, not neglect to keep the Minister alive to the matter, and thereby as soon as possible seek to obtain a satisfactory answer.

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No. 175.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, September 1, 1759.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 386–387.]

* * * * * *

Time is too short for sending what you demand with respect to Cuyuni. I shall in this matter have to content myself with informing you that, Cuyuni being one of the three branches which form this river, and you having for many years had the coffee and indigo plantations in that river, and moreover the mining engineer with his folk having worked in it at the Blaauwenberg, without the least opposition, and moreover that river [being] so far on this side of Waini (which people claim to be the boundary, although I think it must be extended as far as Barima), the ownership thereof cannot be involved in the slightest question, and your right of ownership is indisputable and above all doubt.

The post which, in a manner so at variance with the law of nations, has been surprised and ruined, was situated about fifteen hours above the place where Cuyuni unites with Mazaruni. But this can make little difference; even had it lain fifty hours higher, it was a matter with which the Spaniards had nothing to do, and just as they are masters to do on their territory what suits them, even so you also are masters on yours.

And I once more have the honor to assure you that the entire security and quiet of this colony is dependent on the possession of that river, and that without it no one can have the slightest security of his property, and [that it is] therefore more than doubly worthy of the States General's and your attention. I impatiently expect your orders, whereby I shall exactly and to the letter regulate myself, and, aged and feeble though I may be, I shall quite well find means, if I am honored with your orders and only provided with some reinforcements, both in soldiers and in powder and arms, to procure proper satisfaction and to secure that place, even if it should cost my life, which I am ready cheerfully and with all my heart to sacrifice for the common good.

The map of South America of Mr. d'Anville, to which I have appealed, was at my request sent to me last year per *Essequebo Welvaeren* by the Professor, at present Rector Magnificus, Allamand, at Leyden, and was at that time the latest by that man. The boundaries of the various nations on this coast of Guiana are distinctly marked there. I had received two copies of it, but for the second time I have sent one to Orinoco by the captain of the militia, Niels Andries Schutz, who has gone thither on a mission for the regulation of the restitution of the runaway slaves, as I had the honor to inform you in my preceding letter,

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the other gentlemen proposed having declined to make that voyage, one for one reason and another for another.

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No. 176.

Extracts from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, December 3, 1759.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 388–390.]

MIDDELBURG, *December 3, 1759.*

SIR, ETC.: Although we have not as yet received in the original your letter by the *Pieter en David*, which ship is still lying in Ireland, we shall nevertheless, according to our preceding letter of May 31 of this year, proceed to answer it, following the copies thereof received through our correspondent in Cork. As to your first letter of September 9 of last year, 1758, we reply that, as soon as we had received your letter of January 24 of this year *via* Berbice, we immediately presented to the States-General a lengthy remonstrance concerning the surprising of the Company's post in Rio Cuyuni by the Spaniards. And, although the aforesaid memorial was sent by the States-General to the Ambassador at the Court of Spain, with orders to make on that subject the necessary representations to His Catholic Majesty and to insist upon a becoming satisfaction, still we fear that hardly anything decisive can be expected from it for some time, in view of the change which has taken place in the aforesaid kingdom. Wherefore we still request you to lay before us everything which in any way might be of service in proof of our right of ownership to, or possession of, the aforesaid river, because after receiving it we might perhaps present to the States-General a fuller remonstrance on this head, with a statement of facts joined thereto. For this purpose there might be of use to us especially a sketch of the river of Cuyuni, with indication of the places where the Company's post, and also the grounds of "Oud Duinenburg" and of the Company's coffee and indigo plantations, were situated, and finally of the so-called Blaauwenberg in which the miners in our pay carried on their work. We ask for this especially because in your map of Essequibo, exact though it otherwise be, we can find nothing of it all. You see, then, from this, that we are not less convinced than you of the value and consequence of the aforesaid river, and that we therefore are doing everything that can be done for the keeping possession thereof.

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Coming now to your aforesaid letter of January 24 of this year, received by us *via* Berbice, we praise the correspondence which we have carried on with the Spanish Government on the subject of the surprisal of Cuyuni. It is not a bad thing to let it be seen by such a correspondence what one might actually be able to do; but formal reprisal, however justifiable, must never be resorted to without express orders from the sovereign authority. We approve your prudence in stopping the rumor of a breach of the peace between the States-General and the Crown of Great Britain. You may be assured that, as soon as we might forebode anything of that kind (which God forfend), we shall be prompt, not only in warning you of it as soon as possible, but also in providing you with the promised re-enforcement at the expense of the Colony.

* * * * * *

We see from your letter that you make the boundary of the Colony toward the side of Orinoco to extend not only to Waini, but even as far as Barima. We should like to be informed of the grounds upon which you base this claim, and especially your inference that, Cuyuni being situate on this side of Waini, it must therefore necessarily belong to the Colony; for, so far as we know, there exist no conventions [to the effect] that the boundary lines in South America run in a straight line from the seacoast inland, as do most of the frontier lines of the English colonies in North America.

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No. 177.

Extract from letter from Storm van 's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, December 12, 1759.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 390.]

* * * * * *

The militia captain N. A. Schutz has returned rom his voyage to Orinoco. He was received there very politely and well, and has brought with him the money in payment for a few runaway slaves; but the Commandant has declined to hear anything about the affair of Cuyuni, saying that this occurred in his absence, that he has no responsibility whatever about it, and that he has been forbidden to enter into any negotiations concerning that matter, inasmuch as they have reported it to His Catholic Majesty and have no doubt but I have likewise done so to my Sovereigns, wherefore, that affair being out of our hands, it must be settled in Europe. The letters and documents received through Mr. Schutz I have handed to Mr. Ignace Courthial, with the request that he be so good as to translate them. I hope I shall receive them before closing this letter, in which case I shall have the honor to inclose them herein.

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No. 178.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, May 2,[1] 1760.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 114.]

I am in receipt of your Lordships' letter of the 3d December last, and since there has been no opportunity of writing you prior to the departure of the "Essequibo Welvaeren," I have now the honour to discharge that duty, and will first speak of the matter of Cajoeny.

I trust and doubt not that their High Mightinesses will obtain proper satisfaction for an act that is so entirely contrary to the law of nations, and I can very well understand that the death of the King of Spain must delay the settlement of the matter.

I have very little to add to what I have already had the honour of submitting to your Lordships in several of my despatches, and although I was not aware of what your Lordships are pleased to inform me, viz., that some Treaties were made which decided that the dividing boundary in South America should run inland in a direct line from the sea-coast, as is the case with the English in North America, it still appears to me (*salvo meliori*) to be an irrefutable fact that the rivers themselves, which have been in the possession of your Lordships for such a large number of years, and have been inhabited by subjects of the State without any or the least opposition on the part of the Spanish, are most certainly the property of your Lordships. I am strengthened in my view of this matter by the fact that Cajoeny is not a separate river like Weyne and Pouwaron (which last has been settled, and still contains the foundations of your Lordships' fortresses), but an actual part of the River Essequibo itself, which is divided into three arms about eight to ten miles above Fort Zeelandia, and about one long cannon shot below Fort Kijkoveral, and to each of which the Indians give a separate name—the first Cajoeny, the second Masseroeny (in which is Kijkoveral), and the third Essequibo—the principal stream below this division being called not Essequibo but Araunama by the Arawaks, the real aborigines of this country.

Although I do not doubt that your Lordships will now have received the map compiled by Mr. D'Anville, I have, in order to make the matter clear to your Lordships, copied that part of the map which relates to our possessions, and filled in with as much precision as possible the posts of your Lordships' plantation of Duynenburg, situated partly in Masseroeny and partly in Cajoeny. In Cajoeny I have marked your Lordships' coffee plantation, indigo plantation, the dwelling place of the half-free creoles (to which the Spaniards came very close), and Blauwenberg, and [the] Post which was sacked, together with your Lordships' three other Posts in Maroco, in Maykouny, and in Arinda, above Essequibo.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This date is really May 11.

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This copy I have the honour to enclose.

I am well aware, my Lords, that to undertake measures of reprisal a distinct order from the Sovereign is necessary, and I should be very careful not to take upon myself anything of the kind. Although an appearance of some such threat is contained in my letter to the Commandant of Orinoco, it has never entered my head to proceed to such extremities, because even in a case of the utmost emergency I should hesitate before authorizing the cruelties indulged in by the Caraiban nation. I only wished to show the Commandant what we could do if we were forced to it, and his Honour is well aware that what I told him is the truth.

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In my former letter sent by the "Loo" I had the honour to inform your Lordships that the matter concerning the slaves who had run away to the Orinoco was almost settled, and I doubt not that soon all will again be at rest. Trade on the river is at present (as far as such trade can be) fairly open and free.

No. 179.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, September 1, 1760.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 391.]

It gave us pleasure to read in your aforesaid letter your further remarks about Rio Cuyuni, but we could have wished that we had found among the documents the extract from the maps of Mr. D'Anville, enriched by you with the indication of so many noteworthy places and posts. But to our sorrow we have searched for it in vain, and shall therefore hope for it at the first opportunity.

Relying upon your prudence as to not resorting to reprisals (except in case of extremest need) without especial order, and expressing our gratification at seeing that the trade to the Orinoco is practically open, * * *

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No. 180.

Extract from letter from Storm van 's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, Sept. 8, 1760.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 115.]

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I immediately sent the adjutant, a sergeant, and eight of the best

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soldiers to the plantation. This party probably prevented a great many more slaves from deserting, for they took measures to have the whole sea-coast guarded by Caraibans, so that it was impossible for the slaves to get to Orinoco. What I most feared was that they might take the road through Cajoeny where, since the raid upon the Post by the Spaniards there are n o more Indians, and there was therefore no means of stopping them. Against my expectations, and with the help of Mr. Van Rode, and under a solemn promise that they should not be punished this time, they came home again. I had strong reasons for making this promise.

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No. 181.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, October 24, 1760.

[Reprinted (with correcti ons) from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 115.]

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Meanwhile, I had sent warning to *all*[1] the Posts, and had the coast guarded by the Caraiban nation, so that it should be impossible for the slaves to make off in that directi on. The road to Cajoeny was open to them, because since the raid upon the Post there by the Spaniards the river has not been occupied, and the road to Orinoco is an open and easy one.

* * * * * *

I have been obliged to send a de tachment of four of the best soldiers to the Post of Maroco as quickly as possible because the Spaniards are beginning to put their horns out again. Besides a fin e boat belonging to Mr. Persik, *which was used for the trade* [*and therefore does not come into question*],[2] they have also taken five canoes belonging to this Colony which were engaged in salting ; *on their way back*[3] they also took some canoes on this side of Barima, and thus within the Honourable Company's territory. Amongst these was the canoe of Aechtekerke and that of Duynenburg—a brand new one out on its first journey. They also threatened to deal with the Post in Maroco ere long in the same way as they had done with that in Cajoeny.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This word *all* should be omitted.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words here italici zed the Blue Book has *and used only for trade.*

[3] Note by Prof. Burr.—The meaning here is that they took some canoes which were *on their way back* from fishing in the Orinoco mouth.

No. 181.

To what will this lead, your Lordships? If such acts of violence are not stopped, what will the results be? The River Cajoeney is still unguarded, and presents an easy road to fugitive slaves. I have not yet re-established the Post there, always hoping that the matter might receive redress in Europe. I could not act in the matter without using violence, and this I would not do without special orders.

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No. 182.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, March 16, 1761.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 391-392.]

* * * * * *

The new outrages of the Spaniards in seizing the boat of Mr. Persik and the five canoes which were busy salting, have greatly surprised us; but we could have wished that you had transmitted to us circumstantial and sworn declarations as to all these things, thus enabling us to base thereon the necessary remonstrances to the States-General about that subject. We shall still hope for these, and the earlier the better, together with the reasons why you deem that everything which has happened on this side of Barima must be deemed to have occurred on territory of the Company; in order that, when we shall have examined all this, we may take further resolution as to what it behooves us to do in this matter.

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No. 183.

Extract from letter from Storm van 's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, May 28, 1761.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 116.]

On the 18th March last * * * I had the honour to send your Lordships a copy of the map of this coast, which I had forgotten to inclose in my previous letter. I hope the matter concerning Cajoeny will be brought to a happy issue, because it is really of the greatest importance for the Honourable Company. As the case appears to me, there can be no dispute about it with the Court of Spain, it being only

No. 183.

too clear and evident that the Post not only stood upon the Honourable Company's territory, but that that territory extends much farther.

I am informed by the Indians that messengers are still constantly being sent to that river, evidently to ascertain whether we are re-establishing the post, in which case they would probably again make a raid upon the same.

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No. 184.

Extract from letter from Adriaan Spoors, Secretary in Essequibo, to the West India Company, August 5, 1761.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 392-393.]

* * * * * *

In compliance with these your orders, I respectfully reply that the aforesaid boats, having been seized by those robbers between the rivers of Barima and Waini, were absolutely on the Company's coast, for this is certain (not to enter upon the various opinions which exist about the limits of the Company's domains[1]) that the river of Waini indisputably belongs to the Company.

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No. 185.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 12, 1761.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 117.]

* * * * * *

The sworn depositions for which your Lordships ask concerning the canoes captured by the Spaniards cannot possibly be made out, especially those relating to the canoes which were out salting, and which were consequently seized contrary to all right and reason. On those canoes there were no whites ; there was only one negro, and the rest were free Indians. With regard to the others, *since there is something underneath the matter and an explanation of it can possibly be given*, the whites that were captured in them are prisoners in Orinoco and are in the fortress there, *and it will perhaps be some time before they are let loose again.*[2]

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[1]Note by Prof Burr.—Literally "stretchings," "extents"—*i. e.*, the points to which their domains extend.

[2]Note by Prof. Burr.—The italicized words are not in the Blue Book.

No. 185.

After taking everything out of the Company's canoe of Aechtekerke they let it go, and it came home, but they have kept the fine new canoe belonging to the plantation Duynenburg. The latter having been captured this side of Barima I am of opinion that it was captured upon the Honourable Company's territory, for although there are no positive proofs to be found here, such has always been so considered by the oldest settlers, as also by all the free Indians Amongst the latter I have spoken with some very old Caraibans, who told me that they remember the time when the Honourable Company had a Post in Barima, for the re-establishment of which they had often asked, in order that they might be relieved from the annoyance of the Surinama *traders*[1] ; and then, lastly, because the boundaries are always thus defined by foreigners, as may be seen on the map prepared by D'Anville, the Frenchman, a small extract of which I have sent by the "Demerary Welvaeren."

These are the only reasons, your Lordships, upon which I base my opinions, because there are no old papers here out of which any information could be obtained.

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No. 186.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 28, 1761.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 117.]

* * * * * *

Everything in the upper part of the river is in a state of upset, the people who live there bringing their best goods down the stream. This is because a party of Spaniards and Spanish Indians in Cajoeny have been down to the lowest fall where your Lordships' indigo plantation *was*[2] situated, driving all the Indians thence, and even, it is said, having killed several. The Indians sent in complaint upon complaint. I fear that bloodshed and murder will come of this, because if they come below the fall the inhabitants will surely shoot upon them and not allow them to approach, and what will the consequences of that be? We leave *those*[3] people in peace. So long as I have had the honour of holding the command here I have embraced every opportunity of preventing the Indians from annoying them, and in this I have been fairly successful. Why cannot they leave us in peace? It is really insupportable how, contrary to the law of nature and the right of nations, they first come and attack our post, make prisoners and ill-treat the people in such a way that the

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For this word *traders* the Blue Book has *pirates*.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—For *was* the Blue Book has *is*.

[3] Note by Prof. Burr.—For *those* the Blue Book has *the*.

No. 186.

holder's assistant has died from it, burn down the house and all it contained, and now still constantly come *there*[1] and disturb us.

It is no use complaining because the Commandant, Don Juan Valdez, in Orinoco, whilst sending back the letter unopened which I had requested the Commandant to write to him, has written me to say that he is forbidden to enter into any written correspondence concerning the matter, and that we must address ourselves to the Court at Madrid.

If I were permitted, my Lords, to do as they are doing I would risk my old head once more and make them pay doubly for the annoyance they are causing us.

No. 187.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, November 9, 1761.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 393.]

* * * * * *

The extract from the map of Mr. D'Anville, enriched by you with indication of the post in question and of many other places, and transmitted with your letter of March 18, pleases us exceedingly. We shall not fail, when opportunity offers, to make the necessary use of it in the affairs of Rio Cuyuni, of which we are by no means losing sight.

* * * * * *

[Same to same and Court of Policy, Nov. 9, 1761; from same, p. 394.]

Furthermore, there have occurred to us various considerations concerning the trade which is carried on from the colony to Rio Orinoco. We beg you to consider whether it might not be possible, and more profitable for the Company, to direct this trade into such channels that it must be carried on from Orinoco to Essequibo, by the Spaniards; whereas it now, on the contrary, takes place from Essequibo to the Orinoco. On this point we shall await a detailed answer from you.

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No. 188.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo to West India Company, January 9, 1762.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 118.]

* * * * * *

Trade with Orinoco is going on pretty fairly, a number of mules and horses having lately come from there.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This word is here omitted in the Blue Book.

No. 189.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, January 11, 1762.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 394.]

* * * * * *

Concerning the affairs of Cuyuni we shall in the near future present a further memorial to the States-General.

* * * * * *

No. 190.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo to West India Company, February 9, 1762.

[Reprinted (with correction) from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 118.]

* * * * * *

I was very glad to see that your Lordships were pleased with my *extract from*[1] D'Anville's map. That map is not only the best, but the only one in which the coast is exactly and truly given, wherefore I did not rest until I had it, I having seen the same in the hands of His late Serene Highness, who was kind enough to show it me as soon as it was published in the year 1751. I trust that your Lordships will not lose sight of the outrage in Cajoeny. That matter, my Lords, is of the utmost importance for many very weighty reasons, and more than any one in Europe could imagine. Neither my true zeal nor the real interest I take in the welfare of the Company or Colony, nor yet my oath and duty will allow me to sit still or to neglect this matter, and even if there were no important reasons which compelled the Honourable Company to take a real interest in the possession of Cajoeny, I cannot see why we should permit the Spaniards to disturb and appropriate our lawful possessions. Have they not land enough of their own, the possession of which is not disputed? Yes, much more than they can or ever will be able to govern.

They are not yet quiet, but send detachments from time to time, which come down as far as the lowest fall, close to the dwelling of your Lordships' creoles, by which both the settlers and our Indians are continually being alarmed, and take refuge each time down stream. This is very annoying. They must have great and important reasons to make such attempts to obtain possession of this branch of our river, and I have not the least doubt that such is the case, but I hope, too, that your Lordships may find a means of stopping them.

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[1]Note by Prof. Burr.—For these words *extract from* the Blue Book has *copy of*.

No. 191.

Extract from letter from the Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company, March 18, 1762.

[Reprinted (with correction) from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 119.]

We have given careful attention to the matters which your Lordships were good enough to submit to our consideration concerning the trade which is carried on between this Colony and the River Orinoco, asking us whether it would not be possible and more advantageous to the Honourable Company if such trade were so managed that the business would have to be contracted for by the Spaniards from Orinoco in this territory instead of our people going to Orinoco, as is now the case. In reply to this we take the liberty of respectfully answering that that trade is not nearly so profitable as appears to have been made out to your Lordships. It really consists of mere bagatelles, and is considered so risky and precarious that not more than two of our settlers (Persik and Struys) carry on trade with that Spanish river. Their boats are mostly manned by Spaniards, who are intrusted with the business both in cattle and tobacco. We also consider it inexpedient to take up this business, which, by the way, is forbidden by the Crown of Spain, seeing that none of our settlers are accorded a pass to Orinoco, *or* (as your Lordships know) *can be accorded any*[1], but are only allowed to have one to St. Eustatius.

* * * * * *

No. 192.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, April 3, 1762.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 119–120.]

* * * * * *

I hope their High Mightinesses will be pleased to arrive at a favourable Resolution respecting the affairs of Cajoeny, and receive justice in this matter from the Court of Spain.

* * * * * *

The reason why I did not claim the boats captured by the Spaniards is as follows:

The settler Jan Dudonjon having been sent by me to Orinoco with special authority to claim (in accordance with the orders of His Catholic Majesty) a few runaway slaves who were prisoners there, the Commandant there, Don Juan Diaz Valdez, not only refused to give him a hearing, but forbade him to set foot on shore, ordering him to depart at

[1]Note by Prof. Burr.—The italicized words do not appear in the Blue Book.

No. 192.

once, and sending him word that he might go to Cumana, though he knew full well that if the man was not allowed to land he could not possibly get there.

Prior to this he had also returned to me unopened a letter which I had asked the Commandant to write to him. Of what use would it therefore be to take further steps? One cannot even get a refusal when the letters are sent back unopened, and the Envoys are driven away unheard.

No. 193.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo to West India Company, May 17, 1762.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 120.]

* * * * * *

From the reports received from the upper part of the river, I learn that the Spanish Indians of the Missions continue to send out daily patrols as far as the great fall (just below which your Lordships' creoles live); all the Caraibans have also left that river, and gone to live above Essequibo.

* * * * * *

No. 194.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, August 23, 1762.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 396.]

* * * * * *

Up to this time not the least answer has been received from the Court of Madrid to the memorial about Cuyuni presented by us to the States-General. In view of this, it is our intention to present one of these days a further memorial upon that subject to the States-General, with addition of what has happened since, and especially of the matter of the colonist I. Dudonjon. This further memorial will probably now be of more influence and effect, because of the war with England.

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No. 195.

Extract from letter from Adriaan Spoors, Secretary in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 25, 1762.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 120.]

* * * * * *

On the 16th of this month the Director-General returned to the fort from Demerary.

On the 17th, whilst I was attending the funeral of the late Surgeon-Major Dijkman, the Director Pipersberg came and reported to me that his salter's canoe had been seized by the Spaniards near the River of Weyne, with eight and one-half hogsheads of salt-water fish, the creole messenger, Jan Broeck, belonging to the plantation of "De Pelgrim," having fortunately escaped and come home. These occurrences do a deal of harm, and I immediately proceeded to the Director-General, and requested him to claim this canoe in the name of their High Mightinesses and your Lordships, although it was not worth half as much as the boat that was last captured from Duynenburg. His Honour promised me to do so, and I trust that it will turn out well. Acting upon some reliable information I received, I have allowed no canoe belonging to your Lordships' plantations to go out salting to Orinoco this year; but if we may not go as far as Weyne, which is your Lordships' river as much as this one, I do not know what to do in future to get food for the slaves.

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No. 196.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 28, 1762.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 120, 121.]

* * * * * *

On my return from Demerary the news arrived at the fort that the canoe of your Lordships' plantation De Pelgrim (laden with salt fish) and that of the settler, Andries Heyse, had both been captured in the mouth of the River Wayni (indisputably the territory of the Honourable Company) by whom it is not known, since none of the Indians have come home. But the salter, a creole of "De Pelgrim," who, on the approach of the attacking party, jumped overboard and swam to shore, has told us that the capture was made by the crew of a small schooner, well armed and well manned.

* * * * * *

The Postholder of Maroco has come up stream and has reported to me that he been warned on three different occasions by the Warauws of Trinidad that it is the intention of the Spaniards to make a raid upon that Post, and has asked for reinforcements.

No. 196.

The garrison being extraordinarily weak, and finding myself compelled to send at least eight men to Demerary, I was unable to give him any men, but instructed him to engage one or two mulattos for three months at soldiers' wages if he could get them, telling him that I would provide them with arms and ammunition ; in such cases these people are better than soldiers, for they can make their way through the bush and speak the Indian languages.

The Indians round the post are continually asking for guns and cutlasses ; as it is impossible to spare these now I am compelled to ask your Lordships to send me a parcel of good guns and cutlasses. These will be urgently required, especially if the piracies continue, in which case we shall be obliged to employ the Caraiban nation, who cannot or will not fight without guns.

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No. 197.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 29, 1762.

[Reprinted (with correction) from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 121.]

The Indians have also informed me that the Spaniards up in Cajoeny are engaged in building boats. *Where will all this end,*[1] my Lords? I fear that this may lead to the entire ruin of the Colony (which God forbid) unless rigorous measures are taken. Our forbearance in the matter of Cajoeny makes them bolder and bolder. At the time of that occurrence the Caraibans were full of courage and ready for all kinds of undertaking ; now they are all driven away from there and have retired right up into Essequibo.

No. 198.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, November 6, 1762.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 121, 122.]

The Postholder of Maroco being here, as I had the honour to inform your Lordships in my last, I gave him a despatch to the Governor of Trinidad, with orders to send the same by Indians of that island as soon as possible.

Instead of executing that order, I understand from his assistant, who came here on the 14th September, that he has not even returned to the Post, but that he is staying up in the bush through fear of the Spaniards, and that he had sent to the Post for his belongings.

* * * * * *

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words here italicized the Blue Book has *what can all these things mean.*

No. 198.

On the 11th September, the Caraiban nation unexpectedly sent messengers down the river, inquiring how matters stood with the Spaniards, saying that they would certainly not allow the latter to obtain a footing here, and that they were ready to aid us with all their might.

I answered them that there was no great danger yet, it being only one small pirate who was causing this commotion, but I requested them to be good enough to keep their arms and boats ready to come down at the least warning, and that in such an event we would provide them with powder and shot. This they accepted and promised.

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No. 199.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, February 22, 1763.

[Reprinted (with additions) from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 123.]

* * * * * *

I could greatly wish that your further memorial to the States-General might finally have the desired effect, and that an end might be reached of that matter, for which I very much long. But could you not find it good that meanwhile, without the least violence, possession should be again taken of the post in Cayuni?[1]

But do your Lordships not think that we might, meanwhile, and without exercising the least violence, again take possession of the post in Cajoeny, and place a subaltern officer there with ten or twelve men as a guard, against which I do not think the Spaniards would dare to undertake anything? I take the liberty of recommending this to your Lordships' serious consideration as a matter of great importance both for the Honourable Company and for the Colony, several slaves having already run away in that direction, and the Colony lying open on that side to all Spanish undertakings.

* * * * * *

I shall not fail to address myself to the Spanish Government in future in case anything happens. But, my Lords, if letters are sent back unopened, and they are treated as my last one to the Governor of Trinidad was treated in Orinoco, I see no other advantage in doing so than that which your Lordships are pleased to mention—that it forms a better ground upon which further claims may be based. The gentlemen there are so ridiculously grand that they took it as an insult that I sent them a sergeant on the former occasion, and they asked whether no better qualified persons were to be found in this Colony.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The passage in italics is not in the Blue Book. It is here reprinted from a foot note (No. 10) in U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 1, pp. 387–388.

No. 200.

Extract from letter from L. L. van Bercheyck, Commandeur in Demerara, to West India Company, March 10, 1763.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 398.]

* * * * * * *

Concerning the second article I have the honor to say to you, that the coast has been drawn so accurately and so well by Mr. D'Anville, that I could not make an improvement upon it; nevertheless, I am willing, when making a map of the river Essequibo, to put in the seacoast up to Barima, in order to make the map the more sightly. I need three years in order to make it accurate and good, * * *

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No. 201.

Extract from letter from the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, July 7, 1763.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 399–400.]

* * * * * * *

You receive, however, by this ship twenty soldiers, the expense of which we will bear. Our intention is that, so long as the present danger lasts, you employ them for increasing the garrison of Rio Demerara, or wherever you shall think they may be of use for the greater security of the colony.

However, when the danger shall have entirely ceased, we should like you to employ 10 or 12 of these men for manning the post in Cuyuni; but it seems unadvisable to us to do it sooner, to avoid getting into hot water on two sides at the same time.

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No. 202.

Extract from letter from Secretary in Essequibo to West India Company, July 12, 1763.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 125.]

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The uncertainty of how they would be treated by the Spanish is the reason why I have this year sent no boats belonging either to the Company or to myself out salting to the coast of Orinoque. The slaves are, therefore, obliged to make the best of what I can give them.

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No. 203.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, September 27, 1763.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 126.]

* * * * * * *

Beginning with Essequibo, I will first mention the Posts, or so-called trading-places, four in number, of the Honourable Company.

The first is Maroco, situated between this river and Orinoque, under the direction of which are the Rivers of Powaron and Weyni, full of Indians of the Caraiban, Arawak, and Warouw nations, whose help is always required, both by the Company and by private salters and traders, and who have also to be kept in a continual sort of subjection in order to prevent the escape of runaway slaves, and to facilitate their capture.

Also, the road of the Spaniards hither [1] leads past this Post, so that no one can go that road without the knowledge of the Postholder, who therefore, if he wishes, can generally get to know what is going on in Orinoque. This Post was of very great importance when trade was still carried on there for the Honourable Company; it then furnished orange dye and boats, and since the cessation of the trade there is a great want of the latter.

On the other side of the river is the second, namely, Maycouni, between Demerary and Berbices. The chief use of this Post just now is really to keep possession of the country, for without it Maycouni would already have been inhabited some time from another side, concerning which matter I had the honour to write fully some years ago.

Formerly this Post used to furnish a considerable quantity of orange dye and boats, as is to be seen in the old business books.

The third is Post Arinda, above Essequibo, really intended for the trade in red slaves and dye and for the further exploration of the lands and nations of the interior, as well as to prevent the slaves making off in that direction.

The fourth, and last, is the still abandoned Post in Cajoeny, abandoned since the *raid* [2] of the Spaniards, a Post of the very greatest importance, because the Spaniards, in order to get to this river, and the slaves in order to escape to them, have a free and open road, and *the more so* [3] because the Spaniards have driven away the Caraibans who lived there, and who could apprehend and bring back the runaways.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words here italicized the Blue Book has *The road to the Spaniards.*

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—The Blue Book makes this plural, *raids.*

[3] Note by Prof. Burr.—These italicized words are here substituted for *also* of the Blue Book.

No. 204.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, October 18, 1763.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 126.]

* * * * * * *

It is certain, your Lordships, that this [is] not the time to think of the re-establishment of the Post in Cajoeny. That matter will give us plenty of work to do when, with the blessing of God, all is at rest and in peace, because, the Spaniards having driven all the Indians out of the river, it will be no small matter to get [all][1] the necessary buildings, *etc.*,[2] in readiness there.

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No. 205.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, June 18, 1764.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 402.]

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* * * the hope of a larger and safer trade with the Orinoco is a matter which we count very advantageous for the colony, and it cannot, therefore, but give us pleasure. * * *

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No. 206.

Extract from Letter from Storm van 'sGravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August, 1764.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 128.]

* * * * * * *

I think that trade with Orinoque will now be fairly easy, because our boats not only go to and fro unchecked, but only last week two Spaniards came to me with formal passports from the Governor to come here. Essequibo was not expressly mentioned in them, but the neighbouring Colonies of friends and allies, which is equivalent.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This word in brackets should be omitted.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—This italicized word does not here appear in the Blue Book.

No. 207.

Extracts from a Memorandum (by van's Gravesande) concerning the West India Company's Trading-places.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 130–131.]

* * * * * * *

Strange as it may seem, it is known but little or not at all that the great River of Masserouney, lying between the Essequibo and the Cajoeny, runs south-west right into the interior of these lands; that it is by no means so dangerous in falls as the two others, there being only one place where it runs under a very large rock about a few miles long; and that it was navigated and found to be without danger by the colonist C. Finet. The colonist E. Pipersberg is the only man to my knowledge who has been any distance up the river in pursuit of thirteen of his runaway slaves.

* * * * * * *

3. The third Post was on the River of Cajoeny, which river, like that of Masserouney, mostly runs in a straight south-westerly direction, after having first flowed for some miles in a westerly one; according to the unanimous testimony of the Indians, these Rivers Masserouney and Cajoeny have their source in a large lake or inland sea as the Indians call it, which lake is inclosed by high mountains, inhabited by vast numbers of Indians, who, through fear of the Spaniards, allow no strangers to come into their country, it being related that already two detachments of Spaniards sent into those parts to make discoveries have been beaten and massacred.

Whether this lake is the Lake of Parima or that of Cassipa is not yet known.

Now, this Post was, as is known, attacked in a treacherous manner contrary to the law of nations, and contrary to all Treaties, by the Spaniards of Guajana in the year,* with a detachment of 100 men, the Post-holder and his assistant being taken prisoners to Guajana, and from there to Comana, the buildings at the Post being destroyed and burnt. The reasons that they had for such unlawful proceedings must be best known to themselves, because they can have not the very least shadow of a claim to possession, or it must have been the chimerical pretensions of the priests in these parts that the whole of America belongs to His Catholic Majesty, and that all other nations hold possession merely *precario*, and by permission.

So that they must have had entirely different reasons, and which must be of great consideration to authorize such an excess—which reasons can very well be guessed, but not being certain about them, I will pass over them in silence. The same reasons which made the Post of Arinda above Essequibo of importance and utility also exist here. In addition to this,

* Blank left in the original. The year was 1758.

No. 207.

there is also the fact that [the bend of]* [1] this river is a tract of land along which the Spaniards spread themselves from year to year, and gradually come closer by means of their missions, the small parties sent out by them coming close to the place where the Honourable Company's indigo plantation stood, and being certain to try and establish themselves if they are not stopped in time.

* * * * * * *

4. There now remains only the Post situated on the sea-coast between Essequibo and Orinoque, in the Creeks Wacquipo and Maroco, not far below the River Powaron, which creeks have an inland water communicating with Powaron, as also with the River Wayna, which has one with the River Barima, which are all navigable in the rainy season, and thus of very great use in furthering commerce both with the Indians and *especially*[2] with the Spaniards, all who do not sail in very large ships having to pass the Post on their journey from Orinoque. The trade of that Post formerly consisted mostly in boats and orange dye, of which last it used to yield a very large quantity, though now it sends none.

* * * * * * *

The holder of this Post could make a large fortune if he was a man to look after his own interests, because in addition to the trade with the Indians in hammocks, boats, salt-fish, slaves, and other Indian merchandize, which is not without good profit, all the Spaniards who come here with mules, cattle, tobacco, hides, dried meat, &c., pass the Post, and stop there for a few days to refresh themselves and their animals. If he kept a stock of the things that the Spaniards required, the latter would be very pleased to buy them there, and not be obliged to go further. This fact it is easy to grasp.

* * * * * * *

The Rivers Masserouney, Cajoeny, Powaron, Wacquepo, Maroco and Weyni, &c., surpass this one so greatly in the matter of fertile lands that not the slightest comparison can be instituted.

* * * * * * *

If we ever desired to follow the example of the English and French, the Posts of which I have spoken would be absolutely necessary and indispensable, and (be it said) if this matter is not taken in hand, our neighbours will quietly approach and surround us, and finally, without exercising any violence, drive us from the country. This is already beginning to be observed, and what can we expect from the numerous arrivals of settlers in Cayenne and the removal of *the Spanish colonies*[3] in Guayana so much

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* Note in Blue Book.—There is an erasure here in the Director-General's own handwriting which makes it rather doubtful how he finally intended these words to stand.

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This is an impossible rendering and cannot be admitted.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—This italicized word does not here appear in the Blue Book.

[3] Note by Prof. Burr.—For these italicised words the Blue Book reading is *Spanish people and plantations.*

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nearer to our boundaries? The latter go to work openly, like a proud nation, and they can therefore be better opposed, an open enemy never being so dangerous as a secret one.

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No. 208.

Extracts from letter from Storm van 'sGravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the Governor of Surinam, August 18, 1764.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 403–404.]

* * * * * * *

A boat of the plantation La retraite etc. having found out that several Surinam rovers, provided with passes by you to go to Barima to trade, instead of obeying these, tarry indefinitely in this colony and therefore evidently are only trying to cheat their creditors in Surinam, I shall make them all go away.

* * * * * * *

At this opportunity, since I am speaking of this, I take the liberty to inform you, that your naming in those passes the river Barima causes complaints from the Spaniards, who, maintaining that that river is theirs, wherein I believe they are right, have already sent some of these passes to the Court of Spain.

In all the passes which I issue I set down only permission to pass the posts and to go among the Indians to trade, without naming any place, and, it being set down in the instruction to our postholders that they are commanded to respect your passes, this[1] can very well be avoided.

And this the rather, because, having here grave reasons for complaining of the Spaniards, which were long ago brought before the Court by the Dutch Ambassador, I could wish they had not the slightest pretext, for things have already gone so far that I foresee that when I carry out the orders I have received (for which I am beginning to make the necessary preparations) it might before long easily come to deeds.

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No. 209.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, December 28, 1764.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 134.]

* * * * * * *

I have received a report from the few colonists who still reside in the upper reaches of the rivers that a few weeks ago they had seen a white man with a few Indians proceeding down the falls of the River Cajoeny

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—*I. e.*, this mention which gives the Spaniards annoyance.

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and proceeding up the River Masserouny. I reproached them very much for not apprehending and sending the man to the fort, and expressly charged them that if they caught sight of others they should immediately apprehend them and send them to me, which they promised to do.

There is something behind this, my Lords; these are spies who come and get all the information they can, and I fear that some trouble or other is brewing on the side of Cajoeny.

Whatever trouble I have taken, and whatever promises I have made, I have not been able to get any Indians up to the present to aid me in re-establishing the Post in Cajoeny, and without their help it cannot be done, because with slaves it is not only too costly but also too dangerous, so that I am in great difficulties with this work, and the re-establishment of that Post is, in my opinion, of the greatest necessity.

* * * * * * *

Thus, what with the French on the east and the Spaniards on the west, we are really like a little boat between two men-of-war.

I shall not attempt to give my masters advice in a matter which it is in no one's power to prevent or to circumvent. My only aim in this is to respectfully submit to your Lordships what is our humble opinion concerning this in all our Colonies situated on the mainland, and our well-grounded fears concerning the consequences.

I, for my part, see no remedy for this matter except by populating the Colony and establishing good Posts in the interior, from which a sharp and careful look-out can be kept upon all movements.

* * * * * * *

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 404.]

* * * * * * *

In this emergency I have again had a talk with Van der Heyde about Cuyuni. He has told me that the Indians were won over to be helpful, but that they wished in that case to be assured also of protection against the Spaniards.

* * * * * * *

No. 210.

Extract from Title page of Register of the Colony of Essequebo and Demerary (1764).

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 135.]

Register of the Colony of Essequebo, Demerary, and the dependent districts.

Situated on the north coast of South America, at 7° north latitude and 42° longitude from the creek Abari on the east to the River Amacura on

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the north, comprising the Rivers Demerary, Essequibo, Powaron, Weyne, and the great creeks Maykouny, Maheyka, Wacquepo, and Maroco, being a stretch of land along the sea-coast of about 120 mijls of 15 in 1° belonging to the Chartered West India Company of the United Netherlands, under the administration of the Chamber of Zeeland.

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No. 211.

Extract from letter from Storm van 'sGravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, February 3, 1765.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 135.]

* * * * * * *

Friendly relations with the Indians are certainly of the greatest necessity to the Colony; the dangerous circumstances in which we found ourselves, and the loyalty shown and assistance rendered at that time by the Caraibans and Acuways, have given convincing proofs of what advantage their friendship and how injurious their enmity might be to the Colonies. Notwithstanding this, many of our colonists do not hesitate to ill-treat and oppress these people in every way. Your Lordships would not believe how I am troubled by the complaints of these people; within a fortnight I have had more than ten of them who came to tell me their grievances, and only this morning I had three.

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No. 212.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 13, 1765.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 136].

Having left Essequibo on the 1st June, I arrived at Demerary on the 3d. I thought that I should again be prevented from undertaking this journey, as I had already been prevented on four consecutive occasions, because a few days before my departure I had received tidings from Upper Masserouny that the Caraiban nation was at war with that of the Acuways, and that the latter had massacred all the women and children in a Caraiban village on the Masserouny.

Not without some reason did I fear that we should again be mixed up in this as we were a few years ago, especially through the indiscretion of some itinerent traders and avaricious settlers, who, without taking any heed of the consequences, allow themselves to be drawn into these quarrels upon the slightest inducement of profit, supporting one or other of the parties either with arms or with advice, which being discovered by the

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other side always leads to fatal results, and might be of great danger to the Colony itself.

* * * * * * *

I was obliged to send the Postholder of Maroco away from here very quickly, because the Indians of Pomeroon came to the fort to report that some canoes filled with Spaniards were in the Pomeroon, and because a letter came from his assistant informing us that some murdered Indians had been found in the Itaboes.[1] I charged him to go and inquire into these matters as speedily as possible, and, if necessary, to immediately send to Mr. Bakker, who would then send him assistance. The creole belonging to your Lordships sent up the river to spy out has also returned. This bold fellow has been as far as the Spanish Mission, pretending to be a runaway. He stayed there for a few days, and brought some pictures of saints back with him in order to prove that he had been really there.

* * * * * * *

He also says that preparations are being made to establish a new mission between Cajoeny and Masserouny, that is, in the middle of our land.

Should this happen we shall be compelled to oppose them with violence, because the consequences of that could only be harmful, and would finally result in the ruin of the Colony. This is certain, that so long as no satisfaction is given by the Court of Spain concerning the occurrence of the Post in Cajoeny, the Spaniards will gradually become more insolent, and will *gain ground on us*[2] from year to year.

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No. 213.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 13, 1765.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 405.]

* * * * * * *

I have as yet forgotten to inform you that your creole who has been up in Cuyuni at the Spanish mission there found your creole named Ariaen, who was carried off a prisoner along with the postholder and bylier at the capture of the post by the Spaniards. He is at present head smith at the mission. Is it not hard, sirs, that one must look on patiently at such robbery and endure it?

* * * * * * *

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—That the Spaniards really had nothing to do with the murder appears from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 410. That the Spaniards were in the Pomeroon, however, as stated, need not be doubted.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words here italicised the Blue Book has *encroach upon our ground.*

No. 214.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, September 19, 1765.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 405–406.]

* * * * * * *

We fully approve the reprimand which you have given to those people who saw some Indians with a white man going in a boat down the river Cuyuni and up the Mazaruni, and yet did not arrest them and bring them to the fort; and likewise the recommendation and orders given by you in that connection; for foresight and precaution, as well as prudence, are necessary and useful.

We are entirely of your opinion that it is of the greatest necessity to restore the post in Cuyuni, and in consequence we were very much pleased to learn that you had at last succeeded in getting Indians to give a helping hand in that work, on condition that assurance should be given them of protection against the Spaniards. This it was easy to promise them.

* * * * * * *

No. 215.

Report of J. F. Dorst, Postholder at Maroco, to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo October 3, 1765.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 137.]

Having this morning received your Excellency's letter by the negro, I immediately sent out for as many Indians as were to be got. I have just sent Scharlemijn with Bel Roose to Weyne and Barima, as far as the mouth of the Orinoco. [If] at sea he should accidentally run into one of the two rivers because there is nothing to show which Orinoque is, they may probably have some chance of concealing their boat, and immediately have me warned.

I am lying between the mouth of Maroco and Boueron (Powaron), so that I can see everything that passes the sea-coast. If I had had a Dutch assistant I would have gone myself, and would have left P. V. Meere at the Post with a little boy. This is all that I can tell your Excellency; as soon as I have tidings I will let your Excellency know at once; in all probability they have already passed Maroco.

No. 216.

Extract from the memorial of the shareholders of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company to the States-General, November 26, 1765.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 407–408.]

* * * * * * *

In addition to what was there set forth, we shall in this connection remark about Demerara in particular, that it is situate between the two extremest trading-places or posts in Essequibo, namely, the one, to the

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North, on the river Moruca, and the other, to the South, on the river Mahaicony; both of which rivers, as well as the others situate between, pertain to that Colony; which of course shows undeniably that Demerara is one and the same Colony with Essequibo.

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No. 217.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, December 2, 1765.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 409.]

* * * * * * *

We were glad to see, though we expected nothing else from your customary prudence and foresight, that you intended, with all proper circumspection and attention, to keep a watchful eye upon the movements of the Spaniards, and to take proper measures against them, in case this should become necessary. Still, we are of opinion that the friendship and help of the Carib nation would, under such circumstances, be to us of uncommon utility, and might even bring us profit; for which reason we strongly recommend that you cultivate it.

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No. 218.

Extract from letter from Storm van'sGravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, December 13, 1765.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 410.]

* * * * * * *

The reason why the postholder of Moruca had to depart from here so suddenly, as I had the honor to inform you in one of my former letters, was the uproar caused by a murder among the Indians, the bylier thinking that certain Spaniards had had a hand therein.

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No. 219.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, December 27, 1765.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 412.]

* * * * * * *

Thereafter it has always gone thus, and since the surprising of the post in Cuyuni I have never received one word of answer to all my letters; some have even been sent back unopened.

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No. 219.

Messrs. Van der Heyde and Backer went up the river on the fourteenth, not only to investigate what was reported before, but also because I have received a secret report that all the Company's half-free creole men and women intend to desert to the Spanish missions up in Cuyuni, so as to be entirely free.

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No. 220.

Extracts from letter from Storm van 's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, January 18, 1766.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 188–189.]

* * * * * * *

According to the reports of the Spanish Indians, it is only too true that there is a desire to establish new Missions in Cajoeny and above Cajoeny, but now that a beginning was to be made on the 1st with re-establishing the Post, I hope that an end will be put to all these encroachments. I have already engaged a Post-holder who is well acquainted with Indian languages, and as soon as some of the buildings are ready I will give him a commando of one under-officer and six men to begin with until it is well established; but I have some trouble in finding six Protestant soldiers, it being of importance that no Roman Catholic, and especially no French, be sent there, because they are not to be trusted at all, and more than half the garrison consists of Frenchmen.

* * * * * * *

I beg your Lordships to be good enough to carefully examine the soldiers that are sent us in future. Pray do not let us have any more French, and as few Roman Catholics as possible. The Commandant cannot find six Protestants for the Posts in Cajoeny, and we dare not trust Catholics to go there. What is to be done?

* * * * * * *

No. 221.

Extract from letter from Storm van 's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, April 6, 1766.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 414.]

* * * * * * *

At the same time I shall write to the Governor of Orinoco concerning the state of affairs in Barima, which would become a den of thieves, a gang, rag-tag and bobtail, of our colonists staying there under pretense of salting, trading with the Indians, felling timber, etc. They live there like savages,

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burning each other's huts and putting each other in chains, and I fear that bloodshed and murder will yet come of it.

The west side of Barima being certainly Spanish territory (and there is where they are staying), I can use there no violent measures to break up that nest, not wishing to give any grounds for complaint; wherefore I think of proposing to this Governor (who is daily being more highly praised for his friendliness to all foreigners) to carry this out hand-in-hand, or to permit me to do so, or as and in what manner he shall consider best.

* * * * * * *

No. 222.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, May 30, 1766.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 415–416.]

* * * * * * *

Furthermore, the Court forbade that any one hereafter stay in Barima and charged the Postholder of Moruca to see that this is carried out, because in time this would become a den of thieves, and expose us to the danger of getting mixed up in a quarrel with our neighbors the Spaniards.

* * * * * * *

"It is a crying shame that, no matter what pains one takes, one can get no faithful Postholders. If only those fellows can get rum, they never trouble themselves about anything else."

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No. 223.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, June 19, 1766.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 418.]

* * * * * * *

It is good, we admit, that the other Indian who was brought by Tampoko and found to be a spy of the Spanish missions, was placed in custody; but we strongly doubt whether he will be kept securely enough and not find means to escape. But, as from his deposition and that of the other Indians it seems we must deduce that the Spaniards really have the purpose to establish new missions in and beyond Cuyuni, we believe that further delay in erecting the said post is absolutely inadmissible, if we expect those insidious approaches to gain no more ground, but effectively to prevent them. And, in order to assure ourselves of the desired success from that post, we believe with you that the command of six men and a Sergeant, which you would add to the Postholder already engaged, should consists of Protestants, for the reasons alleged by you, and we likewise

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think necessary the laying-out of a bread-plantation there, and hope that without any prejudice to the Company the Council may thus have resolved after consultation with you.

* * * * * * *

No. 224.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, September 8, 1766.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 419-420.]

* * * * * * *

The arrangements made by you to have the creole Tampoko live henceforth at the first fall in Cuyuni, in order the better to be able to keep a watchful eye upon all the movements of the Spaniards, has our fullest approval; and, if it should come to the worst, which, however, we would prefer not to see happen, we agree with you that it would be a great point to be able to rely upon the aid of the Caribs.

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No. 225.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, September 25, 1766.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 420-421.]

* * * * * * *

But in one of your preceding letters you told us that the place about the Barima, where some scum and offscourings of folk were staying together and leading a scandalous life, was Spanish territory, and that you intended to have Mr. Rousselet, who was going on a mission to Orinoco, submit some propositions to the Spanish Governor for the extirpation of that gang. And now you inform us of your having sent thither the Post-holder of Moruca with positive orders, probably *propria authoritate* without any concurrence of the aforesaid Governor, inasmuch as Mr. Rousselet had not yet departed thither on his mission; and we cannot quite make this tally with the other. If that place is really Spanish territory, then you have acted very imprudently and irregularly; and, on the other hand, if that place belongs to the colony, and if you had previously been in error as to the territory, in that case you have done very well, and we must fully approve of your course, as also of the Court's Resolution that henceforth no one shall be at liberty to stay on the Barima. But, if the Court has no jurisdiction in that place, we foresee little result from that Resolution; *extra territorium suum jus dicenti enim impune non paretur.*

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No. 226.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, October 1, 1766.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 141.]

* * * * * * *

The Postholder of Cajoeny will in the beginning of September (the water now beginning to fall) proceed up that river in order to build dwellings and lay out bread-gardens, with the assistance of the Indians, after which the work there will be properly regulated.

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No. 227.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo and Demerara, to West India Company, December 3, 1766.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 141.]

* * * * * * *

The Postholder of Cajoeny is, according to the latest reports, lying ill at the Post. This is a great pity, because he makes great progress in his work, and we should lose a great deal in him. But sickness is the fate which overtakes all, without exception, who proceed up the Cajoeny for the first time, especially in the dry season, which still continues.

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No. 228.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo and Demerara, to West India Company, December 8, 1766.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 141–142.]

* * * * * * *

I have (so I have reason to believe) found a competent Postholder for Cajoeny in the person of Pierre Martin, formerly a Corporal in the service of your Lordships. I have engaged him at the rate of 16 guilders per month, and have given him provisionally two assistants, who are well acquainted with the Indian language, each to receive 8 guilders per month. I dare not trust any of the soldiers here to go there, for reasons already given in my former letters. He is at present engaged in putting up the dwellings and in bringing the Post into some order, and has some Caraibans with him, whose number I shall greatly increase when sufficient bread has been planted and things are in a better state.

According to the report of these same Indians, the Spaniards have captured and carried off your Lordship's creole, Tampoko, together with

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an Indian slave belonging to my daughter, who had gone with him to buy birds and other things from the Indians up in Cajoeny; some of these Caraibans even assert that the Indian slave has been killed.

* * * * * * *

Your Lordships having done me the honour to inform me that your Lordships had decided upon a garrison of forty men for the Colony (really much too little for the two rivers) I asked for no recruits, but now that more than half of the garrison have served their time and are asking for their discharge, I take the liberty to ask your Lordships for a reinforcement of twenty-five men and one drummer. If there were a good competent constable or two among them they would be of the greatest use, for such men can really be ill dispensed with.

Herewith I will again reiterate my request that no French or Flemish be sent, but as many Protestants as possible. The proximity of the Spaniards, and especially of the Spanish Missions, renders it impossible to place the slightest trust in Catholics.

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I hope that the exploring and spying parties of the Spaniards in Masserouny and Cajoeny will come to an end, and will be effectually stopped by the Post in Cajoeny.

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No. 229.

Extracts from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, March 9, 1767.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 422–424.]

* * * * * * *

The transferring[1] of the post in Cuyuni, as also the work at the Fort, appears to us to advance rather slowly, and we shall be glad to learn that both these tasks, in accordance with the hope which you give us thereof, are at last finished.

* * * * * * *

Meanwhile it will be necessary to await what are to be the consequences of the promises of the Governor of Guayana, given solemnly and on his word of honor, and whether, accordingly, the runaway slaves will be sold as slaves, and the money resulting therefrom be handed to you *ad opus jus habentium;* for we believe that all further representations for the restitution of the runaway slaves themselves will be fruitless, both in America and in Europe, especially those which you seem to think might be made to the Spanish Ambassador or Minister at The Hague. For repeatedly, and again quite recently in the latter part of last year, the most urgent representations in behalf of this State were made to the Court of Spain, with

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—It is not impossible that this word is here a slip of the scribe for *herplaatsen*, "replacing."

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regard to the extradition and return of the slaves who at various times have run away and even now are almost daily running away from Curaçao to the coasts of Cora, and also for the purpose of regulating and establishing such extradition in connection with all the colonies of the State; but the only result has been that the extradition asked for was declined under pretext of religion, it being alleged that the Courts of England and Denmark with regard to all their colonies, and that of France with regard to Martinique, were in the same position.

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No. 230.

Extract from letter from Storm van 'sGravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, March 20, 1767.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 143.]

* * * * * * *

I am fully acquainted with the rule, *Extra territorium suum jus dicenti enim impune non paretur;* but it is not applicable to the Resolution of the Court in this matter, because—

1. The east bank being in our jurisdiction, the Court can enforce its order there.

2. Because I think that the Court certainly has the power to forbid its citizens and colonists to go to any places when such is considered to be inexpedient or dangerous for the Colony.

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No. 231.

Extract from letter from Storm van 'sGravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, March 23, 1767.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 144.]

* * * * * * *

I am anxious to have some tidings from Cajoeny, because I received a note from Director Van der Heyde yesterday in which he informs me that the creole, Tampoko, had been to see his son at Old Duynenburg, and had reported that he had heard from a few Indians that a party of Indians had been sent by the Spanish Mission to make a raid upon the Post, and had completely sacked it, and that he was going to find out how true that was. That Post is a terrible eyesore to the Spaniards, and there is no doubt that it stands in the way of their attaining some important aims. As soon as I have reliable tidings I shall deliberate with the Court what is to be done in the matter.

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No. 232.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, March 27, 1767.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 426–427.]

* * * * * * *

Therefore (please do not take it amiss that I express myself so frankly—the importance of the matter forces me to it), if it is desired to prevent the ruin of the colony, the three following points should be taken into serious consideration and be put into effect as soon as possible:

1. To insist with the Court of Spain upon redress for the grievances, and ask there for measures to make the chiefs obey the commands of His Catholic Majesty, for they really laugh at them.

2. Two good, armed, and well-manned coast-guards, one in the mouth and one outside the river, to put an end to all the desertions.

3. The fortifying of Demerara, in order that nothing go out of that river without been seen.

And, if no redress can be obtained at the Court of Spain, to use reprisals against the missions, situated on our frontier, even on our territory; I think they would then be brought to reason.

This is concisely what I think it my duty to propound to you.

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No. 233.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 27, 1767.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 428.]

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From my preceding letter you will have seen that the post in Cuyuni is already in order (except a few soldiers).

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No. 234.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo to West India Company, June 27, 1767.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 144.]

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At the same time I received a report from the Post in Cajoeny that the Indians are being bribed and incited to such a degree that they are unwilling to do the least thing for the Postholder, and that *even*[1] when he orders

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This word does not here appear in the Blue Book.

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the passing boats *to lie to*[1] to see whether there are any runaways in them, they obstinately refuse to do so, and when he threatens to shoot upon them they reply that they have bows and arrows with which to answer.

Therefore the reinforcement[2] of these two Posts, Cajoeny and Maroco, becoming a matter of greater necessity every day (*there*[3] being, indeed, *periculum in mora*), I hope that some good soldiers, and especially Protestants, will be sent by the "Laurens en Maria."

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No. 235.

Extract from the Statement of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company to the States-General, July 28, 1767, in reply to the Memorial of the Shareholders of the Zeeland Chamber.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 432–433.]

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The second reason why there is no foundation for the claim of the Zeeland Shareholders, that the silence of the Representative and the Directors as to the alleged addition of the oft-mentioned words "and adjoined or appurtenant rivers and places" implies an acknowledgment that under this term Demerara must also be included, and that therefore from our side consent has been given to the surrender of that Colony, consists herein, that the natural meaning of the expression "Essequibo and adjoined or appurtenant rivers" is *not* that which the Zeeland Shareholders attribute to it (namely, that all the places which are situate on the mainland of the so-called Wild Coast, between the boundaries which the Shareholders themselves have arbitrarily and without giving any grounds therefor defined as extending from Moruca to Mahaicony, or from Rio Berbice as far as the Orinoco,—that all such places are "adjoined, appurtenant to, and inseparable from" the Colony Essequibo), but, on the contrary, only this, that under that description are comprehended the various channels and rivers, originating from Rio Essequibo or emptying into it, which are marked on the map, such as, for instance, Cuyuni, Mazaruni, Sepenouwy, and Magnouwe.

For the words "adjoined, appurtenant to, and inseparable from" can be applied only to that which has with the thing to which one seeks to attach it a direct and essential connection, either through express contracts, and explicit compacts or through a natural and inseparable dependence, in such manner that, as a lesser portion of a greater whole, it must be deemed to be an *accessorium quid rei principalis.*

Now, this is not the case with Demerary with relation to Essequibo;

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The translation as here given differs from the Blue Book.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words here italicized the Blue Book has *The fortification.*

[3] Note by Prof. Burr.—*These* in Blue Book.

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for there exist no special contracts or compacts through which the owners of Essequibo have also acquired the ownership of Demerara.

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No. 236.

Extracts from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, August 24, 1767.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 434, 436.]

* * * * * * *

We join you in hoping that the wandering and spying of the Spaniards in Mazaruni and Cuyuni may have been stopped through the new post in Cuyuni.

As to taking efficacious measures against the running away of slaves to Orinoco and elsewhere, we are as much as anybody convinced of the necessity thereof; but in our missive of March 9 of this year we have already told you how little result we were expecting from any representations or requests here in Europe, in view of the reception given at the Court of Spain to the representations at the request of the Presidial Chamber, Amsterdam, regarding the slaves absconding from Curaçao to the coasts of Cora. However, in order that we may have nothing wherewith to reproach ourselves, we have appointed a committee to the Pensionary of this province to report to him about the condition of affairs, that he may, when opportunity offers, lay it before the meeting of the provincial Estates and bring it about that the deputies to the States-General be instructed to urge in that body that Mr. Doublet van Groeneveld be sent word to make the most vigorous representations to His Catholic Majesty, to the end that the slaves escaping from Essequibo *cum annexis* to the Spanish colonies may be returned, as always hitherto has been done till within a few years, etc.; and this is all we can do here.

* * * * * * *

You have done very prudently in ordering that nothing be undertaken against the Spanish mission in Cuyuni, but that a watchful eye be kept upon all the actions of the Spaniards, for so small a beginning may often give cause for reprisals of a much more serious nature. We likewise approve of the hint which you caused to be given in your name to the Caribs, namely that they must not molest the Accoways subject to the Company, which warning we trust has been effective. In the meantime we heartily hope that the rumors in regard to that post, communicated to us by your letter of March 23, may have been found untrue, inasmuch as we consider that post as of very great concern to us, for which reason we also most seriously recommend to you its preservation.

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No. 237.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, September 21, 1767.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 438–439.]

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We hope that you have found means of bringing to naught the evil designs of the Spaniards against the post in Cuyuni; and, however persuaded of the necessity of strengthening both that post and the one in Moruca, we have nevertheless been unable to send by this ship a greater number of soldiers, having had trouble enough to find available shiproom for these few.

By a subsequent ship we shall again try to send some good soldiers, and, as we informed you in our ample missive, to continue doing so from time to time until the garrison shall reach its full quota of 50 men and shall be in proper order.

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No. 238.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to the Officers of the Militia in Essequibo [1767].

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 439.]

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* * * Moreover, you well know, or should know, that there are a considerable number of roads for the runaways which the barks cannot close, and how long the road through Cuyuni has been open, as a result of the attack of the Spaniards and the destruction of the post there, in which river there are no longer any Indians and the postholder can hardly maintain himself, through Pomeroon, over land, and many more.

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No. 239.

Extract from letter from Stormvan's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, December 9, 1767.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 149.]

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As I could not leave the Post at Maroco without some defence I have provisionally and *ad interim* sent one Diderik Neelis there until I could get a good Postholder.

It is unfortunate that no competent person can be found here for places of such an importance to the colony; they are nearly all men whose drinking habits would make them unfit for such a post.

The one in Cajoeny is no better than the rest because he is asking to be placed elsewhere, saying that he cannot live there because the place is un-

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healthy. This is only a pretext, because he looks very well indeed, and there must be something else behind it which I have not yet been able to find out; but it is a hard and fast rule in this colony that when anyone has an honest and competent servant all kinds of deceit are practised to seduce him and entice him away, a thing that has happened in the Honourable Company's service more than once.

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No. 240.

Extract from letter from J. C. van den Heuvel, Commandeur in Demerara, to West India Company, December 17, 1767.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 150.]

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I fear for the day after to-morrow; no resolution will be come to without disputes, because I have heard from outside sources that I shall be sore put to it, and placed in great difficulties how and in what manner I shall be able to protect the upper portion of this river; the citizens are unwilling to go on commando, asking why they should pay an annual poll-tax and duties, &c., if they have to defend themselves. I can send no soldiers because I have only 10 men, with which I have to guard two posts, and I am, moreover, destitute of all that a soldier requires when he goes out on commando. I hope the Caraibans will be successful in their undertakings, otherwise it looks very black for this river, for what can we expect from unwilling citizens in time of danger? Nothing but great disorder and confusion; in addition to this there is a lack of everything, and even in the storehouses of your lordships. Not six weeks ago I was obliged to buy nine and a half casks of bacon for the monthly rations, there being no meat either in Essequibo or here.

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No. 241.

Extracts from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, December 28, 1767.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 440, 441.]

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But we drop this subject and say that in our oft-mentioned missive of 21 September we have already affirmed our full persuasion of the necessity of strengthening both the post in Cuyuni and that of Moruca, and that we could heartily wish that you might find means for bringing to naught the undertakings of the Spaniards.

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The description which you give us of the Governor of the Spanish Colonies and his dealings affords us no favorable idea of the bloom and prosperity of those colonies. The good God preserve ours at least against such and the like, for in that case we should think their total ruin impending.

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No. 242.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, February 9, 1768.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 151.]

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In the same despatch in which the Commander informs me of the arrival of the ship "The Flying Fish" I find these words:—"There are twelve soldiers on board who are again good recruits for Orinocque because they are nearly all French." Mr Lonk, who came over as a passenger, has assured me that they are all French, and that with the exception of one or two they are all Roman Catholics. Can it be possible that your lordships are so deceived by the recruiting agents? I shall have them closely examined, but as I have received no muster roll I do not know how they are described.

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No. 243.

Extract from letter from J. C. van den Heuvel, Commandeur in Demerara, to West India Company, February 18, 1768.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 152.]

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I was very pleased, my lords, on reporting the arrival of the twelve men to the Director-General to hear from him that, according to your lordships' letter, they were all Protestants and that there was not a Frenchman, Fleming, Portuguese, or Spaniard amongst them. But when I mustered them I found to my great surprise that out of these twelve men there were only three who were not French, these being the corporal, who comes from Utrecht, and has served in the State troops for some years, and a German, a native of Zweibrucken, and a French deserter. The others are all French deserters, so that I conclude that your lordships have been scandalously deceived by the recruiting agents, who are infamous scoundrels.

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No. 244.

Extracts from letter from Storm van'sGravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, April 9, 1768.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 153.]

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The desertion of a serjeant and a few men would (especially in time of peace) be scarcely noticed in Europe, but here it is an entirely different

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matter, our colonies here on the coast having on the one side restless neighbours who cannot long remain still, and on the other side the Spaniards, who have already given us and still give us so many reasons for suspicion that we can really not be careful enough. In Suriname such deserters are received but immediately sent to Europe by the first departing ship.

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In Cajoeny it is now quiet so long as it lasts; I wish I had a competent Postholder for that river.

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No. 245.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 1, 1768.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 154, 155.]

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The principal fishery, my Lords, has always been in the mouth and between the islands of Orinoque, near the Warouws, to which we send salting markott twice every year. This has never been prevented until recently, to the inexpressible injury of the Company's plantations and Colony, because there now being a want of that fish, and the slaves being obliged to have their rations, salt cod has continually to be bought, which even in one year runs pretty high, and sometimes brings me into difficulties with the payment. Only this week I paid over 300 guilders to Captain Andrew; the twelve casks of meat which each plantation gets annually are of little use, and 1,000 lbs. of fish is soon gone.

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The Posts are now in proper order; those at Maroco and Cajoeny ought to be strengthened; but Roman Catholic soldiers ought not to be sent there, and we have, so to say, no others. I should otherwise certainly have sent reinforcements to Maroco, because our rascally deserters have arrived in Barima with a few Spaniards and have robbed the Widow la Riviere of all her slaves and property. This did not matter very much, because I had strictly forbidden Jan la Riviere to settle between Essequibo and Orinocque, and for greater security I had this inserted in his pass; he was also forbidden by the Court to settle in Barima.

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It is of the utmost necessity that we should have Protestant soldiers. I am certain that your lordships are convinced of the necessity of this, but how little hope there is of getting them I see from the last shipment which, with the exception of about four, consisted of none but Catholics, and from your lordships' letter I can only conclude that your lordships have been greatly deceived.

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This ties my hands completely, and nothing can be done at the Posts, which are daily exposed to pillage; the Postholder cannot absent himself for a few days, let alone for a few weeks, as he would have to do to make any discoveries.

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The garrison of the two rivers ought to consist of at least a hundred men (as it does in Berbices), but if they are to be Catholics it would be better to remain as we are, and even less, since the proximity of the Spaniards is a standing danger of desertion, and if the opportunity were embraced by many at once it would have fatal results for some plantations. This was very much feared when those seven deserted together, and we do not dare to send anyone after them, not only on account of the smallness of our numbers, but because it is feared that those who are sent would join the runaways, especially if they have a good boat and provisions.

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We are at present in very precarious circumstances, the Acuways and Caraibans being now in open war which will probably bring about a great massacre shortly.

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No. 246.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 6, 1768.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 156.]

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Things are now really becoming serious, my lords. Last night an express arrived from Berbices reporting that the Caraibans above Berbices having been defeated by the Acuways, a body of six hundred Caraibans had passed the fort there and together with several other bodies had taken the road to upper Demerary and Essequibo, so that now our Caraibans of Essequibo and Masseroeny will take up arms and the war will become universal. The Lord knows what the results will be; I do not expect much good from it.

No. 247.

Letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, September 15, 1768.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 156–157.]

A report which I received after the closing of my letters compels me to add these few lines. A Spanish privateer from Orinocque cruising along our coast made an attempt to capture your lordships' salter before the River Wayni (indisputably the Company's territory) and fired very

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strongly upon him. The latter was cautious enough (not being able to escape otherwise) to run his boat high and dry upon the bank so that he could not be reached by the privateer who, having continued to fire upon him for some time, and seeing that he could do nothing, finally departed.

They are not content with most unreasonably keeping our runaway slaves and with hindering us from carrying on the fishery in Orinocque, which we have always been free to do, but they now wish to prevent us from salting along our own coasts, and will in this manner and by closing our river and no boats will dare to go out any more. Is this proper behaviour on the part of our neighbours and allies?

Must we, my lords, regard all this quietly and endure all these insults and hostile acts? Must we see our Posts raided and ruined and our boats attacked upon our own coasts? What is to be the end of this? There is no redress to be got from the Court of Spain. Why not exercise the *jus talionis?*

The Caraibans of Barima were here last week and complained that some of our deserters with a party of Spaniards were continually molesting them in Barima and robbing them of everything. I asked them whether they were not men and had no hands to defend themselves. They answered, "Indeed, they had," but that they did not know whether they might do so. I replied that they must indeed be careful to give the Spaniards not the slightest reason for complaint but that if they were unjustifiably attacked they might stoutly defend themselves. This pleased them very much, because I had not yet been willing to grant them so much liberty.

We have discovered that at the same time that the corporal and three soldiers ran away from Demerary to Orinocque there was a plot formed here by a party of Frenchmen to take to their heels. We were warned just in time, whereupon the Commandant immediately had all the boats secured as far as possible and sent warnings to Duynenburg and all the neighbours. The desertion was thus prevented, but it is only for a short time; they will watch their opportunity and even if they went away before our eyes, in a manner of speaking, what could we do? To have them pursued would be going *ex Scilla in Charibdim*, for the pursuers would very probably join them, and the more so because they would be well armed and well furnished with provisions.

Therefore, my lords, be pleased not to take it amiss if as long as I have the honour to be in your lordships' service (which I trust will be but a short time) I send back to Europe by the first ship all recruits who come here and turn out to be French. Necessity compels me to do this, and I would no longer be answerable to God or man for the danger into which the Colony would be brought by this. The colonists, especially those down in the river and on the sea-coast, are unceasingly complaining that they are continually compelled to be on their guard, and really they have great reason for doing so.

No. 248.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, November 9, 1768.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 157.]

The beginning of this letter will not be pleasant, because I am obliged to inform your lordships that in the night between the 5th and 6th of October, four French soldiers ran away from the Fort here to Orinocque, as I had expected, and as your lordships will have seen from my former letters. They have taken as a companion, and apparently as a leader, one Servaes Smith, whom Mr. Massol had taken from the ship "Zeeberg" in place of another sailor after paying fifty guilders into the bargain; he had driven Smith from his house a few days before the desertion of the latter, for what reason I do not know.

The Commander of Demerary made a very good guess when he wrote to me on the arrival of the last transport, "There are again some good recruits for Orinocque." In this way they will not require any recruits from Europe, if they are so well provided by us.

This matter is really getting more dangerous for this colony every day, because the rascals are employed upon the so-called coast-guards and privateers of which I wrote in my last letter, and it has been reported to us by Spaniards themselves that the aforesaid deserters openly threaten that they will not only make a raid upon the Post in Maroco, but that they will also pay a visit to a few of the lowest plantations. Certainly not to pay their respects to the owners, as their mode of life in Barima plainly proves.

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According to a report received from the Postholder of Maroco yesterday the Governor of Orinocque is in the mouth of that river with one large and one small boat, both armed, and it is reported that he will stay there for two months, for what reason or object I do not know.

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No. 249.

Extracts from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, November 28, 1768.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 447, 448.]

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Also, instead of the salt cod, which, because of the stopping of the fishery in Orinoco, and of the scant catch on the seaside, has now been bought from the English, might there not be sent from here to the colony, a greater quantity of stock fish than we have sent heretofore?

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In the meantime the loss to the colony of the fishery in Orinoco causes us no slight regret, but we know no means of redress against this, unless the people in the colony itself should be able to suggest some means of retaliation.

Against the desertion of the slaves from the colony to Orinoco we also know no other means of provision than the projected coast-guards, concerning which we have more than once expressed ourselves at length.

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We agree with you in deeming an adequate garrisoning of the various posts of the colony to be of the highest importance, but, as for the sending of Reformed or Lutheran soldiers, we have again to refer to our preceding letter. Up to this time we have not been able to obtain any Reformed soldiers, not even any Germans, although we have given abundant orders to all lodging-house keepers.

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No. 250.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, February 21, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 159.]

I have just received a report from Mr. Van der Heyde that our runaways have taken the road to Cajoeny and are therefore lost. The Caraibans have reported to that gentleman that the Spaniards have established a mission not far above the Post in that river, and yet another in a creek a little higher up, flowing into the Cajoeny, both of which have been strongly manned.

It is finished now, my lords; neither Postholders nor Posts are of any use now. The slaves can now proceed at their ease to the Missions without fear of being pursued, and we shall in a short time have entirely lost possession of the river Cajoeny.

Must we allow all this to go on before our eyes? The natural result of this must infallibly be that the river Essequibo will gradually be ruined and abandoned. If we had shown our teeth when, contrary to the law of nations, they attacked and destroyed the Post in Cajoeny, and when we had the power in our hands, it would never have gone so far as this, but all action was then forbidden me. The proverb says, "Whoever turns himself into a lamb will be eaten by the wolf." I have thought it well to give your Honours notice in haste of this occurence so untoward for the Colony.

Remaining with deep respects,

(Signed) L. STORM VAN'S GRAVESANDE.

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No. 251.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, February 21, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 158, 159.]

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The loss of the fishery is most injurious to the colony; it was hoped that it might alter with the change of Governor, but the present one has totally ruined it by driving the Warouws out of the islands into the mouth of the Orinocque, and a great number of them have taken refuge in Barima.

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The nation of the Caraibans, my lords, are looked upon as nobles among the Indians. It is a very good thing to have them as allies or friends, for they render excellent services, but they are formidable enemies, capable of more bravery and resistance than one would think. When their principal or great Owls come to me, they immediately take a chair and sit down, and will eat and drink nothing but what I have myself, and they call me by no other name than that of "mate" or "brother." A good way up the river there are several villages of that nation which white people have never seen. These are well populated, and the inhabitants get what they want through those of their nation who deal with us. We can rely upon them as friends in case of need. My brother-in-law, Van Bercheyck, who is not afraid of trifles, once visited a village of that kind up the Weyne, but he told me that he was never so much afraid in his life as when he saw 200 Caraibans surrounding him armed with their bows and arrows, and although it was an extraordinarily profitable journey, and he had exchanged about 50 hammocks and two slaves, and had been invited by the chief to return in the following year, he declared to me that he would not undertake it again for four times as much.

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No. 252.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, March 3, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 159, 160.]

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In my second letter by the "Vrouw Anna," I had the honour to give your lordships a hasty account of the dangerous position of the river

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Cajoeny; since then I have given express commands that one of the two assistants there should proceed up the river as far as possible, or as far as he could go without any danger; that he should make a very careful inspection of the situation of the Spanish Missions, and that he should get the Indians to procure him an exact account of their strength, and further particulars. If possible, he was to bring down one or more of the Indians living at those missions, and I also gave orders that they should be well on their guard at the Post against surprise parties (which, according to all appearances, will very probably be undertaken before long), and that they were to come and report to me as speedily as possible.

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But this is certain, that the road for the runaways is now quite open and free, it being impossible for the Post in Cajoeny to stop them, there being a number of inland paths; nor can we be warned in any way by Indians, there being no more of these in that river. They did begin to settle there again when the post was re-established, but the raid made by the Spaniards last year, when a large party of Indians were captured and taken away, has filled the rest with terror, and they are gradually drawing off.

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There is not a single negro belonging to the Honourable Company who is not perfectly acquainted with the road, your lordships' plantation of Duynenburg being situated at the corner of Cajoeny.

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No. 253.

Extract from letter from J. C. van den Heuvel, Commandeur in Demerara, to West India Company, March 10, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 160.]

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There is no one, your lordships, who is more convinced how advantageous and necessary the friendship of the Indians is to this colony, because so long as we are fortunate enough to have them living around us we are quite safe inland and have nothing to fear concerning the desertion of our slaves. I therefore neglect no possible opportunity of cultivating the friendship of the same and of protecting them from all the ill-treatment and tyranny of the whites as far as it is expedient to do.

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No. 254.

Letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to J. C. van den Heuvel, Commandeur in Demerara, March 10, 1769.

[Reprinted (with correction) from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 160.]

I have this moment received a report from Mr. Buisson that the Spaniards are carrying off the Indians from Maroco and have made themselves masters of the Post. What will come of this? If the ships are not yet gone, inform their lordships of this and send them this letter. Order the *lookout watch*[1] and the plantations below to be on their guard; the plantations here have already been warned by Buisson. I have no direct report yet. I shall send a letter viâ Barbadoes or Saint Eustatius as soon as I have a direct report.

No. 255.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, March 15, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 161.]

I have written, by special messenger, to Demerara, to the Commandant, and ordered him to warn his *lookout watch*[2] and all the inhabitants below to be well on the look-out, and at the same time that if, contrary to expectation, the ships the "Vrouw Anna" or "Geertruida Christiana" had not put out to sea, to send to your Honours my letter to him, as the time and circumstances permitted me to write not even to your Honours, more especially as the bad news received was transmitted by no other channel than that of a free Indian, from whom no certain or sure information is obtainable.

In my previous despatches I had the honour from time to time to inform your Honours of the secret doings of the Spaniards and especially in my second letter by the "Vrouw Anna," and in my letter by the "Geertruida Christiana," did right circumstantially concerning the fatal and, for the Colony, most highly-perilous news of the River Cayuni. My opinion has always been that they would gradually acquire a foothold in Cayuni, and try to obtain the mastery of the river, as they now practically have done at the end of the past year.

But I should as soon have expected heaven to fall, as that they, in so high-handed a manner, openly (as if in open warfare), in breach of the right of nations, in breach of all Treaties of Alliance with his Catholic Majesty, should attack us from another side, and have the audacity to go to work as if they were sovereigns of this whole coast.

The 10th March I received two consecutive letters from Councillor M.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words here italicized the Blue Book has *light-house keeper*.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words here italicized the Blue Book has *lighthouse service*.

No. 255.

Buisson, which gave me information that an Indian named Adahouva, from Pomaroon, had come to his house and related to him that the Spaniards, with two Capuchin Fathers, a detachment of soldiers, and a large party of armed Waykiers, were capturing and taking away as prisoners all the free Indians between Barima and Pomaroon, and that they had actually overpowered the Company's trading place, Marocco, and that they were now there, but that he had as yet no further knowledge of the circumstances. On the 11th came the assistant from Marocco with a letter from the Postholder. From his written Report, copy whereof is here annexed, your Honours will perceive to what pitch the insolence of our neighbours goes.

Your Honours can now see what consequences indulgence and patience have; this causes me no surprise. I have long foreseen and expected it; however, I could not presume that they would have dared to undertake so bold a deed.

* * * * * * *

They have captured and taken away all our people that were on the sea-coast. The salter of Luyxbergen has luckily escaped them, but his Indians, his vessels, two large canoes and three single canoes, which he had got by barter, they have taken away. *They*[1] of Duynenberg returned back early in the morning.

The alarm in the river is great. If they come to Pomaroon as they have threatened they can be in three hours overland in Essequobo, and can ruin our lowermost plantations.

May I ask once more whether all this must be borne quietly and whether your lordships' patience has not yet come to an end? With me it is *Patientia lesa tandem furor fit.*

What can I do with such a small garrison? The burghers are not yet ready for service—the letters to the burgher officers calling them together on the last day of March have been sent off—the general meeting is at hand, and there is *periculum in mora*—three clerks are continually at work writing commissions, instructions, and orders, but everything is so spread about that it will take twelve or fourteen days before everyone can be warned.

With the exception of the rebellion of Berbices this is one of the most critical matters I have been in during my long years of service. Had I the power and were my hands free I should not feel embarrassed and would be willing to risk my gray head in the affair.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—*He* in Blue Book.

No. 256.

Letter from Derl Neelis, Postholder in Marocco, to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, March 7, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 162]

I beg to report to your Excellency that on the 27th February a Spanish vessel came into Marocco and to the Post, there being upon it two Fathers, twelve soldiers, and a party of Weykiers with small canoes (the vessel was provided with eight swivel guns, and on the forecastle a 4-pounder piece), coming to fetch Arowakas and Warouwas; and they have caught a whole party in Wayne and Marocco, yet there are many who have fled inland through the warning of an Indian who had run away from Wayne; and we knew of nothing until a Father came to the Post. He, however, did nothing to us at the Post, and I spoke to the Fathers, saying that such acts were not permitted on Dutch ground and territory. They stated, in reply, that they did not know that, and that they had orders from their Governor. Whereon they in the evening departed down the river, repeating they were going in the other direction; but far from that, however, they have there searched for Indians, and finding none, burned some houses and broke small canoes.

Thereupon they came up stream again on the 2nd March with a noise that so frightened my wife that she took to flight into the forest with her maids, and in haste caused some goods to be saved.

Coming to the front of the Post with a burning piece of wood, the Fathers came on shore with their black corporal, who immediately asked where were the Indians whom they had seen, and where my wife was. I replied that the Indians were at their house, and that my wife had fled in terror. But they said, "Your wife is in the forest with the Indians," and that it was our fault they had found no people; thereat the corporal was angry, and said they would also take my people; but if I would say where my wife was, that they would leave my wife one maid; but they seized immediately one maid caught under the gallery, and trailed her to the boat, and I was then obliged to show the way. They have taken my two female slaves with their children, two free maids—one boy of mine is still missing. There was a pistol shot fired near my wife's people; now I know not whether they have shot the boy or no. My wife, who luckily came from their path without being seen, is at the Post half dead with fright. My wife prayed for our two maids with their children, but that was of no assistance. They have removed property of mine, worth quite 100 guilders, that they found outside; but in the house they touched nothing.

Your Excellency should please consider what spirits we are in. My poor little possessions carried away before my eyes, and the Indians that were inland so dispersed, that the one knows nothing of the other. According to the report of one Indian, the whole of Wacquepo and Corey has entirely fled.

No. 256.

There is a man gone after the runaways of Mr. Volskow; he has luckily caught them, and when here, coming into the Savannah of Marocco, the Spaniards took him, loosed the slaves, and placed the fetters on him and the others with him. But a boy having run away from Miss Persik, came and told me this, and also that they will come again to come and fetch the Indians of Pomaroon and the remainder of those who were here.

The negro, J. Breek, his vessel and people, are taken, but he has fled. Mr. Trotz's creole Adrian is taken. They have plundered Joseph Wolff. Jan Domburg they have had twice. Further, I humbly request your Excellency that, if it be possible, I may again have my people who have been taken away, especially as they have done the Post no harm, and they keep bad people away. The Indians here entreat a helping hand of your Excellency to save their freedom, that they may again have their captured friends, seeing that they do not dwell on Spanish soil.

We sat here for about four days as if we were on an island. No cook, no maid, and still I can find nothing of which to make a little bread. I fear that all the Indians of the Marocco coast will depart. I can see that the Spaniards' object was that we should make some resistance, in order to take us, or that we should abandon the Post. That is why they came with such a force. But that I could not do, and resistance was impossible for us. I hope your Excellency will be pleased to send me orders what to do, and what may be left undone. I am sending also P. Velmeere, that he may quickly return, and inclose a note from the Fathers, the contents whereof I cannot understand. Further, I have nothing more to inform than to remain with all submission and esteem.

No. 257.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, April 4, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 163, 164.]

* * * * * * *

Having had the honour to write to His Highness and to your lordships circumstantially *vid* Barbadoes and Suriname (copy of which is herewith) concerning the unheard-of and crying outrages of the Spaniards of Orinocque, your lordships can easily imagine that the alarm in the lower reaches of both rivers and on the sea-coast was very great.

Councillor Buisson had asked me to send him some gunpowder in order to be able to give the alarm signals to the citizens in case of need. His plantation being situated at the lowest point of the island of Arouabiesjes, and thus having a view right out to sea, he was best situated to be able to see and to discover everything, wherefore I immediately sent him a barrel of fifty pounds.

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No. 257.

[*March* 16, 1769.]

But, my lords, allow me to ask what is now to be done to get food for your lordships' slaves? The salting is now entirely stopped, not alone in the mouth of the Orinocque, where we had carried on the fishery from time immemorial, but there are neither canoes nor corrials to be got for the plantations or the Fort along the whole of the sea-coast, and we are shut in on all sides. I must now, *nolens volens*, buy from the English, or allow your lordships' slaves to go without rations, and what the results of that would be your lordships can easily imagine.

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No. 258.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, April 4, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 452, 453.]

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* * * Jan La Riviere (the same who against the absolute prohibition of the Court had gone with his slaves to live in Barima, and, he having died there, the Spaniards have robbed his widow of everything, she being now returned again into this colony), * * *

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No. 259.

Extracts from Order issued by Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 164.]

Provisional instructions for the captains, captain-lieutenants, lieutenants, and ensigns of the respective burgher troops in Rio Essequibo.

* * * * * * *

The east coast, under the white flag, begins at and includes the plantation Zeelugt, belonging to Mr. J. B. Struys, and extends right away to the top and comprises Leguaan Island, Vlaggen Eyland and Varken Island.

The west coast, under the orange flag, extends from the topmost plantation to the sea-coast as far as there are plantations, and comprises the islands Wacquenaame, Aruwabisje, Trouille and further islands not specified under the white flag.

DIVISIONS.

East coast or white flag.

All the islands belonging thereto except Vlaggen Eyland, Division of the captain-lieutenant.

Vlaggen Eyland and the east coast from Borrassierie to Bonassiekie. Division of the lieutenant.

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From Bonnasieke upwards. Division of the ensign.

West coast or orange flag.

From the topmost plantation Nieuw Brandenburg inclusive and Trouille Island. Division of the captain-lieutenant.

The further islands belong to the division of the lieutenant.

From the plantation Nieuw Brandenburg exclusive to the sea-coast is the division of the ensign.

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No. 260.

Extract from Letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, May 1, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 453.]

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No more than you are we able to divine the reason why the Governor of Orinoco in person should remain stationed with two armed boats in the mouth of that river. Here in Europe, at least, we do not hear of the least rupture, and perhaps the state of feeling in Orinoco is the only cause of it.

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No. 261.

Extract from letter from M. Buisson, Councilor in Essequibo, to the Director-General in Essequibo, May 1, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 453–454.]

ESSEQUIBO, *May* 1, 1769.

SIR: Your Excellency now being at Demerara and glad perhaps to have news about this our west coast, I use this opportunity of my boat's going out to the *Jean Daniel* to inform you that as yet I hear there no tidings of the Spaniards.

Meanwhile, a fortnight ago last night, my wife being at church and I and Kaeks on the plantation Vilvoorde, there was a great panic in Ituribisi, through the Indians' own fear that the Spaniards had come through Pomeroon and seized Jan Baptist and burned his house and were kidnapping the Indians; all those who lived in Ituribisi fled down-stream upon this rumor. I cannot well relate to Your Excellency all the circumstances of the affair in this letter; I cannot help saying, however, that when I heard these things on my way home, it gave me inward pain to think how pitiful would be our situation if there were ever to happen either an incursion by these robbers of Spaniards or a [slave] revolt, like, for example, that in our

No. 261.

neighbor Berbice. Yes, pitiful it would be, with such timorous inhabitants.

As for the Caribs, they are, it seems, abandoning their land Barima, coming every day up to Essequibo, a great number have gone up, and more are going up to-day, and they will then begin their customary murderous performances above.

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No. 262.

Extract from letters from Jan van Witting, acting Postholder in Cuyuni, to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, May 5, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 454–455.]

Your Excellency: This is to inform Your Excellency that I have heard from a Carib that the Caribs of the Mazaruni were coming down with this flood to carry off the Caribs of Cuyuni to the Mazaruni, and were also coming to the post to kill me and Gerrit van Leeuw; they will come down in large numbers according to what I heard from the Indians. It is my intention, Your Excellency, to remove the post to an island Toenamoeto, lying between two falls, and on that island the post will be better and healthier. I have already commenced to make a clearing there. Herewith I beg to request Your Excellency for the goods which I have laid out for the honorable West India Company. I beg to ask Your Excellency for 3 guns and 2 blunderbusses or 1 and powder and shot and some flints.

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No. 263.

Extract from letter of J. Backer, Commandant at Fort Zeelandia, to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, May 7, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 166.]

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Yesterday evening Bont received a letter from Mr. Van der Heyde, in which that gentleman informs him that the Indians up there have told him that the Post in Cajoeny had been attacked by the Spaniards; that Jan Wittinge had been killed, and Van Leuwen carried off. Mr. Van der Heyde at the same time states that he is doing his best every day to hire Indians to send up the river in order to see whether this is true, but has up to the present not been able to persuade any Indians to go. If this be true it is insufferable, and it is too bad that a cat should allow itself to be eaten up by a small mouse. If we only had the soldiers we would make them pay for it well.

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No. 264.

Extract from letter from the Court of Policy and the Director-General in Essequibo to West India Company, May, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 164–165.]

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The unexpected invasion of the Spainards, so incompatible with the law of nations and the treaties of alliance, calls for your lordships' most serious consideration, and requires a speedy resolution for redress. Not only is the colony exposed to the greatest danger from Cajoeny up above, and from the sea coast below, the plantations being continually open to pillage and plunder (amongst which plunderers the principal are your lordships' runaway slaves, to whom all the paths, holes, and corners are known), but our fisheries both in Orinocque and on the sea-coast have been entirely knocked on the head and lost, and your lordships' Post at Maroco has been entirely ruined, all the Indians who still remained having fled, and none now remaining round or near the Post; those in Pomeroon have also departed and abandoned their dwellings, with the exception of the Caraibans, who hold their ground, and whom up to the present they have not dared to insult.

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No. 265.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo and Demerara, to West India Company, May 12, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 165, 166.]

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What a pity it would be if such a flourishing colony (such as this is now growing) were to be ruined by rogues and pirates, as must inevitably be the case if no powerful measures are adopted to resist the pirates from Orinocque and make them abandon their expeditions!

According to the last reports from the Postholder and from the Caraibans, they are still all in Barima, having sent their prisoners to Orinocque, and they threaten to come again at an early date, and not only carry off all the Indians from Powaron, but even to attack and plunder our plantations.

It is not enough for them to protect our runaway slaves and to refuse to give them up, but they arm these very slaves and use them to attack and plunder us, for it is known with certainty, my lords, that the runaway slaves from Aegtekerke were with them and that it was they who most urged them on.

Yesterday evening I received a despatch from Director Richter informing me that an Owl with twelve Caraibans had come to the Fort from Barima, and that he had considered it best to send him immediately to me so that I might hear his report myself.

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The said Owl being narrowly examined by me, through the medium of a very good interpreter, told me that the Spaniards in Barima, having been reinforced by another boat, had at last attacked the Cariabans themselves, captured several of the same, carried them off, burnt their houses and ruined their plantations; that they continued to make raids all around and along the sea-coast, and that they were making preparations to come to Powaron, and that they said that when they had finished there they would come to Essequibo and attack the plantations and even the Fort itself.

I regard the latter as a vain Spanish boast, but they are quite capable of doing all the rest. Things have now actually reached such a stage that we can return violence with violence, but is it not a sad thing, my lords, that we have such a weak garrison and not six men among them upon whom we can place the least reliance? To send a small detachment of twelve or sixteen men down would really be to *risquer le tout pour le tout*, for if they were all disloyal, as is only to be expected from Frenchmen and Catholics, and went over to the Spaniards all would be lost, because not the least reliance is to be placed upon the citizens.

So that, since the outlook is daily becoming blacker for the colony, it is high time to make some provision, and as there is great danger of total ruin it is highly necessary that powerful and speedy measures should be adopted to prevent the same.

I asked the Cariaban Owl this morning whether the Cariabans were no longer men and whether they had no hands with which to defend themselves, whereupon he replied, "Indeed, they have; but the Spaniards have guns, and we only bows and arrows. Give us rifles, powder, and shot, and we will show you what we are." Even had I been inclined to do so I could not, having no further supply of these than just sufficient for the garrison.

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Yesterday I received a letter per express from Commandant Backer, which I take the liberty of enclosing.

In this your lordships will find the report from Mr. Van der Heyde concerning Cajoeny. If the news be true (which I can scarcely believe), then things are going badly, and there remains no other alternative but to adopt measures of violence or reprisal. The depredations of the Spanish from Barima to Powaron continuing daily, we must acknowledge that they are capable of anything, and that we must expect all kinds of violent and piratical acts from them. The poor colonists on the west coast below Essequibo are in a terrible state of alarm, and are on the lookout night and day.

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POSTSCRIPT.—I have the honour to send herewith a letter from Director Richter, and one from Van Wittinge, the assistant at Cajoeny. From the latter your lordships will see that the news from Cajoeny is not yet cor-

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roborated, and also whence that report came, and in what a dangerous state that Post is. I have requested the Commandant to give him what he can, with the exception of the blunderbuses, of which we have none. *This is, however, the best weapon in such cases.*[1]

No. 266.

Extracts from proceedings of the West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 457–461.]

[*June* 26, 1769.]

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One from the Director-General in that colony, Mr. Laurens Storm van's Gravesande, dated April 4 of this year, containing advices, and, among others, confirmation of the undertakings of the Spaniards from Orinoco against two of the Company's posts in Essequibo, described more fully in a letter from the Director-General to this Chamber dated March 15, 1769.

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Whereupon, after reading and discussing the letters aforesaid, it was resolved: to put them together with the Addenda, in the hands of the Committee on Commerce, that the Committee may examine them and report to the Chamber.

And this, notwithstanding, after further discussion it was moreover resolved: that the letter from the Director General Mr. Laurens Storm van's Gravesande to his Serene Highness the Director-in-chief, joined as inclosure B. to his said letter to this Chamber, be without delay transmitted to His Highness; and that H. S. H. be at the same time requested to transmit to the Chamber copies of the Addenda accompanying said letter, and to inform the Chamber whether His Highness would think it expedient and seasonable to address the States General in this matter.

And the Advocate is requested to prepare the letter to that effect, and also authorized to cause it to be transmitted without further cognizance [by this Chamber].

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Received and read a dispatch from His Serene Highness [the Prince of Orange], Governor-General and Director-in-Chief, written at Soestdijk the 7th of the current month in reply to Their Honors' letter of the 26th ultimo, stating that His Serene Highness learned with much regret the danger to which the colony of Essequibo was exposed, in its so slight state of defence, through the hostilities of the Spaniards; that, as His Highness judged that the conservation of the American possessions in general, and that of

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For the words here italicized the Blue Book has *the best of our guns having fallen to pieces.*

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the colony aforesaid in particular, was of the most extreme moment for the Republic, it was with His Highness' fullest approbation that Their Honors would address themselves regarding this matter to their High Mightinesses and make to that high authority such request and urgent appeal as was indicated in Their Honors' letter aforesaid of the 26th aforesaid, and the earlier this were done the better; that for this object His Serene Highness was sending the desired copies of the Addenda which had been inclosed in the despatch of the Director-General to His Serene Highness; that His Serene Highness would not omit efficaciously to second with his favourable support Their Honors' request and urgent appeal before their High Mightinesses.

Whereupon deliberation being had, it was approved and decided to request the Advocate, as was hereby done without further action being required, to be good enough, the earlier the better, to draft and submit for approval an address to their High Mightinesses, in Their Honors' name, complaining of the various acts of hostility undertaken by the Spaniards against the Company's posts in Essequibo, and, in addition, of the hindrances by them caused to those of Essequibo, as well in the fishery on the territory of the Republic as in the mouth of the river Orinoco, and, finally, of the retention, notwithstanding the claims preferred for rendition, of slaves deserting thither from the colony of Essequibo, to the considerable loss of the said colony.

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[*July* 17, 1769.]

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The advocate having, by the Chamber's Resolution of the 10th of this month, been requested to draw up and submit a Remonstrance or Address to the States General of the United Netherlands, containing complaints of the various hostile undertakings by the Spaniards against various of the Company's posts in the colony of Essequibo, and also of the hindrances inflicted by them upon those of Essequibo, in the fishery on the territory of the State as well as in the mouth of the river Orinoco, and, finally, of the detention, in spite of the claim duly preferred by the owners, of the slaves deserting from the colony of Essequibo to Orinoco, to the considerable prejudice and inevitable ruin of the colony aforesaid: he, the Advocate, submitted and read in the meeting, such a Remonstrance, with the Addenda in proof of the facts stated in that Remonstrance, *sub literis* A., [etc.]

Whereupon, after discussion and after thanking the Advocate for his pains, it was resolved that the aforesaid Remonstrance be approved and accepted, as is hereby done, and it shall be transmitted without change to the States General.

And, futhermore, upon further discussion it was resolved: that copies of the aforesaid Remonstrance and Addenda be sent to His Serene High-

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ness the Chief Director, and also to the Representatives of this Province in the States General, to be handed to them by the Agent van Rielle in the same way as preceding cases, with request that they support this Remonstrance in the most forcible manner in the States General and wherever else it may be deemed of use.

And the required letters to His Serene Highness the Chief Director, to the aforesaid Representatives, and to the Agent van Rielle were submitted, and upon discussion adopted, *ut latius in litteris.*

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No. 267.

Extract from letter from the Prince of Orange, Stadhouder, to West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), July 7, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 461–462.]

To the Representative and Directors of the Chartered West India Company, in the Presidial Chamber Zeeland:

SIRS: We have duly received your missive of the 26th of last month, whereby you transmitted a letter addressed to us by the Director-General in Essequibo, Mr. L. Storm van's Gravesande, concerning certain undertakings of the Spaniards from Orinoco against two of the Company's posts in the aforesaid colony, and whereby you also request us that we furnish you "copies of the documents joined to the aforesaid letter of the Director-General aforesaid, and also that we inform you whether we would judge it necessary, expedient, and timely for you to address the States-General upon the matter aforesaid, requesting and urging that about this matter, and about the retaining of the runaway slaves from the colony and the hindering of the Orinoco fishery, earnest representations be made to the Court of Spain, and that reparation for the violation of territory, with adequate security for the future, be properly insisted on."

From the letter of the aforesaid Director-General we have learned with much regret the danger to which the colony of Essequibo is exposed, in its so slight state of defence, through the hostilities of the Spaniards; and as we judge the conservation of the American possessions in general, and that of the colony aforesaid in particular, of the most extreme moment for the Republic, we, therefore, approve fully your praiseworthy intention of addressing yourselves regarding this matter to their High Mightinesses, and of making to that high authority such request and urgent appeal as is indicated in your letter; and it is our opinion that this should be set about, the earlier the better, and without loss of time. To this end we transmit to you herewith the desired copy of the addenda to the letter of the said Director-General; and we will further not omit efficaciously to second with our favorable support your request and urgent appeal before their High Mightinesses.

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No. 268.

Extract from Minutes of the West India Company (Amsterdam Chamber), July 10, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 168.]

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Received and read a despatch from His Serene Highness the Prince, Governor-General and Chairman, written at Soost-dyk the 7th of the current month in reply to their Honours' letter of the 26th ultimo, stating that His Serene Highness learned with much regret the danger to which the Colony of Essequebo was exposed, in its so slight state of defense, through the hostilities of the Spaniards. That as His Highness judged that the conservation of the American possessions in general, and that of the Colony aforesaid in particular, was of the most extreme moment for the Republic, it was with His Highness' fullest approbation that their Honours would address themselves regarding this matter to their High Mightinesses and make to that high authority such request and urgent appeal, as was indicated in their Honours' letter aforesaid of the 26th aforesaid, and the earlier this were done the better; that for this object His Serene Highness was sending the desired copies of the Addenda, which had been inclosed in the despatch of the Director-General to His Serene Highness. That His Serene Highness would not omit efficaciously to second with his favourable support their Honours' request and urgent appeal before their High Mightinesses.

Whereupon, deliberation being had, it was approved and decided to request the Advocate (this without adjournment) to be good enough, the earlier the better, to draft an address to their High Mightinesses, in their Honours' name, and to bring it before the adjourned meeting, complaining of the various acts of hostility undertaken by the Spaniards against the Company's Posts in Essequebo, and, in addition, of the hindrances by them caused to those of Essequebo, as well in the fishery on the territory of the Republic, as in the mouth of the River Oronoque, and finally, of the retention, notwithstanding claims preferred (for rendition) of slaves deserting thither from the Colony of Essequebo, to the considerable loss of the same Colony.

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No. 269.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to J. C. van den Heuvel, Commandeur in Demerara, July 24, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 463.]

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With respect to your other letter, or postscript, likewise of the aforesaid March 11, serving only to accompany a note from the Director-General

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to you, which contained information of the expedition of the Spaniards against the Company's post in Moruca, we shall say only that this and the other enterprises of the Spaniards, together with their hindering the fishery on our own coasts and their preventing the fishery in Orinoco, and also their detaining, in spite of formal demand for their return, the slaves who abscond thither from the colony, have been brought by us to the notice of the States General, in a petition with the evidence thereto pertaining; of which petition we send to the Director General, by this ship, a copy which he probably will communicate to you upon occasion.

We hope that the representations to be made to the Court of Spain will have the desired effect for the future, for as to the present we imagine that those enterprises of the Spaniards will not be continued.

Meanwhile we shall send, by one of the first outgoing ships, a reinforcement of 25 men for the garrison of both the rivers, consisting of Germans, or as far as possible of men of the Reformed or Lutheran persuasion, and we can provisionally do no more.

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No. 270.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, July 26, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 464–465].

We therefore begin with yours of September 15th of last year, and say that from it we have, with no little astonishment, noticed the enterprises of the Spaniards from Orinoco against the Company's salter off the river Waini, not contenting themselves with excluding those of the colony by force, in the mouth of Orinoco, from a fishery of which from time immemorial they have been in possession, but hindering it even on our own coasts.

We have thought it advisable to give knowledge hereof to the States General by a petition, at the same time addressing to them our complaints about the recent threats and expeditions of the Spaniards against the Company's posts in Cuyuni, Moruca and the Company's post Arinda, etc., related in your subsequent letters; upon which occasion we have complained to them also about the detention by the Spaniards of slaves deserting from the colony, contrary to all right and reason, to the notable prejudice of the colony, and in spite of the most formal demands of the owners; with request that on this subject they be pleased to make the most emphatic representations to the Court of Spain, and to insist upon reparation for everything and upon adequate provisions for the future; as you may see from Inclosure B, being a copy of our aforesaid petition. Of this the outcome and effect will provisionally have to be awaited, while we can only give full approval to the policy which you have hitherto observed therein and the measures you have taken, and rely thereon for the future.

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Not that we desire that in the colony all the enterprises of the Spaniards be looked on without concern and suffered to go on unhindered; on the contrary, we are of opinion that force should be met with force, and all violent deeds be hindered as much as possible; wherefore we approve of the orders which you have given to the Caribs of Barima. But we do not as yet think it advisable to use direct retaliation, for more than one reason, but especially on account of the weakness of the garrison, which it has been absolutely impossible to strengthen by this ship. However, in the month of September we expect to be able to send from here 25 men, all Germans, and as far as possible Reformed or Lutheran, two persons very capable, as it seems to us, having already been appointed as sergeant and corporal, their names being Peter George Philip Fromman and Carel Kerchner, while the crimps have contracted, against an extra premium of 4 dollars per head, to have that number of soldiers of the desired quality ready for shipment by that time, and to do more or otherwise is not in our power.

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No. 271.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, July 31, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 467–468.]

Three excellent slaves of John Liot, carpenters, have run away to Orinoco; he has been in pursuit, but was compelled to return, the Spaniards (so he says) having followed to beyond Pomeroon. The man whom Vulskow had sent in pursuit of his slaves, and who, as I had the honor to inform you in my preceding letter, had been seized and put in chains by the Spaniards, has come back.

He told me that he had been treated very badly as soon as he arrived in Orinoco; that the Governor had sold the slaves and, as he sustained, had put the money in his pocket, and in order that this [might not become known] had sent him to Martinique, from where Mr. Bedu, who had land in Demerara, had brought him along to here, without any charge, which is really very courteous. That Governor bragged considerably to this man, and said that the land belonged to His Catholic Majesty as far as to the bank of Oene, and that he would come and seize those plantations which lay on Spanish territory. The bank of Oene lies along the western coast of this river and there are several plantations below it. It therefore is very well that the militia-captain Tierens has been so prompt in executing the regulations, the inspection of that company having been completed and the roll thereof already handed in; it consists of nineteen men.

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No. 272.

Extracts from the proceedings of the States-General, August, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 468–477.]

[WEDNESDAY, *August* 2, 1769.]

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Read to the [States-General in] session the remonstrance of the Representative of His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau and the Directors of the Chartered West India Company in the now presidial Chamber Zeeland, as having on behalf of the Company in general the particular direction and care of the colony of Essequibo and of the rivers which belong to it, declaring that they the remonstrants in this capacity had from time almost immemorial been in possession, not only of the aforesaid river Essequibo and of sundry rivers [and] creeks on that coast which flow into the sea, but also of all branches and streams which empty into this river Essequibo, and more particularly of the most northerly arm of this river, called the Cuyuni; wherefore also, on this river Cuyuni, it being considered as a domain of the State, there had from time immemorial been established a so-called Post, consisting of a wooden lodge, which, like sundry others in that colony, is occupied and kept, on behalf of the Company, by a Post-holder and an outrunner, or Bylier, together with some slaves and Indians.

That, accordingly, they the remonstrants (especially after what had happened in 1759) had been not a little surprised to learn by a letter from the Director-General in Essequibo, Mr. Laurens Storm van's Gravesande, written the 9th February last, that a detachment of Spaniards (that is, from Orinoco) had come above that post and had carried off from there several Indians, threatening to return at the next following dry season and to go on to Mazaruni (another branch of the river Essequibo, lying between it and the river Cuyuni, and therefore likewise incontestably forming part of the territory of the Republic), in order there also to carry off a body of Caribs (an Indian tribe allied to the Dutch and virtually subject to them), and then to descend the Mazaruni, ascend the Cuyuni again, and visit the Company's aforesaid Post in Cuyuni, all which their High Mightinesses could see by an extract from the aforesaid letter, annexed as Addendum A, containing also a report of the provisional measures which the aforesaid Director-General had taken thereagainst.

That they the remonstrants had taken all this to be a mere threat, which was likely to be followed by nothing, as had more than once happened; and this although the said Director-General, by a letter dated February 21, 1769, an extract whereof was herewith subjoined as Addendum B, had also informed them of the planting of two Spanish missions, strongly manned, one not far above the Company's aforesaid post in Cuyuni (apparently, however, on Spanish territory) and the other a little higher up, on a creek emptying into the aforesaid river Cuyuni.

That if, however, any attack from the aforesaid Spaniards in a time of

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peace could be expected or must be anticipated, it would therefore certainly have been from that side, especially in view of what the Director-General had further stated in his letter of the 3d March of this year, whereof an extract was hereto annexed as Addendum C; that, however, from a letter of the Director-General written under date of March 10 last to his son-in-law the Commandeur in Demerara, and by the latter forwarded in original to the remonstrants, a copy whereof is hereto annexed as Addendum D, they the remonstrants had learned to their utmost astonishment that the Spaniards had begun to carry the Indians away from Moruca and had made themselves masters of the Company's post at that place, which is a small river, or creek, south of the river Waini and lying between it and the river Pomeroon, where from time immemorial the Company had likewise had a trading-place and post, and which beyond contradiction belonged also to the Dutch territory.

That these tidings received by the remonstrants had been further confirmed by the receipt of a triplicate of a letter from the said Director-General dated March 15 of this year (the original of which was sent by way of Barbados and the duplicate by way of Surinam, but up to now had not arrived), whereof the remonstrants had the honor to subjoin herewith an extract as Addendum E, in which extract their High Mightinesses would find a detailed summary of what had been done by the aforesaid Spaniards, how the Company's postholder had borne himself, and what measures had provisionally been taken thereagainst by the aforesaid Director-General; all of which was yet further confirmed and cleared up by the Addenda F and G, the one being a copy of a report from the Company's Postholder in Moruca to the Director-General dated March 7, 1769, and the other a copy of a document in Spanish given by the two Capuchin fathers who accompanied the aforesaid expedition to the aforesaid Postholder himself, and for lack of opportunity not yet translated—of which documents the Remonstrants had obtained copies through the kindness of His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau, the remonstrants themselves having not yet received other copies thereof direct, these having probably been inclosed to them along with the aforesaid original and duplicates.

That from this triplicate they the remonstrants had further learned that the Spaniards from Orinoco had killed the Company's Postholder of the post Arinda, up in the river Essequibo, not far from the little river or creek Rupununi, together with all the Caribs he had with him, or at least had caused him to be killed by a tribe subject to them, so that the Owl, or Chief, of the Caribs had come down to ask of the aforesaid Director-General permission, and had obtained it, to avenge the death of his compatriots by attacking their murderers, as their High Mightinesses would see by Addendum H, which is a second extract from the same letter of the Director-General, dated the 15th of March last.

That, although together with the aforesaid triplicate letter of the 15th of March, there was further received by them the remonstrants from the

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said Director-General a letter dated the 4th April of this year which made mention of no further enterprise whatever of the Spaniards, reporting only how at present thought is being taken in every quarter for the stopping of such enterprises; nevertheless they the remonstrants had thought it their duty not to sit still, but on the contrary to bring this matter in as full detail as possible to the knowledge of their High Mightinesses, not doubting that their High Mightinesses would be most keenly sensitive to such assaults and would not permit so palpable a violation of the territory of the State to pass unnoticed without at least making the most emphatic protests thereagainst.

That they the remonstrants deemed themselves bound furthermore to bring it at this juncture to the knowledge of their High Mightinesses that they of Orinoco had not only for some time past begun to deny to them of Essequibo, and later actually to prevent, the fishery in the mouth of the aforesaid river Orinoco, notwithstanding that they of Essequibo had for many years been in quiet and peaceful possession of this fishery, to their material convenience through the abundance of fish found there, but that, moreover, they of Orinoco were beginning to hinder and forcibly to prevent the fishery upon the territory of the State itself, extending from the river Marowyn to beyond the river Waini, not far from the mouth of the river Orinoco, according to the existing maps thereof, particularly that of M. d'Anville, reckoned for its accuracy as one of the best—grievances as to which their High Mightinesses could likewise learn the truth from Addenda I, items 1, 2, and 3, these being extracts from the letters of the above-mentioned Director-General dated the 15th September, 1768, and the 21st February and 4th April, 1769.

That, lastly, the remonstrants thought themselves also under obligation to bring to the knowledge of their High Mightinesses the behavior of them of Orinoco, contrary not only to all Treaties but even to the Law of Nations, in retaining and taking away, to the notable detriment of certain planters and of the whole colony, the slaves deserting from the colony thither, although these were duly and with all urgency demanded back by the owners, and that all representations which in this matter have up to the present been made there, and even the sending of envoys, have been fruitless; while nevertheless such desertion, unless checked, might in time bring with it the entire ruin of Essequibo, and [while] now by the placing of the aforesaid two Spanish missions *so near to*[1] the Dutch territory, and also by the attacking of the Company's posts and the killing of the Post-holders, this [desertion] was in no small degree favored and made easy, as their High Mightinesses could see from Addenda K, 1 and 2 [and 3], and Addendum B, these being extracts from the above-mentioned letters of the Director-General dated February 9, February 21, and March 3 last: They the remonstrants praying that, on account of all the damages which must

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—These words are thus italicized both in the manuscript and in the official impression of this Remonstrance printed by the States-General for its own use.

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necessarily result from such acts and proceedings, a copy of this remonstrance and these annexes may be sent, in the same way as was done on July 31 of the year 1759, to Mr. Doublet van Groeneveld, their High Mightinesses' Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, and that he be instructed to make the requisite representations on this subject to the court of Spain.

Whereupon, deliberation being had, it has been found good and decreed that a copy of the aforesaid remonstrance and annexes be sent to Mr. Doublet van Groeneveld, Envoy Extraordinary of their High Mightinesses to the Court of Spain, and that he be at the same time instructed to make known in such manner and place as can give it effect the aforesaid occurrences and outrages, to represent the unlawfulness thereof, and moreover to insist upon a prompt reparation of the acts of violence committed, and upon the reinstatement of the remonstrants in the peaceful possession of the above-mentioned and other posts and the fisheries hereinbefore described, as also to insist that the necessary provision be made for the prevention of such causes of complaint in the future, and that there be accordingly issued by the Court of Spain as soon as possible the proper orders for the restitution, without delay or fail, on the first requisition duly made (with payment, if necessary, of the costs involved), of all the runaway slaves from the colony who are now there or who may desert hereafter,—in which case their High Mightinesses will be able to issue like orders to the colonies of the State.

And an extract of this resolution of their High Mightinesses shall be communicated to the Marquis de Puente Fuerte, Envoy Extraordinary of His Catholic Majesty, with request to be so good as to support with his good offices as much as possible these representations of their High Mightinesses.

And furthermore the aforesaid Representative and Directors of the West India Company in the presidial Chamber Zeeland shall be notified by letter, that their High Mightinesses have been grieved to learn from the aforesaid petition of the undertakings and outrages of the Spaniards committed upon the territory of the State in the colony of Essequibo and appurtenant rivers; that, in accordance with their request, they have send out to Mr. Doublet van Groenevelt, their Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Spain, the necessary orders to make proper representations on this subject at that Court; that, however, they would have liked to learn, at the same time, what measures the aforesaid Representative and Directors, who ascribe to themselves the especial direction and care of the colony of Essequibo and its appurtenant rivers, have taken to shelter the aforesaid colony against all deeds of violence; that they must, the sooner the better, inform the States General how much soldiery they keep for the maintenance of the aforesaid colony, what forts and strong places have been built there on the borders and frontiers, in what condition these are,

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with what ordnance and ammunition they are equipped, and, in general, what provision is made by them for the safety of the aforesaid colony.

And, inasmuch as it appears from what has happened there with the Spaniards that further difficulties might in future arise there with the neighbors; the States General do most earnestly recommend them to take without delay such measures and make such provisions that the Director of the aforesaid colony be enabled to make at least some resistance against such offenses and attacks and effectively to oppose them; and to give knowledge to the States General, at earliest opportunity, of what they shall have resolved on this head, in order that, if the States General should find that this had not been sufficiently attended to, they may make further dispositions such as they shall think proper, for the purpose of preventing that for lack of necessary precautions the colony continue exposed.

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[WEDNESDAY, *August* 30, 1769.]

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Received a letter from the Representative of His Serene Highness and the Directors of the Chartered West India Company in the presidial Chamber Zeeland, written at Middelburg on the 21st of this month, containing answer to the States General's letter and resolution of the 2d preceding, taken upon their petition of July 17 last, concerning certain enterprises of the Spaniards from Orinoco against various posts of the colony of Essequibo, by which resolution the States General had ordered them to report, the sooner the better, how much soldiery is kept by them for the maintenance of the aforesaid colony, what forts and strong places have been built there on the borders, in what condition these are, with what ordnance and ammunition they are equipped, and in general, what provision is made by them for the safety of the aforesaid colony; with the added recommendation that, inasmuch as it appears from what has happened there with the Spaniards that further difficulties might in future arise there with the neighbors, they take without delay such measures and make such provision that the Director of the aforesaid colony be enabled to make at least some resistance against such offenses and attacks, and effectively to oppose them.

Whereupon, after discussion, the Deputies of the Provinces of Holland and Westfriesland and of Zeeland have taken copy of the aforesaid letter and inclosurcs, to be more fully communicated in their sessions, and, this notwithstanding, it was resolved that a copy of the aforesaid letter and inclosures shall be transmitted to the Messrs. Pagniet and the other Deputies of the States General for the affairs of the West India Company, to investigate, examine, and fully report here in the meeting.

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Extract from Minutes of West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), August 7, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 172–173.]

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Read a letter from their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Netherlands, written at the Hague on the 2nd of the current month, which gave cover to their high resolution of the day above-mentioned concerning the hostilities undertaken by the Spaniards against different Posts of the Company in Essequebo, the stopping and prevention of the fishing by those of the Colony on their own territory and in the mouth of the Oronoque, as well as the retention by the Spaniards of the slaves deserting to Oronoque from the same Colony, notwithstanding their being properly reclaimed by their masters, which remonstrance is more fully mentioned in the Minute of this Chamber of the 17th July last.

Their High Mightinesses' Resolution aforesaid orders the Extraordinary Envoy at the Court to Spain (who is to be provided with a copy of the Remonstrance aforesaid and addenda relative thereto) to give knowledge of the undertakings and outrages of the Spaniards afore-mentioned, and of the result thereof, and to represent the impropriety thereof, as also to insist upon prompt reparation for the hostilities inflicted, and the reinstatement of the Company in the free possession of the aforesaid Posts and fisheries hereinbefore mentioned, as also at the same time to insist that the necessary provision should be made for the prevention of similar material for complaint in future, and accordingly that proper orders be sent on account of the Court of Spain, the earlier the better, that all slaves who have deserted out of the Colony who still are forthcoming, or who may desert in future, upon the first proper claim, imperatively, upon payment of the expenses incurred, may be given up without delay, and without remaining in default, in which case their High Mightinesses would cause similar orders to be issued to the Colonies of the State. Further, extract of this Resolution to be placed in the hands of the Extraordinary Envoy of His Catholic Majesty at the Hague, with a request that he will second these their High Mightinesses' instances at his Court as far as possible by his good services and offices.

Lastly, by the same Resolution, a letter still to be written to their Honours to the effect that their High Mightinesses had understood with regret from the same Remonstrance aforesaid the undertakings of the Spaniards committed on the territory of the State in the Colony of Essequibo and adjacent rivers,—that pursuant to the request in the same Remonstrance conveyed, a letter was written to their High Mightinesses' Extraordinary Envoy to the Court of Spain, and orders transmitted as mentioned just now. Then that their High Mightinesses desired much to be informed as follows:—

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What orders of their Honours who subscribe themselves as having particular direction over and care of the Colony of Essequebo and adjacent rivers have been drawn up to protect the Colony aforesaid from all outrages. That their Honours should inform their High Mightinesses, the earlier the better, how many forces are maintained by them for the protection of the aforesaid Colony; what forts and strongholds have been erected there on the limits and frontiers, in what state they are, with what artillery and munitions they are provided, and in general what provision has been made by their Honours for the security of the aforesaid Colony. And also, whereas it appears from all that has occurred there with the Spaniards that in future further exigencies may arise with the neighbours there, with additional recommendations to their Honours to draw up without loss of time such orders, and to make provision, that the Director of the Colony aforesaid may be placed in a position at least to make a resistance to similar insults and attacks, and to repulse them with effect, and to give the earliest notice to their High Mightinesses of all that their Honours shall have resolved in that behalf, in order that, should their High Mightinesses find that object was not sufficiently fulfilled, further disposition might be made therefor, according as may be found to be expedient for the occasion, so that the aforesaid Colony may not be exposed for want of the necessary provision.

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Letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to the States-General, August 21, 1769, as to the means of defense of the Colony of Essequibo.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 477-491.]

To the States General of the United Netherlands.

HIGH AND MIGHTY SIRS:

We had the honor to receive, on the 7th of this month, your letter and Resolution of the 2d preceding, a Resolution taken upon our Remonstrance of July 17 last, which concerned certain enterprises by the Spaniards from Orinoco against various posts of the colony of Essequibo; also the impeding and preventing of the fishery for the people of the aforesaid colony, upon their own coasts as well as in the mouth of the river Orinoco; and, lastly, the detention, in spite of the reclamation by their owners or masters, of the slaves deserting from the colony of Essequibo to Orinoco.

From your aforesaid Resolution we saw that you had been pleased, in conformity with the request made in our aforesaid Remonstrance, to instruct the Envoy Extraordinary of the Republic at the Court of Spain, that he make due representations with respect to the three aforesaid points, and insist with all emphasis upon a prompt reparation of the offenses committed and upon the necessary provision for the future; while you had also

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requested the Envoy Extraordinary of His Catholic Majesty to this Republic to second those representations and claims for reparation.

From your aforesaid Resolution we furthermore saw that you had been grieved to learn of the enterprises and attacks of the Spaniards, committed upon the Republic's territory in the colony of Essequibo and appurtenant rivers.

That, however, you would have been glad to learn, at the same time, what measures we, who attribute to ourselves the especial direction and care of the colony of Essequibo and its appurtenant rivers, have taken in order to guard the aforesaid colony against all deeds of violence.

That we must inform you, and the earlier the better, how many soldiers are maintained by us for the protection of the aforesaid colony?

What forts and works have been erected on the frontiers there?

In what condition these are?

With what artillery and ammunition they are provided?

And, in general, what provisions we make for the security of the aforesaid colony?

To all of which was joined your recommendation that (inasmuch as, from what has occurred there with the Spaniards, it seems that further trouble with the neighbors there may hereafter arise) without delay we take such measures and precautions that the Director of the aforesaid colony may be enabled to offer at least some resistance against similar insults and attacks and to oppose them effectively; and, moreover, that we inform you at earliest opportunity of what we have resolved about this matter, so that, if you should find that this subject had not been sufficiently attended to, you might make such further dispositions as should be found necessary in order that for lack of necessary precaution the aforesaid colony may not remain exposed.

While taking the liberty hereby to express to you our dutiful gratitude for the prompt and favorable Resolution which you have taken upon our aforesaid Remonstrance, we must also take this occasion to add hereto that we are gladdened and touched on seeing your truly fatherly grief at the aforesaid enterprises and attacks of the Spaniards against the aforesaid colony of Essequibo *cum annexis*. For thereby we were flattered with the sweet hope that in case of urgent necessity (which may God avert, or rather forefend, for we cannot yet foresee it) the colony of Essequibo and adjacent rivers might count upon help no less prompt and efficacious than was enjoyed by the colony of Berbice at the latest revolt of the negroes there.

This prospect, you will readily understand, must please us the more, inasmuch as the Chamber Zeeland (ever since the well-known Resolution of the Board of Ten, of August 11, 1750, whereby the navigation to the Colony of Essequibo, formerly exclusively for the inhabitants of Zeeland, was thrown open for all the inhabitants of the Republic; or rather, since that Board of Ten's Resolution of September 17, 1753) has found itself placed

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in charge of the especial direction and care of the aforesaid Colony of Essequibo; so that not only has the Presidial Chamber Amsterdam since the year 1756 left out the entire subject of Essequibo from the Agenda, in spite of the successive protests which were made against this in the name of this Chamber, but that the Chamber Amsterdam even had the hardihood to send back with protest, in 1767, a bill of exchange which the Chamber Zeeland had drawn after due and timely advice. This was done because the Chamber Zeeland hesitated to satisfy a demand, never heard of before, of the aforesaid Chamber Amsterdam, being in substance that the Chamber Zeeland must first declare that the amount of those bills was not to be expended in behalf of the Colony of Essequibo *cum annexis*, although that Colony always has been, and still is, a property of the General Company, which Company, as is well known, has the profits or losses falling to that Colony; and in spite of the circumstance that the Chamber Amsterdam had shortly before (in a certain Deduction, printed in its name, concerning the well-known controversies about Essequibo and Demerara) sustained precisely, *totidem verbis*, *that the Treasury of each Chamber is not the Treasury of each Chamber in particular, but only a part of the Treasury of the Company, which consists of all the Treasuries of the respective Chambers together*, etc.

All this will be fully proven to you by the documents here inclosed, *sub Literis* A 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 *locis*.

And this, we flatter ourselves, will be enough to convince you that we do not now unjustly arrogate to ourselves the aforesaid especial direction and care the less so because already in 1759 we thought ourselves obliged for the same reasons to ascribe it to ourselves, and at that time this passed without any especial comment on your part, as appears from your Minutes of July 31, of that year.

Now, if we could in the least have imagined that you would have wished and desired to learn at the same time from us, in our aforesaid quality, what measures we had already taken for guarding the aforesaid Colony against all acts of violence, we surely would not have failed very respectfully to inform you that the shortness of the time between our receiving the last and positive reports of the enterprises of the Spaniards and the preparing our Remonstrance to you, had made absolutely impossible the framing of the necessary measures and issuance of the required orders for its safety, especially because during that time no ships had set out for the Colony. We should moreover have to take the liberty to add that, although the enterprises of the Spaniards are exceedingly blameworthy, and although the representations to the Court of Spain, both for the reparation of the past and for provision against the future, must be reckoned extremely useful and necessary, still in our humble opinion, a very great or extraordinary provision for guarding the Colony against the aforesaid acts of violence would now be not more needed than it was in the year 1759. At that time certain Spaniards committed sim-

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ilar outrages, which also became for us the subject of a remonstrance to you, and representations about it were then also made at the Court of Spain; we have seen, however, down to these recent attacks (which perhaps, for reasons, are now not unexaggerated), no sequel thereof. Furthermore, three letters received since then from the Director General, Mr. Laurens Storm van's Gravezande, dated May 12, June 3 and 15 last, no longer make mention of any further or other enterprises of the Spaniards, aye, the last mentioned even maintains a profound silence about them.

But, as we now find ourselves honored with your express orders as to the points about which we must inform you with regard to the state of defense of the aforesaid colony, we shall step by step follow your Resolution, and have the honor to inform you, that

Firstly, as for the soldiery maintained by us for the protection of the colony, the number of those present in the colony (according to the so-called muster roll drawn up on the last of December, 1768, and sent to us, copy of which we have the honor to inclose herewith, *sub Litera* B.) is now unusually small, the garrison having been so greatly weakened, through discharge of several who had served their time, through the death of others and the desertion of many, that no more than 39 common soldiers are actually available. Adding to these the Captain Lieutenant, Commandant, the Adjutant, in command of the lookout-watch in Demerara, two sergeants, 5 corporals, one drummer, 4 postholders and 3 byliers, it makes in all 56 men. This in truth not very considerable number is in great part due to the incredible trouble which we have for some time had to take, in order properly to recruit the aforesaid garrison with Reformed or Lutheran soldiers, Dutch, German, Norse, or English by birth, since all others, Spaniards, French, Swiss, and Flemish, of the Catholic faith, were deemed most dangerous to the colony by the Director-General, who declared that he would rather have no soldiers than such as these. We could prove this by manifold extracts from his letters; but to spare your precious attention we shall limit ourselves and join to this our Report one single extract from one of these, dated September 15, 1768, by which the truth of what we have said will be made fully apparent to you.

However, we have at last found a means to remedy this difficulty by taking a Resolution, on May 1 last, herein closed *sub Litera* D, 1 *loco*, for paying a premium of a little over two ducats per head for every competent person furnished to us, of which Resolution we have given due notice to the Director-General Storm van's Gravesande, as seen from D, 2 *loco*. And this Resolution has been attended with such success, that we have not only hope, but sufficient assurance, that by one of the first ships to set out for Essequibo, in September or October, we shall be able to send out 25 good recruits of the required qualities, whereof we have informed the aforesaid Director-General by our letter of July 25 last, as you will please to see from *Litera* D. 3 *loco*. We have likewise already given actual orders to look

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about for 25 more, on the same conditions, in order to send them also as soon as possible.

But, however small the aforesaid number of 39 common soldiers may at first glance have seemed to you, we still imagine that your astonishment thereat will greatly decrease as soon as you will be pleased to consider, in addition to the already alleged reasons—discharge, death, and desertions—the following circumstance. After the unfortunate revolt in Berbice we had sent several men in reinforcement of the garrison, which before had become much weakened; and when we had alleged the reasons why no greater reinforcement had been sent, and finally fixed the garrison of the Colony at 40 men, some members of the Court of Justice, it is true, remarked upon the fixing of that number, but at no time were any representations made to us on that subject by, or in the name of, that Court; it tactily acquiesced and has always fully assented to the sufficiency of the aforesaid number of 40 men as garrison in time of peace. This number we have, *proprio motu*, afterward increased to 50 men. All of this which will be made apparent to you by Inclosures E. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 *locis*.

To this you will please add that, so long as the ten-years' exemptions (under which all plantations are given out, the number whereof has begun to increase only in the last few years) have not expired, so that more taxes than are at present established in the Colony can be introduced, as, for instance, in Surinam—so long will the revenues which the Company is as yet deriving from the aforesaid colony be absolutely inadequate to bear for any length of time the maintenance of more soldiery. This, although the number of its civil employees is very small and their wages and salaries really very slight; but they must, in the same way as in other colonies, be provided with rations at the Company's expense, just as are the soldiers. However, if in course of time, the revenues increasing, it were possible to fix and maintain the garrison at 100 men (namely 50 for Essequibo and 50 for Demerara), in that case we believe, if you will allow us so to say, that this, especially in time of peace, would be more than enough.

And, in addition to all this, you will lastly consider (and we beg you always to remember this in case hereafter anything should appear somewhat deficient) that our Treasary has not always been affluent or strong enough to make for everything as exact and complete provision as we could have wished, and as perhaps we ought to have made in case we had always had sufficient money at hand. This is due to the refusal of the Chamber Amsterdam to give us subsidies of money, and also to the unsatisfactory way in which the Estates of Zeeland pay the Drafts of the Council of State, which are to the Estates' charge and for the benefit of the Company, amounting yearly to f.4850. Of these, only two in all have been paid since the year 1738, so that the arrears due to the company at present amount to the important total of almost f.150,000.

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Secondly, as to the forts and works erected on the frontiers of Essequibo, the matter stands in this wise: in the mouth of the river of Essequibo, on Great Flag Island, is situate the fort Zeelandia, the chief castle or fortress of the whole colony; the entrance of the river is moreover protected on the other side by a battery or lookout-watch.

In the mouth of the river Demerara is placed a battery or lookout-watch; at the south of Demerara, on the river Mahaicony, is a post, called Mahaicony.

Above in the river of Essequibo, towards the Portuguese side, above the little river Rupununi, is a post, named Arinda.

There is a post in the river Cuyuni, towards the Spanish side.

And lastly, one more post, situate between the little rivers, or creeks, Moruca and Wacupo, also towards the Spanish side.

Other forts or works there are none in the colony of Essequibo *cum annexis*; however, as to the lookout-watch in Demerara, we must have the honor moreover to inform you, that for greater protection of that river, if not a small fort or ravelin,[1] at least that lookout-watch, ought long ago to have been transferred from its west side and placed on the east side. But, inasmuch as this is [a matter] of the province[2] and at the expense of the colonists and planters in that river, according to the conditions under which it was thrown open, it has always been impossible in any wise to induce them thereto, in spite of manifold efforts and reiterated exhortations of the Director-General, all whose exertions have hitherto remained fruitless and in vain.

Thirdly, as for the condition of those forts and works, we can tell you only this, that, so far as we know, they are in such condition as they should be; at least, our orders and commands have not been lacking in this respect, as you will please to see from the Inclosures F. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 *locis*, being so many extracts from our orders written at various times to the Director-General of Essequibo *cum annexis*, who has assured us that all posts are in good condition and well attended to, as shown by Inclosure G. 1 and 2 *locis*, being two extracts from two letters to him, dated June 1 1768, and February 9 1769. Again recently, in his letter dated February 21 last (see Inclosure H.), he has declared that as soon as he should have received 100 barrels of trass (which he had forgotten to ask for, as is shown by G. 2 *loco*, and which we therefore could not send), the chief castle of Fort Zeelandia would then also be put into proper and complete condition, and that this would soon be accomplished. Those 100 barrels of trass are to be sent over by one of the first ships.

Fourthly, as for the artillery and ammunition with which those forts and works are provided, we have always left the providing for and distri-

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—*I. e.*, "if a small fort or ravelin be not placed on the east side of the river"—the construction is elliptical.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—Of Zeeland.

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bution of the artillery and ammunition at hand in the colony to the attention and direction of the Director-General; for he, as best knowing the local circumstances, is best in a condition to judge how much ordnance, of what caliber, and consequently what ammunition, are needed at each place for defense, etc.; and from this you will readily understand that we are entirely unprepared to give you adequate and specific information.

This only we can assure you in this connection, that all ammunition which has been asked for has also been sent at once; from this it clearly follows that if, contrary to expectation, it so happened that sufficient store of ammunition were not at hand in the colony, the fault of this could not be imputed to us, but to the Director-General himself, because he has not asked for more ammunition.

As for the ordnance found in the colony, you will please see from Inclosure I that there are at hand at Fort Zeelandia, 40 available guns of various caliber, 7 *ditto* without carriages, 10 swivel-guns, 45 good chambers, and 12 disabled *ditto*.

At the lookout-watch in Essequibo, 2 pieces of different caliber, but without carriages.

And in Demerara, two 6-pounders on carriages, and several swivel-guns, all belonging to the company; moreover twelve 6-pounders belonging to the colony, but likewise without carriages.

And with this, we flatter ourselves, you will be convinced that there is in the colony no lack of sufficient artillery, and that it is only a question of a proper and efficient distribution of the same.

Fifthly, as for a general enumeration of the provisions made by us for the security of the aforesaid colony of Essequibo, we have made the necessary arrangements for sending thither, by one of the first ships, 200 muskets with their bayonets, 200 cartridge-boxes, and as many cutlasses, in order therewith to provide the citizens and planters who are without arms, and in case of emergency to arm certain Indians, if this should be judged advisable; 2,000 lbs. of powder; 24 blunderbusses; 500 lbs. bullet-lead for making bullets; 600 flints; moreover powder-measures, sponge-rods, and rammers in sizes, for 12 to 4 pound guns inclusive; inasmuch as we have seen from Inclosure I. that the tools belonging to the ordnance were bad.

Moreover the militia in both rivers has been brought into proper condition and the two youngest Councilors have been appointed Majors of the Militia, namely one in each river. The Militia in Essequibo has been divided into two flags, or companies, the white flag and the orange flag, and each company has been placed under the command of a Captain, Captain-Lieutenant, Lieutenant, and Ensign; this division has been made likewise in Demerara, namely into the blue and the green flag, or company, each likewise provided with 4 officers; while both to the officers and to the militia such orders have provisionally been given, and will further be given finally,

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as are most in accordance with the constitution of the colony, so as in case of alarm to offer the best possible defense.

Sixthly and last, we greatly wished that we were able, in pursuance of your urgent recommendation expressed in your aforesaid Resolution, to send out without delay further and more efficacious orders and make prompt and complete provisions for enabling the Director-General, Mr. Laurens Storm van's Gravesande, to resist and effectively repel such insults and attacks. But there being, at least so far as we know, no other efficacious, more prompt, and better means within our power, and other measures, for reasons set forth in what we have said herebefore, also seeming to us scarcely necessary (we say this subject to your correction), there remains to us nothing more than to submit ourselves to your wise and better judgment and respectfully await your subsequent dispositions and further decisions in regard to all the foregoing; while it will always give us especial satisfaction to be honored with your orders and commands, and we shall always be found as ready as any one to fulfill and carry them out, so far as lies in our power.

And herewith we take the liberty to commend your High Mightinesses to the protection of the Most High, and with all due respect to subscribe ourselves,

High and Mighty Sirs,

Your High Mightinesses' humble and obedient servants,

The Representative of His Serene Highness and the Directors of the Chartered West India Company in the Presidial Chamber Zeeland.

DL. LUYCX MASSIS.
ABM. DUVELAER.

MIDDELBURG, *August 21, 1769.*

No. 275.

Extract from letter from the Dutch Ambassador at Madrid to the States General, September 7, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 174.]

* * * * * * *

I have, pursuant to your High Mightinesses' Resolution dated the 2nd August, had a conversation with the Marquis de Grimaldi concerning the complaints made by the Representative of His Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau and the Directors of the Chartered West India Company.

His Excellency told me he had received extract of your High Mightinesses' Resolution, inclosing the complaints mentioned, through the Marquis de Puente Fuerte; that he had given report thereof to the

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King the previous evening; that His Majesty had commanded it to be placed in the hands of Señor D'Arriaga, Secretary of State for the Department of India and the Navy.

I have had a conversation with the Minister mentioned, but his Excellency said he knew nothing of the matter, and that he would send the said document to the Council of the Indies, in order to take their advice thereon, yet that apparently they would want to write thither in order to obtain the necessary information.

I requested him that as information would be written for, that he would be pleased at the same time to send orders to the Governor to discontinue all hostilities, and to leave those of the colony in quiet possession, as they had possessed the same until now. His Excellency replied to me that, when the advice of the Council of the Indies was received, he should send the same to the Marquis de Grimaldi, and that they then would make report thereof to the King.

I have again conferred with the Marquis de Grimaldi, and communicated to him this reply that I had received from Señor D'Arriaga, and at the same time I requested his Excellency that if they must write thither for information, that he would dispatch the above-mentioned requested orders at the same time to the Governor.

His Excellency has consented to do this, saying that this was reasonable and equitable.

That is all that for the present, High and Mighty Lords, I have been able to perform in this matter.

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No. 276.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to the Director-General and Court of Policy in Essequibo, October 23, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 494–495.]

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Concerning the enterprises of the Spaniards, of which you speak in your letter, as also about the hindering of the fisheries and the detention of the slaves deserting from the colony to Orinoco, in spite of the reclamations of their owners or masters, we have made a very full remonstrance to the States General, which has had for a result that on this subject the most emphatic representations have been made to the Court of Spain by the Minister of this Republic; of which, however, up to this time the effect has been only this, that the Court of Spain has demanded of the Council of the Indies a report on this head.

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No. 277.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, November 30, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 174–175.]

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The Spaniards continue to cruise along the coast, so that there is no chance of getting anything salted for the plantations, which does both the Honourable Company and the planters a great deal of harm.

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The Postholder of Maykouny has reported that a very large number of Caraibans had come there and had asked him for permission to come and live in that river. All the Postholders having orders to keep on friendly terms with that nation and to favour them as much as possible, he immediately accorded them that permission, whereupon they laid out some plantations and have commenced to make their houses.

He says that the Caraibans were nearly all dressed, and even had priestly garments and ornaments with them. This made me suppose that they had been ill-treated by the Spaniards to such an extent that they had at last adopted measures of reprisal and had raided some of the missions. We have as yet not had the slightest tidings of this, all communications with Orinocque being still cut off.

Should my supposition be found correct the Spaniards are not too good to put the blame of this matter upon our shoulders, their conscience telling them what they had deserved.

I should really shudder (as I always have done) to have recourse to such barbarous and un-Christian measures. I heartily wish that we could obtain full redress for the insults we have received and still continue to receive, but by honourable measures befitting Christian peoples; and therefore, did my strength permit it, I would be quite willing to risk my grey head in this once more, for the actions of that proud nation are really unbearable, and the more so because they presuppose a considerable measure of contempt, since the Spaniards in Orinocque must be fully convinced that if we chose to use our power with our Indians we could make the whole of Orinocque too hot for them.

Had the insults offered to our Post of Cajoeny been punished as they deserved the later ones would most probably never have been committed, but what is done is done.

Meanwhile our fisheries are ruined, and we have lost all our runaway slaves. The slaves cannot live and work without rations, and three pounds of fish once a fortnight is really not much. This has now to be bought from the English. On the 18th I had to buy six barrels of cod; and if the English were not to come here, the colony would be unfortunate indeed; this is very costly, too, both for the Company and the planters.

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No. 278.

Extracts from letter of M. Buisson, Councilor in Essequibo, to the Director-General in Essequibo, December 3, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 495–496.]

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I can not neglect to communicate to Your Excellency that Pedro Sanchos has come from Orinoco with the bad news that in a month or six weeks 2 boats will come with as many as 50 or 60 men to kidnap the Indians as far as in Pomeroon, and then, I fear, plantations will surely be pillaged; for this Governor sets his boundaries as far as at the bank of Oeno, where James Fenning lives. I do not doubt but many black and red slaves will go over to them; and who will get them back from them?

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[*Postscript.*]—I once told Your Excellency that the Spaniards claim Pomeroon; the end of this will shortly be seen.

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No. 279.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesende, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, December 21, 1769.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 496.]

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If we had here now such a garrison as in Berbice, one could make arrangements to welcome these pirates fittingly. If I could only detach 24 men, together with some Caribs, I would teach them to undertake such exploits; but that many capable men I have not in all.

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[Reprinted (with correction) from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 175.]

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I take this opportunity of informing your lordships that Pedro Sanchez having been in chains in Orinocque for some months, had the good fortune to escape. He has informed me that two privateers are again fitted out, with a much stronger crew than the former one, and that in about five or six weeks from now they would come to Maroco and, *further*, *into*[1] Pomeroon to carry off all the Indians whom they could get, and that they would probably come as far as the mouth of this river.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—These italicized words do not here appear in the Blue Book.

No. 280.

Extracts from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, March 25, 1770.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 175–176.]

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At the time when the Spanish outrages were committed, and some propositions were made concerning preservation and defense, the majority in Demerary immediately said that they were unwilling to contribute to this, because their river had no occasion to be insulted by the Spaniards. This was true in itself, because this river and the sea-coast must suffer the first attack before they can get to Demerary, where, the plantations also lying close to each other, the people can come to each other's aid much more readily—that is to say, if they wish to, because about this your lordships must permit me to have grave doubts. I know my people and their character—each for himself and God for us all.

I should not recommend the people who said those things to come here in Essequibo, nor to take a walk on the west coast, because I fear they would fare badly. The people who have plantations there are exposed to the greatest danger; and if the Spaniards have dared to attack the Post of Maroco, to carry off as prisoners both the slaves and whites from the coast, to take the boats from your lordships' plantations, and the goods belonging to the Postholder, they would not make any bones about going some five hours further and plundering the lowest plantations, especially since they openly maintain that Powaron belongs to them as far as the bank of Oene, this being quite in our river, several plantatations lying below that bank.

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The letter from the Assistant Van Wittinge is so far satisfactory that there does not seem to be any danger at hand yet for the Post; this, however, does not detract from the fact that the establishment of the missions of Cajoeny is a very serious matter. I charged this man to proceed up the river with all possible caution, and to make an ocular inspection as well as he could, and to collect reports from the nations up above. Up to the present this has not been done; but what shall I say, my lords—he is a creole.

He ought not to have removed the Post without my permission, but fear often leads us into mistakes. He is once there, and is much better protected against surprises, but the position is not in accordance with my wishes, because for very good reasons I would have liked to move the Post gradually higher up the river.

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No. 281.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, July 30, 1770.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 176.]

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The fishery in Orinocque still being closed, I am compelled to buy cod for the plantations and for the rations of the slaves. This is very expensive, and I hope that, with the new Governor who is expected there, matters will change. Don Vincente Franco, whom I have known for over five and twenty years, a man of over eighty, came to Essequibo in March, and told me that they expected there as Governor one Don Carlos de Sucre, a son of one Don Carlos de Sucre, who was Governor there in the year 1738 when I came here. If he follows in his father's footsteps everything will go very well. As soon as I hear of his arrival I will write to him.

Contrary to expectation I am, thank God, fairly well; and if I continue so, it is my intention to undertake the return journey to Essequibo.

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No. 282.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 18, 1770.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 177.]

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Young Mr. Tulleken, having asked for a permit to go to Maroco, and having obtained the same, I now hear that he went farther, and that he was arrested and is now a prisoner in Orinocque. I fear that this young gentleman, being afraid of his father's return, undertook that journey because he had neglected the affairs of the plantation.

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No. 283.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, January, 1771.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 177.]

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Orinocque is in all respects a sharp thorn in the side of this colony. The English and French get their slaves returned to them, and we can obtain nothing. That the French are privileged I can understand, but I cannot see that the English are better friends of the Spanish than we are, unless it be that they go to work in this affair with more vigour. Such

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matters have occasionally, however, good results. It is certainly a great loss for private people to lose their slaves in such an unfortunate way, but, if the matter be properly looked at, it is perhaps better that such insolent scoundrels should go to Orinocque than that they should stay here and provoke a revolt or rebellion.

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No. 284.

Extract from letter from West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, March 11, 1771.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 498–499.]

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We also hope that upon the arrival of a new Governor in Orinoco the fishery will be opened, and we greatly approve of your purpose of maintaining a good friendship with him.

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No. 285.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 27, 1771.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 178.]

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If the news from Barbadoes be confirmed, namely, that the war between England and Spain has actually commenced, there is some probability that we shall get mules at a moderate price; the neighbouring Spaniards will then be in want of a good many things, and will require us, and we shall then get permission to fetch these animals from Orinocque. A few North Americans do still come, but not many, and they bring no horses.

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No. 286.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, January 6, 1772.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 179.]

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On the 21st of December Peter Kerks brought back to the Fort here four runaways from Upper Demerary whom he had caught off the mouth of the Pomeroon on their way to Orinocque.

Captain E. Bishop, of Barbadoes, having arrived here asked me to give

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him a commission to go as a flag of truce to Orinocque to claim his runaway slaves; this I granted him. I have at the same time written to the Governor there asking him for the restitution of the slaves.

I am certain that this is in vain, and that no attention will be paid to this demand. Bishop, however, has orders from the Governor of Barbadoes to come back immediately in case of refusal, when his Honour will send a war-ship there to claim Bishop's slaves as English property.

The English do not make so many ceremonies as we do, and it is indeed very hard, my lords, to be cheated and robbed of one's property in this way without any reason; it looks more like piracy than the dealings of two allies.

The number of our slaves there now is very large. There are about forty of Leary's alone; there are likewise seven of the best creoles from your lordships' plantation of Aegtekerke and several more belonging to me. Those belonging to private colonists are innumerable.

The numbers of the runaways increasing daily, this matter will end in the total ruin of a great many plantations, unless efficacious remedies be adopted.

The former Postholders in Maroco were able to do something to arrest the progress of this evil, they having at least six or seven hundred Indians around that Post, some of whom they could always have out at sea, but the unauthorized attacks of the Spaniards have driven these natives away, and the Spaniards even came to the Post, as your lordships know, sword in hand, to drive away or carry off the few that still remained, and succeeded only too well in doing so.

I know very well that little notice was taken of this action, but the Colony, as I foresaw, is beginning to feel the consequences, and I have good grounds for believing that matters will become still worse.

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No. 287.

Extract from letter from the Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company, January 6, 1772.

[Reprinted (with correction) from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 179–180.]

With respect to the land in Maroco, *this land was granted without determination of the number of acres and upon the express condition that the owner or owners should be bound to maintain an outpost there—it being an estate lying close to the river Orinoco, full two days sail from here* [*and, having been*] *for a considerable time left uncultivated by the petitioner* [*i. e., by Mrs. Rousselet*], *in a word, fallen to ruin and at nearly every high tide under water, wherefore it must now be sold without delay.*[1]

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The italicized words are here substituted for the Blue Book translation. As to this and for the original Dutch *see* U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 1, p. 243.

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The cattle would probably fetch about fifty or sixty guilders each here (but not eighty) if they were at Fort Zeelandia, but the animals being wild there would be few bids for them, since no one would care to capture them, bring them away, and deliver them at the buyer's place without receiving for the use of his men and boats (to say nothing of the risk of the Spaniards) thirty or forty guilders apiece. We were therefore very glad when a bid was made for the place and all the cattle upon it. No one could have supposed, my lords, that a single bid would be made.

No. 288.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, July 14, 1772.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 180.]

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It is related here that a new Governor has arrived in Orinocque. Should that be true, I hope that he will not be such a Turk as his predecessor. With the latter there was not the least chance of getting anything out of Orinocque, and he even forbade the usual salting in the mouth of the river, and set a strong watch to prevent it. If the present one shows a little more tractability, as the former ones did, I will soon take advantage of it; there must now be abundance of cattle there. The English no longer bring either horses or mules and very little provisions, the cause of this being the protested bills.

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No. 289.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 27, 1772.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 180.]

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Very many plantations having been laid out on the west coast of this River, Bouwman, the surveyor, who measured all those plantations, has at my request made a chart of that coast as far as Pomeroon and the Post of Maroco. From the actual mouth of the Essequibo to the creek Hamalte there are twenty-seven plantations; from there to Mana Caboera there are about six thousand roods, and from Mana Caboera to the mouth of Bowaron Ollira there are nine thousand roods (taken up), so that we are beginning to get close to Pomeroon, and we shall therefore have to discontinue making fresh grants of ground in that direction.

What astonished me most, my lords, was to see in these exact plans the situation of the Post in Maroco; I could never have imagined that it lay so

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far up the creek from the sea-coast. It lies upon and fully commands the inland road through the itabos, which is used by the inhabitants and the Spaniards as the safest, but it is absolutely useless as far as regards the runaway slaves, who pass along the coast by water, that being just beyond reach of the Post.

From this we see how little reliance is to be placed upon all the verbal reports of the Postholders, the latter having their own reasons for keeping up the deception, and I therefore believe that the visit of the surveyor was not very agreeable to them.

Bouwman has sent me the new sketch, but I will make a neat copy of it, which I hope to have the honour of sending your lordships.

In the best chart of South America by Mr. D'Anville, the Post of Maroco is also wrongly placed in accordance with the aforesaid inaccurate information.

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No. 290.

Extract from letter from Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, August 29, 1772.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 181.]

The very dangerous condition of the Colony, which has been and still is on the brink of total ruin, compels me to report the same to His Serene Highness as speedily as possible, which despatch, being enclosed, I take the liberty of humbly requesting your lordships to forward to him at once.

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No. 291.

Letter from the Dutch Ambassador in Spain to the States-General, November 18, 1773.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 182.]

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I have been honoured with your High Mightinesses' Resolution of the 26th October, whereby I am desired, in writing, to renew the complaints of the running away of slaves from the possessions of the Netherlands West India Company to the Spanish possessions, and to demonstrate that this evil takes place not only at the Isles of Curaçao and St. Eustace, but is also beginning to break out at the Rivers Essequebo and Demerara.

I shall not neglect to make, pursuant to your High Mightinesses' orders, earnest remonstrances, according to the tenour of your High Mightinesses' highly respected Resolution, and to give, as speedily as may be, information of the result of my commission.

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No. 292.

Extract from letter from Anth. Brown, Fiscal in Essequibo, to West India Company, December 22, 1773.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 182.]

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And since it is uncertain when the River Pomeroon or the canal between Essequibo and Demerary will be opened, I should be compelled (in case the aforesaid Court were disinclined to grant my petition for permission to lay out the sugar plantation) to pass my time in idleness here without being able to do anything profitable either for the Company or for my family.

There is still some ground fit for sugar plantations up in the river, but it is all situated very far from the Fort and densely covered with wood, and every year new plantations have to be laid out, which entails very great cost and trouble.

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No. 293.

Extract from letter from G. H. Trotz, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, December 23, 1773.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 183.]

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From this your lordships will see that the whole Court of Policy is *parvi momenti;* indeed we should be very well able to do without it altogether, especially since the transfers are very often dealt with outside that Court by the Governor, the secretary and one councillor, although the thirty-six guilders are divided amongst all the members in the ordinary session. It is now an opportune moment for closing the Court, because there are no longer any grants of land to be made; no one will ask for lands in the upper reaches of the river, and most of them are already annexed as timber grounds for the plantations below.

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No. 294.

Extract from letter from Director-General and Court of Policy in Essequibo, to West India Company, January 31, 1774.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 183.]

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The ring-collars being intended as a present for the Indian chiefs (commonly called Owls), we have found that they are not well suited for that purpose, since it would not be very fitting if one of those chiefs should

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come to the Fort here and wore an ornament similar to that worn by the officers of the militia. This is a present which would have been very acceptable to them in former times when they were very glad to get hold of these collars, but the Spaniards have made these things so common amongst them that they now have some in gold which cover their whole chest.

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No. 295.

Extracts from letter from the Court of Policy in Demerara to West India Company, April 21, 1774.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 185.]

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There are still several other points, my lords, the importance of which would require us to make much further demands upon your lordships' attention.

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The fourth point is that of the direction or extent of the boundaries of the old concessions in Essequibo, in this river, and the coast. This point is so complicated that it is almost impossible to explain it in writing or at least not otherwise than in a very extensive treatise from the pen of some one perfectly acquainted with the matter and having access to all the voluminous and frequently conflicting resolutions and decisions of the former Government.[1]

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No. 296.

Extract from letter from G. H. Trotz, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, September 30, 1774.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 186.]

Since I had the honour of writing to your lordships by Captain Van Las, a copy of which is sent herewith, nothing of importance has occurred in this colony, except that we have been continually annoyed by the Spaniards, who, to the number of forty, recently came down as far as the Post of Maroco, carrying off with violence or killing all the free Indians in those parts, by which these people who are of such advantage to our colony are at once driven out of our land, they fleeing in whole troops to the river Corentyn.

Unless your lordships are enabled to adopt efficacious measures most speedily in this matter and in the matter of the slaves running away to

[1] Note by Professor Burr: "This refers, I think—and I have read the whole long document—to the boundaries of *land-grants* (*i. e.*, of plantations) only, and not at all to those of the *colony*.

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the Spaniards, we shall all be totally ruined here some day; your lordships will be pleased to bear in mind that here we can never be successful in preventing these invasions and the running away of our slaves, either by establishing Forts or by keeping boats lying out, as some wished to do, and perhaps still do. No, my lords, our Illustrious Sovereign will have to interfere seriously in this matter, and see that we get redress from the Court of Spain. It is really *periculum in mora*, because when once the horse is out of the stable we shall never get it back again; when once the Indians have fled they will never return here, and when they are gone, our slaves will run away up the river to make plots there, and will always be a source of anxiety to us, as we still daily see in Surinama where the Indians were also once driven away, and a free passage given to the negroes into the upper lands, in consequence of which the colonists suffered terribly, many of them losing everything they possessed in that way.

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No. 297.

Extracts from Memorial addressed to G. H. Trotz, Director-General and the Councillors of Essequibo, assembled in Ordinary Court, by the Burgher Officers of Essequibo, January 2, 1775.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 186–187.]

* * * * * * *

The undersigned also beg the Honourable Court to take into consideration the incessant running away of slaves that has now gone on for some time both here and in Demerary. The Memorialists are convinced that all these continuous and unpunished desertions becoming known to the slaves who still remain with us can only set a bad example, and cause them to form wrong impressions of the land of the Spaniards and the pretended religion of the same, and that in consequence of this the slaves—whether it be that they fear merited or unmerited punishment and ill-treatment from their masters (against which your Honourable Court was pleased to issue a most laudable proclamation for the welfare of the Colony dated December 11, 1773, Art. X), or whether it be out of sheer insubordination or other malicious causes that animate the slaves to run away whenever an opportunity offers—always having a very easy and open road to Orinocque, must in the future be induced to show greater disrespect, insubordination, sloth and malice, all of which can only tend to bring about the downfall of the planters or their agents, or the flight of the slaves.

Wherefore the undersigned, wishing to prevent the total ruin of this Colony, humbly request Your Excellency and Your Honours to be pleased to bring this matter, which is one of threatening danger, most speedily to the notice of their lordships so that we may be ensured against further ruin and the loss of all our possessions both by the establishment of a few

No. 297.

Forts in the direction of Orinocque and by positive orders from the Court of Spain for the restitution of our slaves.

* * * * * * *

For all of which reasons we entreat and beg Your Excellency and Your Honours that you may be pleased to bring this matter to the notice of their lordships in order that by forts, soldiers, &c., as well as by an alliance with the Court of Spain, we may be protected against the desertion of our slaves and the invasions of pirates and evil intentioned persons, who, incited by and allied with the Spaniards, make raids upon our coasts, and kill, carry off, and drive away our Indians, our protectors, from our very Posts and territory.

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No. 298.

Extracts from report to West India Company, of Engineer J. C. v. Heneman, on his Expedition for the Survey and Mapping of the Colonies of Essequibo and Demerara, November 1773–March 1775.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 516–517.]

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But, having at last, by God's grace, overcome these hindrances of illness and resumed work, the undersigned has completed the proper maps, plans, and drawings of all places, situations, etc., etc., and of the things which are needed, and has surveyed the necessary grounds, so as to be able to make therefrom a general map.

* * * * * * *

As regards the colony of Essequibo, it will likewise be necessary [to inform] you by a verbal report, which the undersigned will be able to give, with further description and more detailed explanations of the extent of this aforesaid colony and its rivers, and how the garrisons and detachments of the soldiery and artillery could be stationed there, with a view to its defense and security, and also for the prevention of all smuggling,

And, the colony and river of Essequibo being of such extent that the mouth of this river can be reckoned at 6 and even nearly 7 hours wide, where in its mouth lie large islands cultivated by means of a great number of important plantations, for this reason it is necessary that the channels between these islands be somewhat defended through the establishment of certain batteries, both for safety and for preventing all smuggling.

The undersigned is aware that to this end it will be necessary to form and draft a plan showing how this might be done, and also how the constructing and garrisoning of the military posts can take place for the safety and aid of the plantations which in these last few years have been established on the western shore on the seacoast of this colony, toward the

No. 298.

river or at present abandoned colony of Pomeroon, as may be seen from Plan XIII.

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No. 299.

Resolution of the States General, March 2, 1775, as transmitted to the West India Company.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 505–509.]

There was received a letter from the Representative of His Serene Highness and the Directors of the West India Company in the Presidial Chamber Amsterdam, written there the 27th of last month, stating that more than once they had been obliged to address themselves to the States General with regard to the damage which the inhabitants of Curaçao and Saint Eustatius had been suffering for a long time from the circumstance that the Spaniards continued to detain and refused to give back the slaves of the aforesaid inhabitants which absconded to the coast of Cora and Porto Rico; in the same way as the aforesaid Representative and Directors, by their letter of October 12, 1773, had particularly drawn the States-General's attention to the damages which resulted to the inhabitants of Rio Essequibo and Demerara from the stopping of their slaves who had deserted to the Orinoco, in proof whereof they had inclosed in their aforesaid letter two extracts from letters from the Director-General in Rio Essequibo, dated April 16 and May 14 of the same year.

That they had expected that, after the repeated representations which at their request the States General had been pleased to make to the King of Spain through their Minister at the Spanish Court, His Majesty the King would at last have given such orders that those well-founded complaints might have been removed; but that to their sorrow they had learned that all the representations made by the States General had hitherto remained fruitless; that, although this offered to them no pleasing prospect of achieving better success by further representations, they had nevertheless found themselves obliged to bring once more to the knowledge of the States General the new complaints which they had recently received from the Director-General in Essequibo, not only in relation to the runaway slaves, but that the Spaniards were even coming into the very neighborhood of the posts of the aforesaid West India Company and to the posts themselves and there kidnapping or killing all the free Indians; as also the disasters which were to be expected therefrom if provision were not speedily made against this by efficacious measures,—as would be proven to the States General by the letter from the aforesaid Director-General extract of which was inclosed in the aforesaid letter from the aforesaid Representative and Directors, to which they referred, with request that, for the reason set forth in the aforesaid letter, the States General be pleased

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to take all such measures as they shall think necessary for the prevention of further damage and the irreparable ruin of the inhabitants of the Republic's aforesaid colonies in general, and of Essequibo and Demerara in particular.

Whereupon, after discussion, the Deputies of the Provinces of Holland and Westfriesland and of Zeeland have taken copy of the aforesaid letter and inclosure, to be more fully communicated in their meeting, they having severally insisted that upon the aforesaid subject urgent representations be made to the Court of Spain; after which it was resolved, that a copy of the aforesaid letter shall be sent to the Count van Rechteren, Envoy Extraordinary of the States General to the Court of His Majesty the King of Spain, with orders to represent, in manner and place such that it may be of the most effect, by a memorial addressed either directly to His Majesty, or else to his Ministry, that the States General had hoped and expected that some attention would have been given to the frequent complaints made at various times about the stopping of the runaway slaves and the refusing to give them back [or] at least that some negotiations would have been begun for making a treaty upon this subject with them, as had been done with other Powers; that, much though the States General had been grieved to see the little heed which has hitherto been paid to all their representations on this subject, they nevertheless would not have troubled His Majesty afresh on this behalf, and would have confined themselves to deciding for themselves upon means for putting a forcible stop to the escaping of the slaves, but that by the advices which they receive from their colonies, especially from Essequibo, they see themselves compelled to make renewed representations to His Majesty, in order that it may please him to issue once for all orders against such outrages, which are contrary to the good neighborship and harmony existing between the subjects of the respective countries, and cannot be reconciled with the highly renowned equity and well-known good intentions of His Majesty. That His Majesty's subjects in the West Indies, not contenting themselves with giving shelter to the runaway slaves, have gone so far as even to come in great numbers into the neighborhood of the posts of the colony of Essequibo, and even to the posts themselves, in order to carry off by force or kill all the free Indians thereabout. That the States General are fully persuaded that His Majesty can never approve or allow such procedure, and, when he is informed thereof, will give the orders required for obviating the consequences which might result from it; that such enterprises are so harmful and detrimental to the Republic's colonies, that it might become necessary to take measures for putting an end to these acts of violence. That the States General would be much grieved to do anything which might be displeasing to His Majesty, but that it will not be possible to refrain from using the available means for self-defense, and that therefore the States General, to

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prevent all estrangement between the respective subjects, do most amicably and urgently request that the necessary provision be made, in order not only that care be taken that no free Indians from the Republic's colonies be carried off by force or maltreated, but also that the stopping of the runaway slaves be efficaciously prevented.

And an extract from this resolution of the States General shall be handed by the Agent Quarles to the Viscount de la Herreria, Envoy Extraordinary of His Majesty the King of Spain, with request that to the best of his ability he second these representations of the States General with his very influential support and credit at his Court.

No. 300.

Extracts from letter from the Directors of the West India Company to the Commandeur in Demerara, March 16, 1775.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 188.]

* * * * * * *

As we have been informed by the Director-General in the Essequebo, by his despatch dated the 30th September, 1774, of new insults of the Spaniards, particularly at the post of Marocco, in the vicinity of which they have forcibly carried off or killed all the free Indians, we have brought this to the knowledge of their High Mightinesses.

* * * * * * *

We have been pleased, therefore, on the 2nd of this current month, to take such serious Resolution as your Honour will learn from copies thereof, which we are sending you to serve for information; and then, thereafter, these, as all other documents, are always to be at hand, and can serve for the fulfilment of the object for which the documents existed.

* * * * * * *

In the meanwhile, we hope that His Majesty the King of Spain will now really put an end in the future to all cause of complaint, and that thus there may exist and be cultivated a good harmony between the inhabitants on either side.

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No. 301.

Extracts from letter from West India Company (Amsterdam Chamber) to G. H. Trotz, Director-General in Essequibo, March 16, 1775.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 503–504.]

SIR: The contents of your letter dated September 30, 1774, concerning the intolerable outrages of the Spaniards, particularly those committed at the post of Moruca, in whose neighborhood they have forcibly carried off

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or killed all the Indians, was brought by us, as soon as possible, after it had been received, to the knowledge of the States General, who were pleased to take regarding it, on the 2d of this month, such an energetic resolution as you shall see from copies thereof which we send you for your information.

* * * * * * *

Meanwhile we hope that His Majesty the King of Spain will now put an effective stop to all causes for future complaints, and that thus good harmony may again exist and be cultivated between the respective citizens.

Wherewith, sir, etc.

Amsterdam, March 16, 1775.

No. 302.

Extract from letter from the Courts of Policy and Justice in Essequibo to West India Company, July 10, 1775.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No 3, p. 189.]

* * * * * * *

It were desirable that the remonstrances made by Their High Mightinesses to the Court of Spain concerning the desertion of the soldiers and the running away of the slaves had had better results, because it is impossible to devise or to carry into effect any preventive measures in this river, both on account of the size and the wide extent of the same, as well as by reason of the many embouchures or mouths, so that we fear with reason that this matter may one day be of evil consequence for the colony.

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No. 303.

Extract from letter from Paulus Vermeere, Postholder in Moruca, to G. H. Trotz, Director-General in Essequibo, October 11, 1775.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 190.]

This serves to inform your Honour that on the 8th of this month the Spanish Captain Mattheo, having with him fifty men, amongst whom there was also Hendrik Rodemeijer, who ran away from the mouth here (have been here), and taken away all the Indians and boats, going as far as a distance of more than two hours below the Post; they have even carried off the Indians who have come hither to lay out plantations, although I told them that the Indians belonged to me and were in my service, but they answered, "We found them on the water."

So that there is no longer an Indian to be found in these parts. The Spanish Captain said that they had come to look for the Indians who had

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killed the Spaniards, and that they had come in two large vessels lying at Biejarra at the mouth of the Hittaba, and that he, the Captain, had been sent out from those vessels, and he further said that his lord and master would shortly set a guard in the arm of the Weene called the Barmani, and that the whole of Maroekka belonged to the Spaniards, and I thereupon answered that the rivers Barima, Sweedt, and Weene, as well as Maroekka, belonged to the Dutch, and they said that it was not so.

I therefore feel compelled to inform your Honour of this as speedily as possible, because I do not know what I am to do in this matter—that is to say, with a post without any men or Indians.

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No. 304.

Extract from letter from G. H. Trotz, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company, October 22, 1775.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 190.]

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I take the liberty of forwarding to your lordships the copy of the letter sent to me by the Postholder of Maroco, from which your lordships will again be made acquainted with the liberties taken by our injurious neighbours the Spaniards. I will submit that letter to the consideration of the combined meeting of the Courts, but it will be impossible to arrive at any useful conclusion in the matter.

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No. 305.

Extracts from proceedings of West India Company (Zeeland Chamber), 1776.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 510–512.]

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[MONDAY, *February* 5, 1776.]

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Heard the report in the name of the Committee on Commerce, that upon examination of the inclosures belonging to the letter of Director-General Trotz, dated October 22 of last year and received on January 15 last, they had found a copy of a letter from the Postholder of Moruca, wherein he complains of the outrageous excesses of the Spaniards, of the acts of violence committed by them against the free Indians, and of the claims which the aforesaid Spaniards advance to the districts subject to the river Essequibo; after discussion it was resolved to write to the Presidial Chamber Amsterdam asking whether they did not think it necessary to bring the contents of the aforesaid letter from the Postholder of Moruca under

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the eyes of the States General, pointing out all the harmful consequences which might result therefrom; and the letter drawn up to this effect by the Advocate in accordance with the conclusions of the Committee on Commerce having been submitted for approval, it was approved and adopted.

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[MONDAY, *February* 19, 1776.]

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There was read a letter from the Presidial Chamber Amsterdam, written there without statement of date, containing, that from [our] letter of the 5th of this month they had been grieved to learn the excesses committed by the Spaniards against the free Indians in Essequibo, as seen from the letter written by the Postholder of Moruca to Director-General Trotz, and inclosed in a letter from the aforesaid Director dated October 22, 1775, whereof they requested a copy because it had not yet been received by them.

That they were somewhat reluctant to address themselves in this connection to the States General, because the States General had more than once caused representations to be made upon this subject, but without result; that, however, they thought it best to bring the matter unofficially before the Ministry at The Hague and get an expression of its opinion; another point of consideration with the aforesaid Presidial Chamber being, whether it might be advisable to give orders to the Director-General to oppose violence by violence, and to man the post of Moruca better.

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[MONDAY, *March* 25, 1776.]

* * * * * * *

There having been heard the report in the name of the Committee on Commerce, who in pursuance of our resolution of February 19 last have examined a letter received on the preceding day from the Presidial Chamber Amsterdam, lacking mention of day or date, containing an answer to two of our letters, to wit, one of the 5th preceding, about the excesses of the Spaniards against the free Indians in Essequibo, and the other, likewise of the 5th of the same month, about sustaining the Company's credit, all more fully set forth in this Chamber's minutes of February 19 aforesaid.

After discussion it was resolved to write in answer to the aforesaid Presidial Chamber that, while we fully approve of that Chamber's suggestion to send orders to the Director-General in Essequibo to man better the post of Moruca, we nevertheless would be of opinion that the contents of the letter of the Postholder of Moruca should be brought to the knowledge of the States General, in order to obtain the opinion of the States General whether orders should be given to the aforesaid Director-General to oppose violence by violence; and so on, as in the draft of the letter, which, having been submitted for approval, was approved and adopted.

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No. 306.

Extracts from proceedings of West India Company, (the Ten), May 15, 1776.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 513–515.]

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That, as regards the petitioners' complaints about the desertion of the slaves, the Representatives and Directors, as well as the officers of the militia, have most seriously weighed the harmful consequences thereof and also of the procedure of the Spaniards, and for that reason they long ago called the attention of the States General to the damage which results therefrom to the colonists and to the further annoying prospects, and repeated this on February 27, 1775, as will be seen from the inclosed copy thereof.

That the Representative and the Directors have also had the satisfaction of seeing these oft-repeated appeals find favor with the States General, who at various times have given the necessary orders to their Minister at the Spanish Court to induce His Majesty the King of Spain to put an end to the complaints made against the Spaniards.

That, the representations made having been fruitless, the States General, upon the aforesaid request made to them on February 27, 1775, by the Representative and the Directors, adopted a very urgent resolution; but that the Representative and the Directors have nevertheless been grieved to learn that all has been fruitless and that the Spaniards on the Orinoco are acting more and more unreasonably and boldly, and consequently the Representative and the Directors, in view of the ill success of the representations made by the States General to the Spanish Court, dare not flatter themselves that they will at present be able to bring about any treaty or compact with the Court of Spain.

That, as concerns the further complaints of the petitioners, about the bad condition of the militia and the fortifications on the one hand, and the heavy taxes on the other, this body could have wished, as regards the first point, that the Director-General and the Councilors had submitted to the Representative and the Directors a plan of the fortifications or posts and the troops needed therefor in order to prevent the desertion of the slaves and protect the colony and its inhabitants against the attacks of the Spaniards; while the Representative and the Directors, as to what has occurred on account of the smallness of the garrison, must remark that now more than twice as many troops have been sent to Essequibo alone as were formerly in both the rivers, and that the Director-General and the Councilors have never submitted a plan of defense for making Essequibo safe against the desertion of the slaves and the attacks of the Spaniards.

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That from what precedes the Director-General and the Councilors and also the petitioners will see that of a treaty with the Court of Spain there is as yet no ground for hope, and therefore other means of protection will

No. 305.

the eyes of the States General, pointing out all the harmful consequences which might result therefrom; and the letter drawn up to this effect by the Advocate in accordance with the conclusions of the Committee on Commerce having been submitted for approval, it was approved and adopted.

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That they were somewhat reluctant to address themselves in this connection to the States General, because the States General had more than once caused representations to be made upon this subject, but without result; that, however, they thought it best to bring the matter unofficially before the Ministry at The Hague and get an expression of its opinion; another point of consideration with the aforesaid Presidial Chamber being, whether it might be advisable to give orders to the Director-General to oppose violence by violence, and to man the post of Moruca better.

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[MONDAY, *March* 25, 1776.]

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There having been heard the report in the name of the Committee on Commerce, who in pursuance of our resolution of February 19 last have examined a letter received on the preceding day from the Presidial Chamber Amsterdam, lacking mention of day or date, containing an answer to two of our letters, to wit, one of the 5th preceding, about the excesses of the Spaniards against the free Indians in Essequibo, and the other, likewise of the 5th of the same month, about sustaining the Company's credit, all more fully set forth in this Chamber's minutes of February 19 aforesaid.

After discussion it was resolved to write in answer to the aforesaid Presidial Chamber that, while we fully approve of that Chamber's suggestion to send orders to the Director-General in Essequibo to man better the post of Moruca, we nevertheless would be of opinion that the contents of the letter of the Postholder of Moruca should be brought to the knowledge of the States General, in order to obtain the opinion of the States General whether orders should be given to the aforesaid Director-General to oppose violence by violence; and so on, as in the draft of the letter, which, having been submitted for approval, was approved and adopted.

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That, as concerns the further complaints of the petitioners, about the bad condition of the militia and the fortifications on the one hand, and the heavy taxes on the other, this body could have wished, as regards the first point, that the Director-General and the Councilors had submitted to the Representative and the Directors a plan of the fortifications or posts and the troops needed therefor in order to prevent the desertion of the slaves and protect the colony and its inhabitants against the attacks of the Spaniards; while the Representative and the Directors, as to what has occurred on account of the smallness of the garrison, must remark that now more than twice as many troops have been sent to Essequibo alone as were formerly in both the rivers, and that the Director-General and the Councilors have never submitted a plan of defense for making Essequibo safe against the desertion of the slaves and the attacks of the Spaniards.

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That from what precedes the Director-General and the Councilors and also the petitioners will see that of a treaty with the Court of Spain there is as yet no ground for hope, and therefore other means of protection will

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have to be resorted to, either by well manning the posts, or by little forts, or by outliers, or all of these, together with the aid of the free Indians, from whom it seems to this body that probably the most advantage is to be expected, and whose friendship therefore must be cultivated by all available means, and all causes for offense avoided, as the Representative and the Directors have repeatedly recommended to the Director-General and the Councilors, and even by a special article in their Instructions.

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No. 307.

Extract from Minutes and Order of the West India Company to the Commandeur and Court of Policy in Demerara, February to May, 1776.

[Translated from p. 248 of records in office of Secretary of the Government in Georgetown, entitled Orders and Extracts from Minutes of the Dutch West India Company, addressed to the Commandeur and Court of Policy of Demerara, February to May, 1776.]

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But the slaves who run away to Orinoco are always those of the better class of a plantation; are active and skillful in everything and are induced to go to the Spaniards only by the hope of obtaining their liberty. By experience it is known that the evil-minded negroes make no effort to run away, except when their masters are sleeping; they have to collect their small belongings and some provisions, so that, the night being then far advanced, they have not sufficient time to get to the western coast of the Essequibo without being arrested in their flight by the post above mentioned and established there to pursue them.

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No. 308.

Extract from letter from A. A. Brown, Secretary in Essequibo, to West India Company, June 6, 1777.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 540–541.]

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Next, I beg leave to inquire of you *whether lands which have been granted to some one formerly or long ago, or which have been acquired by purchase or inheritance* (some of them once cultivated and others not yet), *and are at present not at all under cultivation, can and must revert to the Company.*

If so, then the Company has a right to at least three quarters of this extensive colony since there are several planters who hold thousands of acres of land which are not under cultivation. For most of the old planters, as soon as the lower lands were brought under cultivation, transferred their plantations which lay above this fort or Flag Island, brought off all their slaves, mills, cattle, etc., and practically abandoned the old plantations; but, in order nevertheless to retain their right, as they fancy, to

No. 308.

those upper lands, they sent thither all their old and decrepit slaves, who can be of no use on the new plantations.

Thus one finds above this island (which is distant only one tide from the mouth) not one sugar, coffee or cotton plantation except only that of the ex-Councilor S. G. van der Heyden, situated a great tide above this island, at the mouths of the two rivers Mazaruni and Cuyuni.

In these rivers, likewise, just as in the river of Essequibo, properly so-called, there can be found not one plantation which furnishes any products except a little cassava bread, and this of so slight importance as not to deserve mention. And this is also the case with the navigable creeks of Bonnasieke, Arriwary, Supinaam, and Itteribisie, each of which has only one sugar plantation at its mouth, and all the other lands in those creeks and rivers are and remain uncultivated; they are only stripped of the best timber, much of which is for the sake of gain exported for the use of the sugar mills and other windmills on the English islands, which gives not the least profit to the Company, and in course of time our own plantations will lack such wood or at least will have to pay for it much more than at present; while, as long as this trade lasts, the lands remain lying uncultivated.

It is true that, so long as the lower lands are to be had, few will care for the upper lands; but, if you do not throw open the river Pomeroon, there will within a short while be few, if any, lower lands open to occupation; besides, I do not doubt that, if at home the interest in this colony should revive, the upper lands will increase in value. At present the difference is very great, for the latter are sold for f. 4 and the lower lands for f. 40 to f. 50 per acre.

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No. 309.

Extract from proceedings of West India Company (the Ten) April 24, 1778.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 551–552.]

* * * * * * *

The Representative and the Directors, in order to facilitate these their precautions, have, in accordance with their resolutions of April 8 and 15, 1773, requested the Directors of the Society of Surinam to give orders to their Governor there that he send out from there to Essequibo and Demerara an able engineer, furnished with proper instructions, for the purpose of surveying the situation of both the rivers, and drawing up and sending to the Representative and the Directors a plan of forts and batteries for the defense of those rivers.

The first lieutenant of artillery and engineer, Johan Christiaan von Henneman,[1] having in pursuance thereof arrived in the month of November,

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—He wrote his own name " von Henemann," and later, " van Heneman." He was clearly of German origin.

No. 309.

1773, from Surinam in Rio Essequibo, and having remained in the two rivers until March, 1775, has subsequently drawn up his maps, plans and report, and sent it hither on September 18, 1776, which plan and report was received and read in our meeting on March 20, 1777.

* * * * * * *

No. 310.

Extract from letter from C. Boter, Administrator of the Company's Plantations, to the West India Company (Amsterdam Chamber), August 31, 1778.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 553.]

* * * * * * *

From olden times it has been a very injurious custom here on the Company's plantations to send the slaves to salt fish even into the river of Orinoco, and many boys were sent along in order to learn salting and the roads and the languages of the various nations of Indians. Now, the boys have grown up, and know everywhere the road and the language so well that I could not help wondering.

For these reasons, and in order that the slaves may frequent no more the road to Orinoco, I have been led to solicit your kind permission that the three plantations of the Company be allowed to catch fish in the creek Boerasiri.

* * * * * * *

No. 311.

Extract from letter from G. H. Trotz, Director-General in Essequibo, to the West India Company, October 12, 1778.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 556–558.]

* * * * * * *

WEDNESDAY, *June 24, a. c.*

About the post of Moruca.

I have no doubt that the Captain-Commandant has informed you that there must be established on the Moruca a military post.

But why has he not rather urged that there should first be established again at least a lookout at the mouth of Essequibo, [to enter which river] the English ships must pay f. 2–10, whereby he profits.

2d. Is the Commandant so firmly assured of the loyalty of his soldiers as to plant a command at so great a distance and on so slippery a route to Orinoco—[soldiers] whom for the most part he is now forced to guard at night at the fort by his few trusty soldiers in order that they may not desert?

* * * * * * *

No. 311.

And, finally, even if one could plant there again with some profit a new post, yet on account of the great distance it can never be kept under proper discipline.

You will ask how, then, do you keep the Postholder and Bylier in order?

To that I must answer: "Only tolerably." But their office is rather to keep an eye on things and hold the Indians in order there, etc.; and they are under no military discipline.

I should on this account, *salvo meliore*, be of opinion that it would be for these and sundry other reasons very dangerous, absolutely useless, and moreover very costly for the Company if we should plant that post in that quarter.

* * * * * * *

No. 312.

Extract from letter from A. Siraut-Destouches, Colonist and Land-Surveyor in Essequibo, to the Director-General and Court of Policy, in Essequibo, September, 1779.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 559–560.]

* * * * * * *

Respectfully makes known A. S. des Touches, planter and inhabitant of this river.

That he, the petitioner, having for some time past been considering, on the one hand, the prospect at present of a rupture between certain of the Powers in Europe, and whether and in how far this might in time involve this colony, and, on the other hand, the scant protection which this colony has, especially that part in which the petitioner is established, these thoughts have recently been greatly quickened by the rumor that a considerable number of Spaniards are sojourning in the neighboring river Pomeroon, without as yet any reliable information having been received as to their intentions; and, weighing the danger which immediately threatens the colony in general and the sea-coast in particular, with the plantations there made, in case of any secret plans for aggression by our foes, he the petitioner has hit upon the thought that by building on the coast a redout, intrenchment, or bulwark, a means of security might be found, if not to ward off entirely an invasion into the colony, at least to check it for a considerable time, until more efficacious means could be employed.

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No. 313.

Extract from letter from G. H. Trotz, Director-General in Essequibo, to West India Company (Amsterdam Chamber), September 23, 1779.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 561.]

* * * * * * *

Having thus replied to your greatly esteemed resolutions on my behalf, I take the liberty to inform you that three weeks ago a party of about 80 Spaniards and half-breeds were for some days in the river Pomeroon, without, however, doing any damage; but the Indians report them as having said that they were coming back in three months and would then establish a fort there.

* * * * * * *

No. 314.

Extracts from Journal of J. C. Severyn, Military Commandant in Essequibo, 1781.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 564–566, 569.]

[THURSDAY, *March* 1, 1781.]

* * * * * * *

Several reports which came in yesterday and to-day state that the Spanish privateer has already seized some negroes of English planters in this colony who were on the river in boats, and holds them prisoners in his vessel; while he has hailed many others and made them heave to, but, on learning that they belonged to Dutch planters, he allowed them to depart unmolested, he having gone so far as to threaten with musket in hand that he would fire upon them if they were unwilling to come to. This Spaniard's name is Mateo, and it is a matter of speculation whether he has a commission.

* * * * * * *

[SATURDAY, *March* 31.]

* * * * * * *

The Director-General arrives at the island at 8 o'clock, and communicates to me that he intends sending the assistant Luyken with a flag of truce to Orinoco to the Spanish governor, in order to claim back the boats and slaves captured and stolen by the Spaniard Mateo in this river and on its coast.

* * * * * * *

The ex-militia captain Steeneken, being at the island, was requested along with me to constitute a session of the Council, in which the Director-General presented what was said above, together with a letter in the French language to the Spanish governor, already prepared by the Director-General, in which at my suggestion various changes and additions were made and certain piratical acts which had been forgotten were writ-

No. 314.

ten in; among these especially the seizing and stealing of two boats and eight negroes of the planters Milleken and Vernon, before February 28 and therefore at a time when no articles or compact had yet been made by us with the English force and the river still was entirely under the sovereignty of the States General; that this could not be called otherwise than a piratical act committed by Mateo.

With this Luyken departs.

* * * * * * *

[TUESDAY, *April* 3.]

The assisiant Luyken, who had set out with a flag of truce and letters for the Governor of Orinoco, returns and says that in the river he had met a boat with Indians, who had told him that Mateo was lying with his craft in the river of Barima, and was carrying off everything without distinction.

* * * * * * *

[TUESDAY, *May* 22.]

The planter Cramer reports to Captain Ingram that in the river Pomeroon Spaniards with boats have again been seen.

To whom I give orders to reconnoitre this more fully and then make reliable reports; wherefore he has resolved not to depart to-morrow to Demerara with the brigantine *the Star,* but to await these reports

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No. 315.

Extract from proceedings of Court of Policy in Essequibo, April 13, 1781.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 569–570.]

* * * * * * *

In answer to this, however, Commodore Thompson declared that in this respect his orders were so positive that he could make no change therein, but must assume possession of it all for His Majesty of Great Britain, because this war had mainly been occasioned by the behavior of the city of Amsterdam, where the greatest part of the Company has its home; he consequently demanded a precise statement of its possessions and their estimated value, and of all plantations belonging to owners in that city, and also of all the mortgages upon plantations in this river which had been there negotiated.

And, lastly, a copy of such map of this river as might exist here, so as to give His Majesty a fair idea of the importance of this colony.

All possible representations and remonstrances which were made by the Court against these demands having remained fruitless, and in view therefore of the compulsion and obligation under which the Court finds itself in this condition of affairs,

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It was resolved to yield to the aforesaid demands, and the Secretary was consequently ordered to have the aforesaid lists made out, and to allow, on demand, a copy to be made for the Commodore, of the sketch-map of this river drawn by the land-surveyor Des Touches and kept in the Secretary's archives.

The Commodore having at the same time spoken of the depredations and attacks of the Spaniards upon the inhabitants of this river, and the bad condition of the military resources for defense which exist in this river,

It was resolved to order the Staff Commissary to cause to be prepared a statement thereof.

* * * * * * *

No. 316.

Register of the Plantations in Essequibo, 1781.

From a list in the Public Register, Georgetown.]

	Plantations.
On the Bonasique Creek	2
On the Upper Essequibo	1
On Masseroeni	1
On the west coast of Essequibo	65
On the Island of Leguan	49
On the Island of Wakhanaam	26
On the Island of Avocabisi	6
On the Island of Carabara	5
On the Island of Trooljes Grande	7
Opposite, on Tierra Firme	2
On the Island of Abrejaboenaboe	1
On the Island of Benabanabo	1
On the Island of Verkken	11
On the Island of Loulonu	(one brick yard.)

No. 317.

Letter from Antonio de Pereda, Governor of Spanish Guayana to G. H. Trotz, Director-General in Essequibo, May 6, 1781; as transmitted in Dutch translation, to the West India Company (Amsterdam Chamber), June 27, 1783.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 571–573.]

TO HIS EXCELLENCY. MUCH HONORED SIR:

On the 26th of last month, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon, there arrived here at the fort of Antigua Guayana Mr. Johan Neuman and retinue, who presented to the Captain Commandant of that fort the pass

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which had been given by Your Excellency in order that he with his retinue and his ship *Carot* might pass as a flag-of-truce for the purpose of delivering a packet of letters from Your Excellency. These the aforesaid Captain Commandant immediately forwarded to me by a messenger whom I keep there for that purpose; and thereupon, as soon as I received them, I issued orders that the aforesaid Mr. Johan Neuman should come to this town, so that I could put into his hands my response to the aforesaid letter of Your Excellency, dated March 31 of this year, whereby I had the honor of being informed, to my great sorrow, by Your Excellency, that on the 8th of that month your colony had found itself under the necessity of surrendering to His Britannic Majesty, who, according to the statement of these enemies, was at war with the States General of the United Provinces, and that the garrison of the fort had marched out with all the honors of war and continued to serve the colony against all disturbances and commotions, the government and the magistrates having remained on the old footing; while in the same letter you complained of Mr. Mateo, who a few days before that event, being in the mouth of the river Essequibo, had taken possession of a little boat with five negro slaves, owned by an inhabitant of the colony, J. Milleken by name, and of another with three negro slaves belonging to another inhabitant, named William Vernon, which boat he had borrowed from an inhabitant of Demerara named E. M. Bermingham, all this having occurred at one and the same time—and this notwithstanding that the river Essequibo was entirely under the rule of the States General, from which it did not pass until the 8th of the aforesaid month of March; that, furthermore, on the 10th of the same month, some Spaniards, doubtless by compulsion of the aforesaid Mateo, had taken possession of a small schooner, and of all it had on board, which schooner belonged to an inhabitant of the colony named Nicolaas Glad, a subject of the States General; moreover, that they have seized another boat, belonging to an inhabitant named F. H. van Nuys; which acts Your Excellency brought to my notice, in order that I should command the aforesaid Mateo to depart at once from the aforesaid coast, and should place at Your Excellency's disposal, by delivering it to Mr. Johan Neuman, who was sent for the purpose of demanding it back, everything which Mateo, or the Spaniards who were there, may have stolen and carried off, and should have this restitution made in accordance with the lists which you had given to the commissioner. These he likewise handed to the Captain Commandant of the fort of Guayana, who transmitted them to me together with Your Excellency's other letters, from which I learned of the appeal made by the aforesaid Glad to Your Excellency and your Council, with a written statement or list of the effects and goods on board of his schooner when they took it away by force. Fully informed of all this, I assure Your Excellency of my sorrow at the disturbance and reverses which you have experienced through the capture of the States General's possessions by the subjects of the

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British King on the 8th March, as Your Excellency informs me; and also that the aforesaid Mr. Johan Neuman has fully executed his commission, having transmitted to me the packet of letters through the Captain Commandant of the aforesaid fort. At the same time I make known to Your Excellency that the authority to pass judgment or decide as to the prizes made by the privateers of this province belongs exclusively to the Intendent General thereof, Don Josef de Abalos, residing in Caracas, to whose high court all must address themselves who, like Mr. N. Glad, have complaints to make, and there it will also be investigated whether the privateers have acted in accordance with the regulations for privateering; for it is in my power only to make report of the prizes which are made, and [to express] a sincere desire to have an opportunity of obliging Your Excellency. I have the honor to place myself most obediently and sincerely at Your Excellency's disposal, commending you to the protection, etc.

No. 318.

Extracts from proceedings of West India Company (the Ten), September 30, 1784; as transmitted on that date to the Commandeur and Court of Policy in Demerara.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 576–577.][1]

* * * * * * *

And, in order to attain this object, it would seem to us that attempts should be made to get hold of a few of those negroes who have had the worst experience in the Orinocco and have been there for some time, in order that these might inform their comrades of these circumstances and thereby scare them off.

To this end it would be necessary to form a fund (for instance of f. 10,000) so as to induce some of the common sort of Spaniards by money to furnish us some of those negroes as hereinbefore described.

* * * * * * *

And, in order that hereby no occasion be given to the Spaniards to have much communication with our negroes in the colony, it would be well to make the rule that when such Spaniards have any negroes as aforesaid, they must bring them to the post at Moruca and there hand them over, in return for payment of the established price, to a person to be appointed therefor.

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No. 319.

Extracts from Memorial of the Planters and Inhabitants of Essequibo and Demerara to the States-General, June 10, 1785.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 586–587.]

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The extent, from the creek or river Mahaica, east of Demerara, to beyond the creek Capoei, west of Essequibo, along the coasts and islands, can

[1] For another translation of this document see page 244.

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be put at about fifteen Dutch miles, which great basin or bay is mostly provided with plantations, to which are then to be added those situated within the mouths of the two rivers and on the creeks and canals, which, particularly in Demerara, makes a great number.

* * * * * * *

In the mean time, persons of enterprise, both in America and in Europe, are immensely increasing by their cultivation the value of these lands; witness, as regards this colony the incalculable augmentation of the intrinsic value of the river Demerara and its districts from the first opening in 1746 to the present day; what a treasure of welfare, in every regard, does not this cultivation bring into the bosom of the whole Republic! Of this, one will become most strikingly convinced when in contrast one considers what even at the present day the Fatherland and its inhabitants derive from the possession of the as yet uncultivated river Pomeroon.

* * * * * * *

And as for Essequibo, its western seashore is capable of cultivation from below the creek Capoei (where as yet only very few plantations lie) to the river Pomeroon, aye up to that of Moruca, and, if we should succeed in making a cartel with respect to the negroes absconding to Orinoco, no reason appears why both the river of Pomeroon and that of Moruca might not with an increase of colonists be turned also into productive possessions and changed in character in the same way as since the year 1746 has happened with Demerara.

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No. 320.

Minute of the States-General, July 15, 1785.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 192.]

Received a despatch from the Comte van Rechteren, their High Mightinesses' Ambassador to the Court of Spain, written at Aranjuez the 27th of the previous month, making mention, *inter alia*, of the receipt of their High Mightinesses' Resolution of the 30th May previous, containing their High Mightinesses' reiterated order relative to the establishing of a Cartel with the august Court in question for preventing the desertion of slaves from the Colonies of Essequebo and Demerara to the contiguous ones of the Crown.

And further, that he had now for almost two years allowed no opportunity to pass by, either by speaking or writing, to bring about the conclusion of a Treaty of this nature.

That he was steadily put off with favourable promises, and that they, under all sorts of pretexts, had always avoided, not only to enter upon negotiations, but also, after the fashion customary with the Ministry there, even to give a written reply.

No. 320.

That he had continually been delayed an interview by them. That then, two months previously, he had performed the duty which devolved on him from new and pressing orders from their High Mightinesses, and pursuant thereto had delivered a further Memorandum, a final and satisfactory reply to which then, not yet eight days previously, had been promised him, copy of which Memorandum is forwarded with his despatch.

No. 321.

Extract from proceedings of the Court of Policy in Essequibo, 1786.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 591.]

* * * * * * *

[*August* 10, 1786.]

The Commandeur makes known to this Court that he has received a letter from the Director-General, inclosing a letter from Wm. van Langenberg to J. R. Gardner, which he lays before the meeting. Upon reading it, it appears, particularly from Langenberg's letter, that the aforesaid Langenberg had heard from Indians, who had come from Orinoco to warn their friends, that Mateo was ready to come to Pomeroon to carry off the Indians, also that the Spaniards had already seized and carried off some Indians there, and, lastly, that he Langenberg had been warned by one of the Indians who had been seized, and had escaped from his bonds, that they (the Spaniards) would come to plunder the post, and also had their eyes on the schooner of the aforesaid Gardner.

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No. 322.

Extract from proceedings of the Court of Policy of Essequibo and Demerara, June 9, 1789, as transmitted to the West India Company, July 12, 1789.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 598.]

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Which having been heard and the Secretary having been thanked for his communication, the proposed question was further discussed, and the conclusion reached by this Court was that in view of the Secretary's communication, it should be tried whether through letters from the Governor Marmion to the Court of Spain a like favorable resolution might not be obtained as already existed with respect to the island of Trinidad; that in case this should not succeed or were not to the taste of the States General, there were no better means for preventing this running away than to maintain and keep cruising, small armed boats, built like the Spanish lanchas, namely very long, narrow, and shallow, to which the promise should be given that all the runaway slaves they bring back will be bought

No. 322.

of them for the colony at their full value; this would greatly stimulate these people and make them vigilant. These boats would also greatly contribute towards protecting the post of Moruca and the Indians living there against molestation by the Spaniards from the Orinoco.

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No. 323.

Extract from Report of Commissioners W. A. Sirtema van Grovestins and W. C. Boey, to the Prince of Orange, Stadhouder, on the condition of the Colony of Essequibo and Demerara, July 27, 1790.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 601–602, 604.]

* * * * * * *

The river of Essequibo is cultivated on the eastern side from Bourassiri[2] to Bonnasigue,[3] and on the western side from the Toeloekaboeka[4] to the Supinaam Creek, being a distance of nine thousand six hundred rods. However, many more lands here could be brought under cultivation if the vicinity of the river Orinoco did not prevent it, for the Spaniards there sometimes come with armed boats, called lances [lanchas], as far as Moruca and by force carry away the Indians who dwell there, enslaving them, while on the other hand our negro slaves, when they run away, betake themselves to Orinoco, where they are proclaimed free.

The colonies of Demerara and Essequibo therefore form a stretch of twenty-four [Dutch] miles along the coast of Guiana; and, if means could be found to facilitate the inland communication by appropriate canals issuing into the rivers, both for the transportation of products and for the drainage of the lands, this would increase incalculably the land fit for cultivation.

* * * * * * *

[*The Commissioners suggest the following garrisons:*]

In the capital, Stabroek, the staff and two hundred men....200
At the place up the river where the Sandberg is, on each side twenty-five men.... 50
The fort Willem Fredrik.... 25
On Coerabane [creek] fifty men.... 50
On Mahaica [creek] fifty men.... 50

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—These were the Commissioners sent by the Dutch Government for thorough inquiry into the administration of the colonies by the West India Company; and the sequel was the assumption of the colonies by the State at the expiration of the Company's charter in 1792. Sirtema van Grovestins became the first Governor under the new régime. This transcript is made from the official original of the report, signed in autograph. There is also in the Archives another manuscript of it, a copy, marked 2013.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—*I. e.*, Bourassiri Creek.

[3] Note by Prof. Burr.—Bonasica Creek.

[4] Note by Prof. Burr.—Doubtless for Toeloekaboera (Tulu-cabura) Creek.

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[On] Abary [creek]	25
In [the] Essequibo, on Flag Island	50
On Bonasica [creek]	25
On Leguane Island	25
On Bourassiri [creek]	50
On the point of the west seacoast	25
On the Arabisi coast	25
	600 men.

* * * * * * *

It behooves here to say a word of the so-called Postholders. These are employees of the Company who dwell on the various frontiers in order to foster the good understanding with the Indians.

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No. 324.

Extracts from copy of proceedings of West India Company (the Ten) September 30, 1784, transmitted to the Commandeur and Court of Policy in Demerara.

[Translated from pp. 34–35 of a record in the office of the Secretary of the Government, Georgetown, entitled Orders and Extracts from Minutes of West India Co. sent to Director-General and Court of Policy 1788–1791.][1]

* * * * * * *

Means must be devised to get possession of some of the negroes who may have suffered most in Orinoco, and who have been there for some time, that they may inform their companions of these circumstances, and thereby discourage them by these means.

For this purpose it would be necessary to make a fund (of about 10,000 florins), with the object of persuading some Spaniards of the lower classes to endeavor to procure some negroes like those already described, * * * and in order that by this means not to give to the Spaniards any opportuity of having much communication with our negroes in the Colony, it would be expedient to give orders to said Spaniards, who might have any negroes (like those before mentioned), to bring them to the post of Moroco, and there to deliver them to a person appointed for that purpose, giving them the price agreed.

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No. 325.

Letter from Louis Chollet, Colonist and Land-Surveyor in Essequibo, to West India Company (Amsterdam Chamber), 1791.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 607–608.]

Louis Chollet respectfully represents that he, the petitioner, for many years a resident of the colony of Essequibo and Demerara, has among other things applied himself there to the knowledge of the grounds and

[1] For another translation of this document (from the original) see page 240.

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lands which are situated under the jurisdiction of those colonies and might yet be brought under cultivation. That he especially studied the whole west seacoast, from Essequibo to the river of Pomeroon, and furthermore the river of Pomeroon itself, as being of a nature probably to surpass expectation when settlements and plantations are formed there.

That he has circumstantially embodied all this in a Memorial which he, the petitioner, takes the liberty to inclose herewith, together with a map drawn up by himself, beginning at the creek of Mahaicony and ending with the boundary between the Spaniards and the colonies of the State, on which map the river of Pomeroon with the adjoining lands is also represented.[1]

And, inasmuch as he would greatly like to establish himself in the aforesaid river of Pomeroon and to lay out a plantation there, therefore he hereby takes the liberty to apply to the Company, requesting that he be granted in that river 500 acres of land, on such basis and in such way as Your Honors shall see fit; or, in case Your Honors have already, contrary to his belief, made dispositions concerning the lands in that river, in such case a grant of 500 acres on the seacoast west of that river.

Wherewith, etc.

LOUIS CHOLLET.

No. 326.

Extract from the secret proceedings of the Council of the Colonies of the State in the West Indies,[2] January 4, 1793.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 609-610.]

Private instructions for J. W. A. Sirtema van Grovestins, Governor-General of Essequibo, Demerara, and appurtenant rivers and districts.

* * * * * * *

24. He shall as soon as possible send in to the Council a circumstantial report of all the lands granted, adding to it an accurate list of lands not granted, and how the river Pomeroon can be turned to account? and how the interior lands? whether canals can be made thither, and how private individuals can be stimulated thereto; and, in general, everything that can in any way serve in making a system for future grants.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For a reproduction of what is, almost undoubtedly, a copy of this map, see atlas of the U. S. Commission, map 68.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—With the close of the year 1791 the West India Company came to an end. Its colonies passed into the hands of the State, which, until November, 1795, administered them through a body called the "Council of the Colonies of the State in the West Indies."

No. 327.

Extracts from letter from W. A. Sirtema van Grovestins, Governor-General in Essequibo and Demerara, to the Council of the Colonies of the State in the West Indies, August 19, 1794.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 612-627].

SIRS: I have the honor to send you, accompanying this letter, the journal kept of my voyage to the river of Pomeroon, to which are added a few considerations concerning the nature of the grounds, what will be needed for working them, and the advantages which may result therefrom to the mother-land.

At the same time I have thought it might be useful to make a calculation, together with an estimate, of the sum to which will amount the cost of making a coffee plantation, beginning with a small force of ten negroes.

Moreover, what heavy expenses must be incurred for making a sugar plantation.

And, lastly, a calculation of what the expenses will be for making a cotton plantation, in the grounds that are fit for this, and how soon the planters can have a yield therefrom.

And, the surveyor Louis Chollet having handed to me on the 1st July of this year a memorial concerning the aforesaid river and coast of Pomeroon, which was found by me to be exceedingly interesting, I could not but join it hereto likewise, and bring it before you for deliberation. This memorial, joined to my aforesaid journal, and the memorial of considerations which I have furnished to you with respect to the grounds along the eastern seacoast of Demerary, and moreover my various dispatches dealing with the regulations as to the granting of the grounds and with this matter generally, will, I trust, give sufficient information for formulating regulations to apply to the grounds in the river and coast of Pomeroon. However, if you should be pleased nevertheless to authorize me provisionally to frame such regulations, taking account of the local circumstances, I shall very gladly try to do so, the rather since very probably in course of time certain circumstances will show themselves which must give rise to some change, such as the local conditions will not fail to suggest.

Proceeding now to the map of the aforesaid river and seacoast of Pomeroon, furnished herewith[1], I beg leave to draw your attention to the fact that on it has been placed a canal which in course of time will have to be made from the seacoast to the river of Pomeroon, it being marked with the letters D D. between numbers 57 and 58.

I have asked the surveyor Chollet to consider whether it would not be better to make a canal between numbers 75 and 76, but he answered saying that, if the canal were made between numbers 57 and 58, it would be much nearer and more conveniently situated for the inhabitants on the shore of Essequibo, and also for those on the islands situated there; furthermore,

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—For this map see atlas of the U. S. Commission, map 69.

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that farther on than the creek Corial-path, the waves there are high and very dangerous as far as the mouth of the river of Pomeroon.

You will please notice, furthermore, that on the map after every four plantations along the seacoast has been reserved a Company's path, which will have a width of ten rods, large enough for placing a post there, while several of these Company's paths can serve for draining off the forest-water.

The batteries along the mouth of the river, marked with the letter aa, appear to me to be very well placed, and, as for the execution of this work, it will have to be entrusted to a skillful engineer.

The reserved land from the point Cape Nassau to No. 98 along the seacoast, as also in front in the river, is exceedingly necessary to prevent the washing away of the grounds there.

The town, marked on the map with the letter A. is very well placed, but it is easy to understand that it can only be inhabited by the officials of the country so long as that colony brings forth no products; but, as soon as this happens, doubtless sundry commercial houses will establish themselves there, and it will be possible to sell every concession at a high price.

The aforesaid town will, according to the map, occupy 400 rods of front, and thus be amply large enough; for other matters concerning it I respectfully refer to my journal.

Before proceeding to the various applications for grounds, I take the liberty to submit to you, as my opinion, that it would be of very great advantage if you reserved to yourselves the lands from the river Moruca up to the projected town, that is, from No. 1 to No. 19 inclusive.

For the rest I must remark that, the river of Pomeroon once having been set going, there will appear various applicants desirous to obtain these concessions, and I am honestly convinced that within the space of five years planters will offer you for a concession there more than f. 10,000, the more so because of the great advantage of these lands, namely that, though on the mainland, they nevertheless get the benefit of the sea winds, and run no risk whatever of any washing away; * * *

* * * * * * *

W. A. S. VAN GROVESTINS.

[INCLOSURE No. 1.]

Journal of my visit to the river of Pomeroon; to which are joined sundry recommendations.

On May 15, between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning, I went on board the cutter of Mr. Blair, whereupon we set sail, Mr. Smeer, Captain in the Navy, going along at my request to make measurements at this opportunity of the coast and of the entrance of the river Pomeroon.

And, in order more fruitfully to put my conclusions on paper, I gave orders to the two surveyors, Messrs. Chollet and van den Burght, to go with me.

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After a very speedy voyage of 24 hours we arrived off the river Pomeroon, and being not too well at home on that coast we were obliged to stay at anchor over-night. In the morning at daybreak we went on as far as the creek of Moruca, which up to now has been maintained to be the boundary of our territory with that of Spain, upon what basis I do not know. It will be exceedingly necessary to define that division-line once for all.

The government's postholder Bartholy came to meet us with his canoe, in which were fourteen Indians of the Warrow nation; upon the advice of the aforesaid postholder we sailed with 6 feet of water into the creek of Moruca and thereupon went on shore at his place.

A very noteworthy thing is that in the rainy season the Spanish lanchas come from Orinoco so far as Moruca by an inland way, passing from one creek into another, and they transport in this fashion their horned cattle and mules, and find on the way the necessary sustenance for the cattle, both grass and water.

Those inland voyages are made though the following creeks and rivers: from Moruca one comes into the creek Habon[1] [Itaboe?] and Barimani, then into the river of Waini, which, from the point where one reaches it, is as large and deep as the river of Demerara. Two tides away from the mouth of the river Waini, to wit, on the southwestern side, one finds a creek named Moera,[2] which one goes up a couple of hours, when one passes into Rio Barima, about three tides from the mouth of the sea. That river is much larger than Rio Demerara and is reckoned twenty hours distant from the post of Moruca. From the mouth of Rio Barima to Rio Orinoco one counts 3 [Dutch] miles distance; between these two rivers there is again a creek named Amacura.

This report was made to us by the postholder Bartholy, who in former times has made various voyages to Orinoco. The navigation of the Spanish lanchas being disposed of, I shall again go on with my journal.

* * * * * * *

We should never lose sight here of gaining the Indians more and more to our interests, especially at present, if we wish to enter upon the cultivation of the river and coast of Pomeroon. Great advantage may be had from them in felling the heavy timber; besides that heavy work they would be a support for the whites there in case the slaves should grow discontented: the negroes are naturally afraid of the Indians.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The Governor-General probably first jotted down some form of the word *Itabo*, or else himself misread that written word. How easily an *I* is mistaken for an *H* in the handwriting of this period could be abundantly illustrated by example.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—The Mora passage.

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Having investigated everything at the post of Moruca, we set sail on May 17 to the river of Pomeroon, which by the guess of the surveyors is distant from Moruca eleven to twelve hundred rods—it will be more exactly determined on the map. At the time when the water is at its lowest point we came into the mouth of the river Pomeroon, anchored there, and found 6 or 7 feet of water; therefore, at spring tide, with high water, one will find 14 or 15 feet, and when the grounds in that river are under cultivation, the mouth will become considerably deeper, and also the two mud-banks which lie in the sea on either side of the channel—these will moreover wash away. The width of the river Pomeroon, formerly called a creek, must be at the mouth 90 or 100 rods. At the beginning of flood-tide we sailed up the river to before the creek *Wacupo*, being half an hour from the mouth, and again anchored there; after this the surveyors went in a corial with the compass to make their observations of the course of the creek.

* * * * * * *

Now that I am putting on paper my thoughts about the river Pomeroon, I cannot omit to make my comments concerning those persons who already have obtained grounds, and those who still ask for such, along the western seacoast of Essequibo, otherwise called the Arabisi[1] coast; this region is situated between the river Pomeroon and the sea. The greater part of the inhabitants flatter themselves that those grounds will be very good for the cultivation of cotton, but the surveyors have assured me that beyond 200 rods in depth counted from the seacoast the grounds there are of the same nature as those in the river Pomeroon; so those planters are again about to work to their own disadvantage, not reflecting that the grounds are notably higher towards the sea, and that they cannot be drained therefore on the sea side.

In order to provide against the ruin of several planters, it would be very necessary that the Directors stipulate in the regulations concerning the grounds of the river of Pomeroon and also along the western seacoast, that from No. 58 along that coast as far as Cape Nassau the grantees shall be required to make the front of their plantations in the river of Pomeroon. Thereby we get more certainty that the 100 rods of forest will remain standing along the seacoast there, and by this precaution we also provide against the washing away of that coast, which is exceedingly necessary for the preservation of that part which in some places has so slight a depth before reaching the river.[2] All this you will be able to study on the map, which will be ready within a short time, and also to observe the lack of depth of the grounds from No. 70 to 86, and the danger which might result therefrom if the greatest part of that coast were inundated by the sea.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—Or "Arabian": the word is a misunderstanding of Arabisi.

[2] Note by Prof. Burr.—*l. c.*, where the neck of land between sea and river is so narrow. A glance at the map will make this clear.

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It is an advantage to the planters to make their plantations in the river and to begin making them from the waterside; 5 or 6 rods should, however, be reserved along the river for a public road. We must expect that, if the government is not stubborn and gives all facilities, this river and seacoast will be brought under cultivation within a few years, whereby the commerce and navigation of our mother-land must flourish. Essequibo can become a gold mine for our Republic.

* * * * * * *

The creek of Wacupo, on account of its course, which is more or less straight, is very well adapted for making coffee plantations, except near the mouth; on the other hand, because of the breadth which it attains there, the entrance of that creek is very favorable for the establishment of a capital. The necessary requisites are at hand, firewood and fresh water; besides, every merchant who might wish to establish himself there, can receive by sloops the merchandise which is necessary for the warehouses.

On the map you can see the demarcation of the land which must be reserved for the town.

After having examined the availability of that creek, we came in the evening again on board the cutter, and thereupon sailed up with the flood-tide to before the creek *Ikiony*, which lies 2 hours from the mouth of the river; this creek is twice as broad as that of Wacupo.

On the 18th May at daybreak the surveyors went with the flood up the aforesaid creek, in order to examine its course with the compass, and at six o'clock we followed them.

We went up the creek with the flood, four or 5 hours up; the grounds in it and the trees there are of the same nature as those in the river Pomeroon, and the farther one goes up the creek, the more the heavy trees decrease, and thereafter one finds a sort of undergrowth, and after that one comes into the savanna.

While awaiting the ebb, in order to drift down again, we took our meal in the forest with the Indians; it consisted of some cassava bread and boiled and roasted crabs, very appetizingly prepared. After that we started upon the voyage to the river of Pomeroon, and in the afternoon went on board; shortly after this the surveyors came also, and reported to us that the grounds in the savannas are of the same nature and very like those in the creeks of the eastern seacoast of the colony of Demerara, being a land of a fen-like soil.

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That same evening we again sailed from the creek of Moruca, and the following afternoon were again in the river of Demerara; there is no example of so favored a voyage, for ordinarily they count for the return from Pomeroon to Demerara 2 or 3 times 24 hours.

Attractive though the grounds in the river of Pomeroon and on the coast are for the speculators in new grounds, such enterprises nevertheless

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are accompanied by great danger. One comes there into a wild land, without any aid or assistance; all the things needed for making a plantation, all necessaries of life, must be fetched over a dangerous sea, the expenses are enormously high as can be seen from the subjoined calculation for making a coffee plantation.

No planter can for the present continue his work with any success without heavy loans and even then he is not assured of a good issue of his enterprise; the disasters which one is exposed to are great and manifold; a bad crop, the loss of slaves, the falling of the prices of the products, ill management; any one of these bring him to a total ruin, and where does one find money-lenders who are willing to advance their capital for so many years without receiving interest?

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No. 328.

Extract from proceedings of the Council of the Colonies of the State in the West Indies, December 10, 1794.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 638–639.]

[WEDNESDAY, *December* 10, 1794.]

* * * * * * *

The Committee on Military Affairs reported that, in pursuance of this Council's resolution of the first of this month, it had examined what was said by Governor-General van Grovestins in his letter of August 19, No. 93, concerning the establishing of military posts in the river Pomeroon:

That, in the Committee's opinion, before it can enter into any deliberations on this subject, it must await the advice of the Committee on Policy, and the decision of this Council in relation to opening that river and granting lands in the same.

And that, when the Committee has been informed on this point, it will more fully offer its conclusions with respect to the defense of that river.[1]

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—So far as the minutes show, the matter did not again come up in the Council, which a few months later (November, 1795) gave place, under the new Batavian Republic, to a "Committee on the Affairs of the Colonies." In April, 1796, the colony passed into the hands of the British, and remained in their possession until 1802. Meanwhile, with the beginning of 1801, the "Committee on the Affairs of the Colonies" had been replaced by a new body, of but five members, called the "Council of the American Colonies and Possessions of the Batavian Republic."

No. 329.

Extract from Report of G. A. W. Ruysch, Deputy of the Council of the Colonies at the Congress of Amiens, to R. J. Schimmelpenninck, Dutch Plenipotentiary there, January 10, 1802.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 649.]

* * * * * * *

Our agricultural colonies are all situated on the mainland; nothing but the shores of the sea and a small part of the rivers have been brought under cultivation. Pushing by boat 100 [Dutch] miles up one finds on the other side of the mountains the finest and most fertile lands of the world, fit for products of the four quarters of the globe, mines of all kinds of metal, a temperate and healthy climate. In case of revolt the blacks can betake themselves thither, establish colonies, and, having become powerful through time and quiet, disturb or annihilate the white people's colonies below; of this the colony of Surinam furnishes a striking example.

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No. 330.

Extract from an anonymous Memorial regarding the Colonies of Essequibo and Demerara. [1802?][1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 652–653.]

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When one casts the eye upon the map, and examines the extent of the seacoast, one will find that from the creek Abary (being the boundary between the colony Berbice and Demerara) to the river Pomeroon, which belongs to the colony of Essequibo, its extent amounts to fully 25 hours' march, and constitutes a continuous row of plantations, which is only intersected by the intervening rivers and creeks; when at the same time one bears in mind that that entire series of cultivated grounds lies close to the sea, where an enemy can at high tide always land with armed boats; and lastly, when one takes into consideration that wind and current are almost always toward the coast, and thereby make a landing still easier; then one will readily become aware of the *impossibility* of defending these colonies against a *foreign enemy*. For, assuming that entering the rivers

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—This document, which is undated, now lies loose in a volume of miscellaneous papers relating to the colony of Essequibo from 1777 to 1779. Its contents, however, seem to show it to belong to the year 1802, or possibly to 1803. It may be either of two or three such memorials mentioned at this period by the minutes of the Council of the American Colonies. It is clearly the work of a colonist.

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may be made difficult to an enemy by strong fortresses placed within their mouths, and by a couple of frigates stationed before and near them, this would be a reason the more for the enemy to effect a landing along the coast, anywhere where it seemed to him most convenient, and to penetrate into the heart of the colonies, *without troubling himself with the fortresses.*

But even such fortresses as might be able to offer a formidable resistance are lacking there. In the river of Essequibo, on Flag Island (the seat of the administration and of the officials of that colony; for the rest, a small, barren patch of ground, on which there is not a single plantation), there exists an old, rickety fort, named Zelandia, which has not been kept in repair in order not to waste money unnecessarily; it serves only to hoist the flag there when ships are sighted which wish to go up the river, and to lock up criminal negroes in. On the point of that island is placed a small battery of about twenty rusty iron guns, which, without carriages or rollers, are lying on logs and stones and at most are fit to make the flag respected and to fire salutes. A formidable fortress there would at these times, it is true, be without any notable purpose, for the most important cultivation of the colony of Essequibo must no longer be sought in the river of that name, but on its coast and on the Leguaan, Wakkenam, and Arabisi islands, which lie in its wide mouth and cannot be covered, much less defended, by the fort of Flag Island.

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No. 331.

Extract from Journal of A. Meertens, Governor-General in Essequibo and Demerara, December, 1802.[1]

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 655–656.]

[TUESDAY, *December* 7, 1802.]

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The distribution of the troops has been determined on with Lieutenant-Colonel de Milly, weak and sick though he is, according to the arrangements which I made with the proprietors and overseers of the plantations where these are to be stationed, to wit, one company at Bourasiere on the plantation "De Kinderen," belonging to the Boode estate, to be provision-

[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—The Peace of Amiens, which restored the Guiana colonies to the Dutch, was signed on March 25th, 1802; but it was several months before the Dutch assumed possession. Governor Meertens arrived in Demerara on November 24th; and the Court of Policy resumed its sessions on the same day. The colony was again surrendered to the British, this time finally, on September 19th, 1803.

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ally posted there, until we have an opportunity further to distribute them along the west seacoast.

One company in Mahaica on the plantations "Lancaster" of the Phillips estate and "Calaloo" of the Estate Nihiel [?], situated near together, in order further to distribute them in Mahaicony and Abary.

One company on the Arabisi coast and Essequibo, which we have distributed among three stations, to wit: One detachment at the station on the Plantation "Zorg en Vlijt" of F. Broodhagen, one section of the company at the Plantation "Adventure" of Sandfort, and the third section of the company at the Plantation "Ehrenbreitstein" of D. I. Sandbach; moreover, one detachment of twenty-four infantry, one corporal, and six artillery, to Flag Island in Essequibo.

And, finally, one detachment to the post of Orinoco.[1]

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No. 332.

Extract from letter from A. Meertens, Governor General in Essequibo, and Demerara, to the Council of the American Colonies and Possessions of the Batavian Republic, December 17, 1802.

[Reprinted from U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 657.]

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While I am finishing this letter, the Postholder of the Post Moruca comes to report that the detachment for that post arrived there three days ago, but that everything is in ruins, and that the battery cannot stand for six weeks more; that an entirely new dike of some sort must be made there and all the buildings set back; that the few cannons found there are lying flat on the ground; that the gun-carriages are rotten, and that the English have cut and slashed everything to pieces; in a word, that things are in a hopeless state. I have not yet received a report from the officer who was ordered thither, and we shall have to await it; but according to these details there is not much of good to be expected.

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[1] Note by Prof. Burr.—That this means the Moruca post may be seen from the following extract (No. 332), which reports the arrival of this detachment there. This name for that post appears also in the "Register of Responses and Orders given me by or through the Governor" of the Commandant, De Milly, wherein, under date of March 4, 1803, is mention of "a ration-list for the post of Orinoco" (*een randsoen lyst voor de post van Oronocque*).

APPENDIX

PART 2

DOCUMENTS FROM SPANISH SOURCES

[TRANSLATIONS]

No. 333.

Extract from Report by Captain Phelipe de Santiago, dated November 2, 1595, on the Navigation, etc., of the River Orinoco, made by Command of Roque de Montes, Treasurer of Cumana, for the King of Spain.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 49–50.]

The mouths of the River Orinoco are situated on the coast of *Terra Firma*, to the windward of the Dragon's Mouth, and part of them are opposite the Island of Trinidad, and although the exact number of the said mouths is not known with certainty, still some information exists concerning some of them, particularly those nearest to the said Island of Trinidad, and which are most generally used for the navigation of the said river. These are the Caroni, Merensa, Arantao, Macareo, and Capure. That of the Capure is nearer to Trinidad than any of the others; indeed so near that there is only a distance of three leagues between it and the said island.

There is another mouth, called the Manavo, by which it is known that the Englishman Guat-erral (*i. e.*, Walter Raleigh) entered the Orinoco in the present year, [15] 95, after having caused much trouble and injury to the Island of Trididad and its residents. He left two young Englishmen in the Orinoco for the purpose of learning the language of the natives and obtaining all information of the country, for on his departure therefrom, it is said, he left with the intention of returning hither.

There is another mouth called Orinoco, the largest and most important, and the most frequented, of all the others.

And on the banks of all these mouths mentioned an immense number of natives of two great nations, known as the Chaguanes and Tivitives, dwell. The land, however, is subject to inundations, and is marshy.

Entering by any of the above-mentioned mouths, and going up the River Orinoco in the direction of the new Kingdom of Granada, various territories of divers nations of natives are met with, such as the Aruacas, Yayos, Sapoyos, Caribs, and Napuyos. On passing these the territories of the Province of Guayana are reached, and one of them that is entered is the Province of Moriquite. Having passed this province one arrives at the large Indian town of the natives of Guayana, and in its extent and riches, of which so much is heard, and of so favourable a character, that great hopes are entertained of it.

These territories extend from the bank of the said River Orinoco along the windward side as far as that of the Marañon, so that they lie between these two immense rivers of so much fame. These territories are considered to be very rich, for gold in some quantity is taken from them, although with great caution and secrecy, for the Indians are very watchful, and always endeavouring to conceal it, and not discover where it is,

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for fear of the Spaniards, whom they fear and dislike, and much dread they may settle there.

The best sites and lands, and most adapted for settling on the bank of the Orinoco with the best conditions of great fertility, and an excellent climate, in case your Majesty is pleased to command the said bank to be settled, and the navigation of the said river to be continued, as well ascending in the direction of the Kingdom from Trinidad, as descending therefrom to the said island, appear to be the following:—

Entering the Orinoco by the mouth of the Caroni, and going in the direction of the new Kingdom of Granada, on arriving at the territories of Guayana, having passed the Province of Moriquite, some 2 leagues higher up, on the left hand, on the side of the Marañon, there is a good site for making the first settlement of Spaniards. They say that lower down nearer the said mouth it cannot be made, on account of the land being liable to overflow. And although there are various villages of the natives, the Spaniards could not live there, nor preserve their lives in these parts.

Continuing the journey by the said river in the same direction towards the new Kingdom of Granada, about 70 or 80 leagues higher up, is the Province of Caura, which is very fertile, and inhabited by a great number of natives. Although Caribs, they are friendly towards the Spaniards, and disposed to serve them, on which account it appears to be a good site for the second settlement of Spaniards, by taking the country on the right hand side in the Province of Carácas.

Following the same course, up stream, from the said Province of Caura, still in the direction of the new kingdom, about the same distance, 70 or 80 leagues, the territories of the Amaivas are reached, where the Province of Curuana is situated, which is very convenient for founding the third settlement of Spaniards, for, besides that the land is very fertile, and the climate good, there is an immense number of natives, and it is very rich in gold, although in this province the natives are very much persecuted by the Caribs, who descend upon them in fleets every year, and also upon the others inhabiting these territories in the neighbourhood of the new kingdom, &c.

No. 334.

Extract from despatch from Roque des Montes, Royal Treasurer of Cumana, to the King of Spain, as to the Settlement of the South Bank of the Orinoco, April 18, 1596.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 50–51.]

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At the beginning of the month of the said year [15]95, Captain Phelipe de Santiago, Lieutenant of the Governor, Francisco de Vides, departed from this city for the Island of Trinidad, to whom was intrusted the

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Commission of settling it, in which object he took with him a number of soldiers, stores, and all necessary for the settling and defence of the new town and the island.

On my side I have given every assistance in my power towards the settling of that island and of the new town, so that it might be carried into effect as quickly as possible, on account of its great importance to your Majesty's service, and that the said island may not remain deserted but inhabited, and in a manner capable of resisting and defending itself against the great number of the enemy's privateers which generally surround and molest it, as well English as Caribs.

And, among other things with which I charged and instructed Captain Phelipe de Santiago for your Majesty's service was that he should, without loss of time, ascend the River Orinoco and apprehend the two Englishmen which Guat-erral (Walter Raleigh) left there last year [15]95, with the intention of returning and settling it, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the country and the best sites, and learning the language of the natives.

And in like manner I instructed him that he should advise the Chiefs of the Indian nations of that bank not to admit nor receive any strangers in their territories, except Spaniards in your Majesty's service.

And according to a Report I have received from the said Captain Phelipe de Santiago, he fulfilled his commission by going directly to the said south bank of the Orinoco, ascending it as far as the Province of Moriquite, where he took out of the power of the Indians one of the two Englishmen above referred to, named Francisco Espari, and learnt that the other had been devoured by a tiger; and he advised the Indians in conformity to the instructions I gave him.

The young Englishman informed him that Guat-erral (Walter Raleigh) departed with the intention of returning to the said bank during the month of March of the present year; and the Indians declared that they were awaiting him during the time of the moon of the said month of March.

But as it appears that he had suffered considerably after leaving there and had a much less number of men and forces than when he sailed from the Orinoco, owing to the victory we gained over him, I trust in the Lord that his designs of carrying out his injurious promises and purposes may be frustrated.

On the said bank of the Orinoco Captain Phelipe de Santiago and the Governor Antonio de Berrio met each other, where a serious difference arose as to the right each maintained, according to the instructions and obligations devolving upon them, to settle the Island of Trinidad. This was finally arranged by the agreement that Antonio de Berrio should remain with his people on the said bank, and Captain Phelipe de Santiago was to proceed with his expedition to the said Island of Trinidad, where, in the beginning of the month of January in the present year, he founded a set-

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tlement in it on the south bank, 3 leagues distant from the sea and from the port called "De España," on a river they call San Phelipe de Montes, as may more particularly be seen from the documents of proofs in possession of the Governor Francisco de Vides, &c.

As it appears to me to be of the utmost importance to your Majesty's service that the bank of the Orinoco be settled, I have considered it well to push that matter forward, and in like manner the navigation of the Orinoco, on account of the correspondence that will exist between it and the new Kingdom of Granada, as well as the neighbouring provinces, as whatever may be brought from Spain will go by that route; and the gold and silver be brought down by the same river; and any other produce that may be necessary to send down may go right on to Trinidad, &c. And particularly in this matter important for the conquest and settlement of the Provinces of Guayana, Caura and El Dorado, for this is the entry and road to attain that which those provinces give promise of; and this will be more clearly seen from the Report I am now forwarding to your Majesty in reference to the navigation of the Orinoco, and the best sites on the banks of that river.

And in like manner no opportunity will be given the enemy of settling it, nor will they have any entry to it by any other way; for, according to the intention of Guat-erral, who surveyed the whole of it in the past year, it is to be much feared that he will keep his promise and carry out his bad purpose, &c.

No. 335.

Extracts from Memorandum as to the state of Affairs in Trinidad and Guiana, 1613-1614.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 203-205.]

In margin No. 1. Don Bernardo de Vargas, Governor of Margarita, in a letter to His Majesty of the 10th July, 1613, reported that he had information (as also confirmed by another from an inhabitant of Trinidad, of which he sent the original) that in the country of the friendly Indians, the Aruacas, not far from Margarita, on the coast of the Mainland, some English had settled, with the favour of the Caribs, with the intention of cultivating tobacco, and begged leave of His Majesty to allow him to leave a Lieutenant in his place while he went to subdue the Caribs, and drive the English from their settlement.

In margin No. 2. In a letter of 12th July of the same year he gives information of the settlements which are being made in the Island of Trinidad and coast of San Thomé of Guiana, where, with the friendship of the Caribs, they are cultivating tobacco, and that they should be driven out before they make fortifications, on account of the injury which may be caused to the surrounding villages; for which reason it would be well if

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the galleons which were going there in 1614 went to the said Island and left there fifty soldiers, with arms and ammunition; that with fifty others used to and well-acquainted with the coast that might attack them by land—with the command of the Governor, who is to be made aware of the undertaking—the said soldiers to be paid by the inhabitants of the two cities, and if the matter were delayed, more expense and preparations would be necessary to drive them out.

In margin No. 3. The "Cabildo" of Trinidad, in a letter of the 30th of June, 1613, having given His Majesty an account of the state of things in that Island, where they are always persecuted by enemies, say, further, that at that time a privateer was in the port attempting to anchor, and threatening them that when other ships they were expecting should arrive they would lay waste the city.

And that at this time Antonio de Muxica, Lieutenant of Santo Thomé de Guiana, in a letter of the 25th June, asked their assistance in ejecting the English, who were making settlements on the rivers in union with the Caribs, and sowing tobacco. And because of the mischief they do, the Indian Chiefs came with a letter from the said Lieutenant (which is with the inclosed) to ask for help, because the Flemish and Caribs steal the friendly Indians and carry them to their settlements to employ them in cultivating tobacco. That in the Florentines (Corentine) there are more than 50 married Dutch, who commit insolent robberies, which must be put a stop to; and there being but few people in that Island, they despatched Captain Andres Garcia Pardo to get what arms and ammunition he could from Margarita.

In margin No. 4. Antonio de Muxica Buitron, Lieutenant of Guiana, in the absence of Sancho de Alguisa, in a letter of the 30th of May, 1614, says that the insolence and ill-treatment which the Aruacas suffered from the Flemish and Caribs were such that he proceeded to the river called Corentine, 200 leagues from that city, where the Flemish and Caribs have a fortress with artillery and swivel guns, taking with him 34 musketeers and 300 friendly Indians. Arriving at nearly midnight he summoned them to surrender three or four times. They only replied with jeers and ridicule, seeing which the Spaniards set fire to the fort, so that not one of the Flemish escaped, but all were burned.

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In margin No. 6. Don Juan Tostado, who, in the absence of Sancho de Alguisa, governs the Island of Trinidad, in a letter of the 16th June, 1614, relates that he hanged several Flemish, whom he had captured in a small vessel, and delivered one of them to Don Geronimo de Portugal in 1613, and that he has persecuted and given such ill-welcome to those that have attempted to reconnoitre that port that they have never returned. For this reason the traffic has been ousted from all points of this Island, and 60 leagues from that Government on the mainland at Santo

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Thomé which is called the River Orinoco of Guiana, will be [the centre of] the traffic and the resort of foreign ships; and the Lieutenant of that place shall give an account of the state of things there. In June of 1613 he of Guiana on account of having, while disarmed and [sailing] for a run along the coast, encountered the Caribs and Flemings, sent to ask the assistance of the "Cabildo" of Trinidad to go to occupy the settlement of the Flemings which they had fortified, and were sowing tobacco, on one of the rivers of his jurisdiction, and having received notice of that [occurrence] on the coast thereupon they hastened back and assisted him with twelve soldiers and a corporal and captain, without any expense to His Majesty. These were the most suitable for the occasion that were to be had, and with 22 more whom the Lieutenant of Guiana took with him they burnt the fort of the Flemish and Caribs, and destroyed it. For this reason the 50 men, and more, asked for by the Governor of Margarita for this undertaking, were not necessary, and it would seem that he asked for them more on account of the profit which might accrue to himself than for any other reason.

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Another report of five witnesses from the same Island says that the captain and corporal who went with the twelve soldiers, and the others joined with them, burnt all the Flemish who were in the fort near the River Corentine, captured a long-boat and tender, and tore up all the tobacco they had planted, so that their settlement was laid waste, and what was done on this occasion made a very great effect.

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In margin No. 8. In a letter of the 2nd of September, 1614, the "Casa" made known what had been heard from the ship which came from that Island, and sent its declaration, and stated that the Governor's Lieutenant writes to them that there are no longer any Flemish ships to be seen, as they have been frightened by his treatment of them, and also because there is nothing in that Island but tobacco.

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No. 336.

Extracts from Report accompanying Map of the Region between the Ports of the River Amazon and the Island of Santa Margarita, 1615.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 206–207.]

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The said Claessen started on the 30th of December, 1614, for the Hague of Holland to petition the States to undertake the establishment of a Colony in the ports of the West Indies, towards which, once started, he and his company of Anabaptists would contribute 200,000 ducats. The said

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States would grant him nothing in the matter, but ordered him by word of mouth to have recourse to Reynor or Paulo, burgomaster of Amsterdam, who would give him a fair hearing. The latter told him by word of mouth that the States could take no decision in the matter until it was seen whether or no the truce was to continue; but that when the Ambassadors of the Confederate Kings and Princes resolved as to the cessation or continuation of the war of Juliers, a decision would also be arrived at as to the breaking up or the continuation of the universal truce.

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The Admiral and chiefs of the Fleet alluded to remain in possession of the money for the crew and provisions, until it is known whether or no the truce is to last.

It is also worthy of note that in Pernambuco, close to Brazil, there is a very rich monastery possessing ten millions of gold, in gold and precious stones, which those who have undertaken the populating of America have the intention of sacking on their first arrival under the pretext that it is situated past the equator, and they mean to do the same to a very rich monastery close to Truxillo, past the Island of Margarita and the coast of Havannah, as far as the said Captain can remember.

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No. 337.

Official letter from the Duke of Lerma to the President of the Council of the Indies, enclosing extract from letter from Holland with news as to a fleet that, under the orders of Guillermo Uselinx, was to establish some Dutch colonies in Wiapoco, Caena, Surenama and Essequibo, 1615.

[Translated from certified copy of original in *Archivo General de Indies*, Seville, Stand 147, case 5, bundle 17.]

His Majesty, by way of Flanders, has received the *inclosed information*. His Majesty has ordered me to transmit it to your Excellency (as I now do), so that the War Department of the Indies may be duly advised, and may in due time adopt such measures as may be proper. God guard your Excellency. Madrid, February 2nd, 1615. The Duke, President of the Indies.

[INCLOSURE.]

A certain person, named Guillermo Uselinx, pretends to be a Commander and General of one hundred and twenty ships of war, armed with six thousand soldiers, in addition to the necessary crew, to found and populate certain colonies at three or four places on the shores of America and the West Indies which are called by the Indians, Wiapoco, distant one-half of a degree from the equinoctial line; the second, Caena, distant four

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degrees from the line; the third, Surenama, distant five and one-half degrees from the aforesaid line; the fourth, Essequibo, distant about six and one-half degrees, where there are some persons, from twelve to fifteen Spaniards, who there till the soil to raise the root of *Casavia*, from which bread is made for the Governor of Trinidad and Orinoco, Don Fernando de Borrea.

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No. 338.

Extract from Order of the King of Spain appointing Diego Palomeque de Acuña Governor of Trinidad and Guayana, and Ordering him to try to Dislodge the Enemy; December 12, 1615.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 210.]

DON FELIPE DE BIAMONTE Y NAVARRA,
My Governor and Captain-General of the
Island of San Juan de Puerto Rico,

Considering how much it imports to my service that I appoint a person for the Island of Trinidad and Guiana to govern that country and maintain it in defence, I have, therefore, appointed as my Governor and Captain-General, Diego Palomeque de Acuña, who will, with all despatch, go to serve me in that post.

And, as it has been understood that in the region of Guayana the enemy have made some settlements in which they are planting a very great quantity of tobacco, and to which ships go very commonly to be laden therewith, and on the way they traffic and do all the other injury they are able.

And as I desire that the said Governor be commanded to try to dislodge [them] from here, by taking from them the said settlements, And it is hoped that for that object he will do all in his power, and as it may be that with the forces in the country he might not be able to put into execution a matter which imports so much, it has appeared to me well to command you, as I now order and command you, to place a garrison of fifty men there, that will be sent in the fleet of New Spain, next year, 1616. The number of three hundred effective men which belongs to the Garrison will be filled up, And you will be able, without causing any want there, to send to Trinidad from seventy to eighty soldiers; you will send them when the said Governor requests you, sending you this despatch by means of a person of confidence, that with them and the men of the country he may be able to bring together he may try to do me this service, by taking the necessary measures to extirpate the enemy from every point of that island on which they have taken footing.

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No. 339.

Extracts from an undated (circa 1621) manuscript account of the Destruction of Santo Thomé by Sir Walter Raleigh in January, 1618, and an appeal for help.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 207–209.]

The City of Santo Thomé and Island of Trinidad, of the Province of Guayana and "Dorado," represents that in the month of January 1618 Guatarral (Walter Raleigh), an English pirate, with ten ships and launches, ascended the River Orinoco to the said city of Santo Thomé, 40 leagues from the sea, and disembarked 500 men about a league from it, and the ships ascended to its port.

And the Governor, Diego Palomeque, who with all diligence put it in a state of defense with the few solders he had, attacked him with very great courage. And there being nothing else to be done, he engaged him at 11 at night in order to defend the city, seeing himself in want of men, artillery and forces, they being very few, and the two forces began slaughtering each other, and the enemy remained in possession of the place for twenty-nine days, during which time he succeeded in attracting to himself the peaceful Guayana Indians nearest to the town, who at once rose in rebellion, doing much damage, in order to favour the enemy.

Captain Juan de Lezama remained governing as Alcalde ordinary, who, by all the means he could, tried to prevent the natives from communicating with the enemy. And he collected and closely united sixty and more Indians, with their arms, to whom he explained how much it imported to the service of your Majesty to drive the enemy out of the country. And that for the future there would be help and great defence. And with them and twenty-four soldiers, after twenty-six days, he attacked the enemy in the town from different points from midnight to daylight, and he killed many of their people. And having met the Indians with the enemy, they discovered to him all that he wished to learn of those in the interior. And on another day following, when a launch and small boat of theirs went to the plantations on the other side of the river, the said Captain and six soldiers, with thirteen or fourteen Indians, drew them into an ambush, and there killed fourteen English, on account of which they soon embarked, leaving the city, church, and monasteries [*sic*] burned to their foundations, and carrying away all there was in it, and having excited and raised all the native Indians in rebellion, at their pleasure, who dwell on the sea coast, Amacas, Chaguanes, and Caribs of that province, who renounced obedience to your Majesty.

The city was again begun to be rebuilt in the place where it was before, and on account of the straits in which it was, it was ordered that the said Captain Juan de Lezama should go to the Audience of the new Kingdom of Granada for the purpose of giving an account of the event, and request

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that the help of some soldiers should be sent for its defence. And this having been done, it was provided that, in regard to the soldiers, they should refer the matter to your Majesty, in your Royal Council of the Indies. And the Governor, Don Fernando de Berrio, was ordered to go to his Government, and on his arrival at the coast with forty-four soldiers he dispatched forty of them last year, 1619, to the Province of the Aruacas, which the enemy kept and keeps in rebellion on the sea-coast, to reduce them to their former obedience to your Majesty. Among these Indians there were six of the enemy's ships, trading and negotiating with them, and doing all in their power to dissuade them from acknowledging your Majesty's jurisdiction, and urging them to kill all the Spaniards of the town, for a mighty fleet would be sent by them to settle and fortify themselves therein.

There were five soldiers of the forty killed in the encounter they had with the Indians; and the enemy carried off to England one named Alonzo de Matos, who has come to this Court, and gives an account of all the designs of the enemy; and that they were only awaiting the end of the truce to return to the city and devastate it and fortify themselves therein, which ought not to be allowed.

* * * * * * *

With the help that is requested, a great number of natives in the said provinces of Guayana would be restored; and, in the contrary case, there would be no means of bringing them to a knowledge of the holy Catholic faith; and numbers of Spanish villages would remain unpeopled where there are very rich agricultural lands for cultivation and also for cattle-breeding, with many other products, and a great quantity of gold in places, which would be extracted by settling them; and the discovery of the Province of Dorado, so much desired, would not take place, as the way thereto is nearer and surer for it through the said Province of Guayana, concerning which there are new reports, which the Indians of the Peñoles have furnished, a province which is near the said Dorado, according to a letter in the possession of Captain Juan de Lezama, from the City of Santo Thomé, and the Governor, Don Fernando de Berrio, to whom is confided the said discovery and settlement, cannot carry it out until he has placed the city in a state of defence, so as not to leave it unprotected, for only one ship of the enemy is enough to rob and ruin it, and as he must take as many soldiers as possible in his company for the discovery, in which he himself, his father, Governor Antonio de Berrio, and his uncle, the Adelantado Don Gonçalo Ximenez de Quesada, have spent more than 300,000 ducats, and the expense incurred will have been without result, and the native Indians that have been converted to the Christian faith will go over to the enemy, becoming heretics and continuing their old bad ways, and all those souls will be damned which might be saved by the Royal protection of your Majesty.

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It will be very important to your Majesty's service that the Council of War examine this request for help which is petitioned for and implored, together with the papers that have been presented, dispatched, and forwarded by the Audience of the new Kingdom of Granada and from the City of Santo Thomé, with a map of the River Orinoco and its navigation, and where the forts referred to may be built. And in case it be still considered well to await the Governors' Reports before establishing the fort, assistance ought to be sent in the meantime by dispatching 100 soldiers from Puerto Rico, whose expenses might be defrayed from the account of salary, or they might be sent from the Audience of the new Kingdom of Granada, sending from these parts eight pieces of artillery with artillerymen, so that the enemy may fear him who defends the entrance which he desires to pass, covetous of the gold there is in these provinces which he has discovered, and carrying away with him barrels full of earth to England, from which they have taken very rich specimens.

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No. 340.

Governors of Puerto Rico and Cumana Ordered by the King of Spain to send help to Santo Thomé, September 18, 1618.

[Reprinted from Blue Book No. 3, p. 211.]

I have been informed of your letter of the 26th January of this year, in which you relate what happened in the taking of your city, and the death of the Governor, Diego Palomeque de Acuña, and how badly situated the inhabitants thereof have thereby remained. And I am particularly grateful to so good and loyal subjects, for, being so few and unguarded, you defended the place valiantly. And thus I charge you to continue to do on all other occasions that may present themselves, For apart from the fact of you, yourselves, being interested in fulfilling and complying with such glorious ends, it is of the greater importance on account of it being the Catholic religion opposed to heretical enemies; its cause will not remain without satisfaction, and the matter is now being treated with the earnestness it demands.

And in regard to whatever may happen to you in this respect for the future, you will correspond with the Governors of Puerto Rico and Cumaná, whom I have commanded to help you with men, And now for the present the Governor of Puerto Rico will send you eight quintals of powder, twenty muskets and as many arquebuses with all their appendages, and two quintals of gun-matches and four of lead, which is what has appeared necessary in conformity with the number of men that has remained, And of these arms and munitions you will make use with the greatest care, preserving them in some public place where they may be at hand at the

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time of necessity, or delivering them to the account and care of those persons that appear the best for the defence [of the place].

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Extract from Paper accompanying Report of the Council of War of the Indies relative to the Establishment of a Dutch Colony at Cape Orange on the Coast of South America, March 19, 1676.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 3, p. 181.]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: The States of the Province of Holland and Westfriesland determined to establish a colony on the coast of the mainland at Cape Orange, between Surinantte and the Amazon river, in order to hold the greater part of the coast from Trinidad to the Amazon river, for they already have the settlements in Barbiche, Sequiebes, and Surinamtes.

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No. 342.

Memorandum of those who left Catalonia for the Missions of the Island of Trinidad, in the year 1680.

[Translated from Copy printed *in* STRICKLAND (*Rev.* Joseph, *s. J.*). The Boundary Question between British Guayana and Venezuela, fol., Rome, 1896, Appendix 1, p. 65.]

1st. Father Thomas de Llupian, who died in the interior of the Province of Guayana, while assisting in Indian settlement which he cared for in 1688.

2d. Father Arcangel de Barña, who died in Guayana Vieja in the year 1689.

3d. Father Basilio de Barna; died in Trinidad in the year 1689.

4th. Fr. Angel de Llavaneras; died in the year 1692.

5th. Father Ambrosio de Mataró; died in Guayana Vieja in the year 1604.[1]

6th. Father Pedro de Aneto; died in the year 1698.

7th. Father Felix de Moset; was killed by the Indians.

8th. Father Estevan de San Felix de Pelerols; was killed by the Indians.

9th. Father Marcos de Vich.

10th. Brother Fr. Raymondo de Figuerola; nurse.

The last four met violent deaths at the hands of the Indians in the year 1699, in the Island of Trinidad.

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[1] An obvious imprint for 1704.

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Deed by which the Jesuits make over to the Capuchins of Catalonia the Mission of Guayana, September 9, 1682.

[Translated from Copy printed in STRICKLAND (*Rev.* Joseph, *s. J.*). The Boundary Question between British Guayana and Venezuela, fol., Rome, 1896, Appendix 1, pp. 1–3.]

DECREE.—In the City of San Joseph de Oruña, Island of Trinidad, on the ninth day of the month of September of One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty Two, Don Tiburcio de Aspe y Zúñiga, Governor and Captain General of this Island of Trinidad and Province of Santo Thomé of Guayana and its forces, on behalf of his Majesty.

Inasmuch as in the city of Guayana there are two villages of Indians of the Pariagotos nation, Indians that have been converted from out of those who lived in that neighborhood, and are subdued and peopled close to the churches that were built to teach and instruct them in the things of our Holy Faith, and were ministered to by the Fathers of the Company of Jesus of the Province of the new Kingdom of Granada, who made it their Mission, and for reasons which the Superior of the Province had, they left said Mission, and at my request His Holiness in the Royal Audiencia (Highest Court) of Santa Fé, entreated and commanded the Superior of the Company on the tenth of June of one thousand six hundred and eighty-one, to which Father Hernando Cavero, as Superior of his Provinces, replied on the seventeenth of June of said year, and gave up the Mission of Guayana, saying that he was short of people, and that he could only attend to the Mission that there was in his Province in the upper part of the Orinoco, and that it could be served by the Capuchin Fathers who were doing mission work in the neighborhood, all of which appears from the judicial proceedings of the Royal Audiencia (Highest Court), extracting from the Royal Book of decisions, signed by Don Juan Flores de Olaris, Secretary of the Chamber in said Royal *Audiencia.* And in pursuit of the most convenient means of rendering assistance to the converted Indians, as also to minister to the neighboring ones, I consulted the Royal Audiencia on the sixteenth of January of the present year,—eighty-two,—as to what should be done to remedy the evil. And in view of my petition, by Decree of sixteenth of April of the present year, at a general sitting of the Courts, it was decided that I shall provide Ministers to go out to instruct the Indians, with the salary assigned, as appears from the judicial proceedings in my possession attested by Don Juan de Flores de Olaris, Lord Secretary of the Royal *Audiencia* and Chancellorship of the City of Santa Fé, in accordance wherewith, from the time I took charge of this Government, my greatest desire has been to procure ministers of the Gospel for the conversion and advancement of the natives abiding in this island and in Guayana, all in this jurisdiction, numbering more than twenty-four

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thousand, and who communicate with us and serve us for certain small presents that are given to them through pity; whose blindness continues from the lack of ministers to instruct them in our Holy Faith; I proposed in the year seventy seven to the Reverend Father Prefect of the Mission of Terra Firma of Cumaná, Brother Juan del Pobo, a Capuchin Friar, whether it were possible to send out his friars to exercise their mission in this Province, in view of the great service that thereby would be rendered to His Divine and Human Majesty, to which he replied in a letter dated December fourth, seventy-seven, that he had with him only eight priests and that he was expecting ten from Spain, and that he would fain do what was asked of him; albeit, that I should press upon the attention of His Majesty the necessity of especially appointing missions that for their part would do all in their power. In a letter from the Reverend Father Francisco de la Puente, dated March twenty-second, seventy-eight, he assures me that all the Capuchin Friars are anxious to lend their assistance for the conversion of the natives of his Province, but that they have not a sufficient number of friars to do it with, and by other letters from said Father, who is now Prefect of the Mission, I am informed of their desire to do mission work in this Province. In view of the above facts, and to the end of achieving the conversion of so many infidels and heathens, which would greatly redound to the service of God and extend the dominions of His Majesty, the Indians being aware of the kindness and love with which the Capuchin Fathers treat them for the purpose of converting them, there is no doubt that the desired object will be attained: while on the other hand, if the Indians who are already converted, and those in the neighborhood who are yet to be converted, see that there is no one to attend to them, it is not unlikely that they may relapse into idolatry, when it will become more difficult to convert and catechise them, and they will give no heed to the main object of Christianity, which should be attended to, and sought by all suitable means, as has been ordained by his Majesty (God preserve him) in frequent decrees relating to the catechization, conversion and kind treatment of the Indians. In compliance therewith every year up to the present, Capuchin friars have arrived from the Province of Catalonia to do mission work with the friars of the Province of Aragon to Terra Firma in the Province of Cumaná, and on the third instant there arrived at this port a vessel duly licensed and registered from the Canary Islands, her Captain and Master being Martin de Suybarria, and in said vessel there came two Capuchin friars from the Province of Catalonia, one named Friar Angel de Mataro, and the other Friar Pablo de Blanes, who go forth to join the priests of the Mission of Terra Firma. Inasmuch as at the Mission to which they are bound there is a sufficient number of friars, and considering the urgent need of this Province, as also said assistance is highly acceptable to both Majesties, I beseech and command said Fathers, on behalf of His Majesty, while on my part I entreat them, to co-operate to

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the submission and conversion of the natives of Guayana and the preservation of those who are settled in the two villages, for a competent sustenance will be forthwith assigned to them, with the salary of one hundred and thirty-two pesetas, in conformity to what I am instructed by the Royal Audiencia to give to each minister, and moreover I shall at the first opportunity consult the Royal Audiencia upon the subject, and report to His Majesty at the earliest occasion afforded, in order that he may declare this Mission a special one, as being deeply interested in the matter, he has given assurance of acting in accordance with his Royal and Catholic zeal. In the meantime, for my part, I shall attend, as I am bound to do, to everything that may offer itself, and shall also notify the Father Prefect of the Mission of Terra Firma, in order that he may give his sanction until His Majesty shall have ordained whatever may be his Royal pleasure. I have thus provided and signed on the day, month and year aforesaid.

DON TIBURCIO DE ASPE Y ZÚÑIGA.

On the aforesaid day, I, Captain Juan Monedero, Secretary of the Government, communicated the decree herein to Fathers Friar Angel de Mataro and Friar Pablo de Blanes, and they declared that they had heard it and would reply, and I thereunto affixed my signature.

JUAN MONEDERO Y URBINA,
Secretary General.

No. 344.

Royal Cedula of the King of Spain, approving agreement between Jesuits and Capuchins, February 7, 1686.

[Translated from Copy printed in STRICKLAND (*Rev.* Joseph, *s. J.*). The Boundary Question between British Guayana and Venezuela, fol., Rome, 1896, Appendix 1, p. 5.]

CEDULA OF FOUNDATION.

THE KING.

My Governor and Captain General of the Island of Trinidad, of Guayana, at the urgent request and representation of Brother Féliz de Artezono, a Capuchin Friar and Apostolic Missionary of the Province of Cumaná: I have decided to allow him to take thither twelve Friars of his Order for that Mission; and twelve more for the new Mission which I have resolved to have established in the villages of the District of your Government, in view of the advantages that are to result from such establishment, thus opening the accesses offered by the Orinoco River, alike to the Province of Cumaná, and of those of Caracas, Mérida de

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la Grita, and New Kingdom of Granada, being of opinion that at all times that it may prove convenient it would be desirable that this Mission should be distinct from that of Cumaná, but with the condition that in cases where Ministers be wanting in one, these be supplied by the other, until a Mission is sent to supply those that may be wanting whereof I have thought fit to apprise you, for your guidance and that on your part you may render all the assistance possible to these Friars, helping them in such a way as may best promote the object of so holy and important a work, seeing to it that as fast as the Indians are subdued they be brought together and incorporated in the Missions and Villages, in order that they may live a political and civil life, you helping the Friars to attain this object, while endeavoring to carry out such a serious matter by all the means possible. And at the same time I command you to visit the places and villages of the Jurisdiction under your government, and communicate with the Indians, without allowing the residents to make use of them, attending only to their instruction; for as they are weak, what they seek to avoid with their flight, is not the Doctrine, but physical work, wherewith they are generally disturbed; regarding which matter I recommend you to be unceasingly watchful, as you have been instructed to do by various *cédulas*, it being a matter of such weight and conscience. And I hope that you will act with it, I having discharged mine in yours. Done at Madrid this seventh day of February, one thousand six hundred and eighty-six. I, THE KING.

No. 345.

Extracts from Memorandum drawn up by the Council of the Indies for the King of Spain as to his Territorial Extent and Rights in Guayana. (No date.)

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 3, pp. 188–203.]

The Governor of Cumaná, Don Joseph Ramirez de Arellana, having reported in a letter of the 27th of March of seventeen hundred and five that the French of Martinique have introduced themselves to trade on the Guarapichi river, not only in woods, hammocks, birds and other commodities, but even in Indian slaves of the said river and the coast of the mainland, considering them better than the negroes for work, endeavoring to gild these insults with the pretext that because those shores were not populated by Spaniards their inhabitants should be considered as savages of an unconquered land, open to the trade of the French, the Council advised His Majesty, on the sixth of October of the same year, of the injuries that might grow out of consenting to these acts contrary to the law of Nations and to the bonds and amity of both Crowns. For even though the banks

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of the Guarapichi were not populated by Spaniards, as they are very near the Island of Trinidad and the Province of Cumaná, the dominion and possession of those territories so legitimately acquired by His Majesty continued firm, and the Indians inhabiting the same should enjoy the benefit of his Royal protection.

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2. The repeated abuses committed by the Carib Indians established on the many islands formed by the Orinoco at its mouth, who, aided by the Dutch, would go to the upper part of the narrows (Angostura) to make prisoners of the Aruro Indians, at times to eat them, and at others to sell them as slaves to the French, English and Dutch, gave rise to the proposition (in the year sixteen hundred and ninety-four, when the Governor of Trinidad, Don Francisco de Meneses, and the Prefect and Procurator of those Capuchin Missions made known the discovery of the headwaters of the Orinoco), to construct a fort on its banks to restrain the audacity of the Caribs, as well as to prevent the entrance of foreign nations. And in fact an order was issued on the twenty-fourth of August, sixteen hundred and ninety-seven, to the President of Santa Fe, to have it built on the site and in the manner that might be deemed most convenient.

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4. In the geographical description, and the notes added for an easier understanding of the general map of the said Government of Cumaná, transmitted by its Governor, Don Joseph Diguja, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-one, it is also recorded that the boundaries of that Province on the east are the mouths of the Orinoco, the Guarapichi river, and Point Paria; on the north the same point, Cape Tres Puntas, following the coast of Araya and Gulf of Cariaco, till it strikes the town of Pozuelos, which is now of the Province of Barcelona; on the west, from said town to the Guanipa tableland, whence it again runs to the east until it strikes the Orinoco opposite Guayana.

5. That this Province of Guayana has as boundaries: On the east, all the coast on which are situated the Dutch colonies of Esquivo, Bervis, Demerari, Corentin, and Surinama; and further to windward, Cayenne, belonging to the French; on the north, the banks of the Orinoco, which, separating the Provinces of Cumaná, Barcelona, Caracas, Barinas, Santa Fe and Popayan, forms a half circle, running back east to seek its headwaters in Parima Lake; on the south, the dominions of the Most Faithful King in Brazil, the frontiers of the latter, and the said Province of Guayana being unknown, as also what the latter contains in the centre.

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That on the east and coast of Guayana are situated the Dutch Colonies of Esquivo, Demerari, Bervis, Corentin, and Surinama, according to the information secured by Don Juan de Dios Valdes, Commandant of Guayana. That the Colony of Esquivo consisted of sugar plantations, which for the

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distance of thirty leagues the Dutch had established on the banks of the Esquibo river. And, finally, that the Dutch establishments were most prejudicial to Guayana, especially that of Esquibo, because through the nearness of the Orinoco, they went to the interior by this river, the Mazaroni and Cuyuni, protected by the Caribs, to pillage and capture the Indians of the former Province, frequently disturbing by their forays the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchins, whose cowardly and pusillanimous Indians took to the forest on the slightest news of Caribs.

6. Notwithstanding these constant acts, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-nine the Ambassador of Holland appeared, complaining of the proceedings of the Spaniards established on the Orinoco, against the Dutch colony of Esquibo; presenting, in support of his complaint, a memorial referring to several letters of Lorenzo Horn, and van's Gravesand, Director-General of the said colony, in which, supposing that from time immemorial the Republic of Holland was in possession not only of the Esquibo river, and of many other rivers and streams emptying into the sea along this portion of the coast, but also of all the branches and rivulets emptying into the former, particularly the northern one called Cayoeni, or Coyuni, on whose bank, considered as dominion of the State, they have maintained a wooden cabin, guarded by a small vessel manned by some slaves and Indians, he set forth that a Spanish detachment, coming from the Orinoco, had attacked that post and taken many Indians, threatening to return at the first ebb and visit another branch of the same river, called the Maseroni, which lies between it and the Cuyuni, and composed part of the territory of the Republic. That although Gravesand had taken all this as simple threats which would not be executed, he learned afterwards that the Spaniards had constructed two cabins, guarded by many troops, and one of them very near to the cabin on the Cuyuni river, and had begun to take the Indians on the Maroca, taking possession of a site near the rivulet to the south of the Weyne, between it and the Powaron, where the Company had had from time immemorial a trading place belonging, beyond contradiction, to the territory of the Republic. That, moreover, they had committed other assaults, among them that of having caused to be killed the guard of the Arinda cabin, belonging to its Company, situated near the source of the Esquibo, as well as all the Caribs in the neighborhood; and although the Company had taken steps to oppose such undertakings, it thought it ought not to fail to notify the Republic, and engage its attention, to the end that it might remonstrate against such manifest wrongs of the State; adding that the Spaniards had commenced some time back to dispute their right to fish at the mouth of the Orinoco, and in the stretch of territory between the Marewigni river and the other side of the Wayne, belonging to the State, as could be seen by the geographic charts, especially that of Señor Anville, one of the most esteemed, owing to its accuracy; and that they had been disturbed in their fishing by

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force, notwithstanding the long time they had enjoyed it quietly and peacefully, and that it was of great profit to them by reason of the abundance of fish to be found there; and, finally, he stated that, in the face of all treaties, and even against the Law of Nations, the Spaniards, to the great prejudice of the planters, and even of the whole colony, retained the slaves fleeing from the Dutch establishments, the most forcible arguments and commissions looking towards their return to their owners not sufficing.

7. By Royal command of the tenth of September of the said year of seventeen hundred and sixty-nine, Sir Knight Friar Don Julian de Arriaga transmitted this memorial to the Council, to the end that with all possible haste it should advise what it might deem proper with regard to the extent of those boundaries and the right the Republic of Holland claimed to the fisheries at the entrance of the Orinoco.

8. This question having been referred to the Attorney General with the antecedents he missed some documents referring to the case, and, among others, four letters of Rear-Admiral Don Joseph de Yturriaga, detailed on the Orinoco boundary expedition, which it was said were received in the years 1757 and 1758, and the report thereon made by Naval Captain Don Joseph Solano, as also the reply of the Most Christian King, or the measures that Court may have taken as a result of the communications sent in the year 1750 by reason of the transgressions committed by the French of Martinique on the Guarapiche river. All of which documents and others which might throw light on the matter were requested of the office of the Secret Archives through the advice given His Majesty by the Council on the twenty-second of October of the same year; and in consequence, with an official communication of the twenty-second of September of 1770, Sir Knight Arriaga transmitted the said letters and report, with two other statements in which the Governors of Guayana and Cumaná, complying with what was ordered them in the Royal command of the twenty-seventh of September of 1769, reported (justifying the same) upon the acts of which the Minister of Holland complained, and a letter from the Prefect of the Catalonian Capuchin Missions regarding what happened by reason of the ransom of three Indian women who, with their children, had been enslaved by the Dutch; the Sir Knight stating in his said official communication that the other papers wanting had been requested of the office of the Secretary of State; but, not having been found therein, he advised His Majesty thereof in another communication dated the sixth of October following, so that in this intelligence the Council might proceed to the consideration of the record.

9. Yturriaga's letters were written in Cabruta de Orinoco on the twelfth and sixteenth of June, and the fifteenth of September of seventeen hundred and fifty-seven and the nineteenth of April of fifty-eight, and in the first thereof the said Commissioner gave a description of the Apure river,

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setting forth the condition of its missions, its settlements, inhabitants, etc.

10. The second relates to the tearing down of the Castle of Araya, stating that as it had been constructed to prevent the Dutch from taking advantage of a salt mine contiguous thereto, the latter having been lost and the Dutch having discovered others, it was no longer useful, and a great tax on the Crown.

11. The third stated that having understood that the Dutch were constructing a fort on the Maruca river, a short distance from the ship channel of the Orinoco, he had ordered that a launch be sent there to investigate the condition of the building, its size and artillery; and that, through a letter written him by Don Juan Valdes (a copy of which he enclosed), he had learned that the information was incorrect, and that there was no news save that the Dutch wished to move the Guard, which, under the name of Post, they maintained on the Maruca Channel, taking it down to the mouth entering into the sea at a distance of six leagues; and that to this end they had made many clearings for sowing, and built houses; and that, as was reported, the purpose was to prevent the desertion of their slaves to our dominions. Yturriaga added that from this report he inferred that they wished to establish some sugar plantations and add to their owners and slaves some Aroaca Indians, in whom they most confided, so as to prevent the passing of the deserters; and it might be that to this end, and to forestall any uprising among the slaves, they might wish to build a small fort with two or three light cannons, and with from four to six men. That the Dutch being allowed in Maruca, later perhaps they would pass over to the Barima, which empties into the same mouth, and in time they would extend over to the Aquiri, whose mouth was in the Orinoco itself. That the Governor of Esquibo called himself, in his dispatches and passports, Governor of the Orinoco—a title hardly agreeable—but that it was profitable to them to have their Aroacas allowed to engage in the fishing of turtle, in which, as he had understood, there was much toleration on the part of the Commandant of Guayana, and even deference in granting licenses to many vessels which came up for the purpose of carrying Caribs and unknown Dutchmen who landed on the Caura river to buy Indian slaves.

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15. That notwithstanding the claims to Orinoco boasted by word of mouth by the Governors of Esquivo, based on the plea that the evidences of title given them by the Republic granted them this juridiction, he had not learned that they had made any demands growing out of the seizures from them by Trinitaries and Guayanese on the course of this river; nor had they dislodged them from the out posts they had planted on the Cuyuni river to protect the parties that went into the interior of Guayana

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to buy Indian slaves, and much less could he understand upon what they could base them; for although by the fifth Article of the Treaty of Munster they were granted dominion over the countries, places, trading-posts and others they owned at that time in America, on the Orinoco, neither they nor any others save the Spanish had ever had up to the time or subsequently any place, fort, stronghold, encampment, hunting grounds, fisheries, or the enjoyment of its lands.

16. That they could not found such pretensions upon the tacit or express permission that the Commandants of Guayana and Orinoco may have at times given them to fish at the *Boca de Navios* and the Barima and Aquire rivers; on the huts they may have built to salt and dry their catch, nor on the navigation which may have been furtively allowed them as far as Guayana or farther up; nor much less could they justify the Post or Guard they maintained at Moruca, since in the Treaty they are prohibited from erecting any new fortification under any pretext, and that the only thing they could allege was the silence or indifference with which the Commandants of Guayana had looked upon this usurpation, taking advantage thereof to extend their dominion to the main mouth of the Orinoco, and with easy navigation entering thereby, and by the Apure, Meta, and other rivers to the Provinces of Barcelona, Carácas, and Barinas, to the great prejudice of the Royal Treasury, the advancement of the Spanish population and the propagation of the gospel; because protected by that great river, and with the aid which the Dutch interest furnished the Caribs, the latter turned a deaf ear to peace, disputed its navigation by the Spaniards, and its passage to the missionaries, basely advancing to the extent of taking the life of the holy fathers and of a great number of godless Indians; and they would have caused their total extermination had not the glorious predecessors of His Majesty succored them with escort troops, and the mediocre protection of the garrison and fort of Guayana.

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17. The Commandant of Guayana, Don Manuel Centurion, in obedience to the said Royal command, sent, together with a letter dated April ninth of 1778, exemplified copies of the inquiries had regarding the acts complained of by the Director of Esquibo, stating, with reference to the results thereof, that they were all false charges through which Gravesand had endeavored to arouse the States-General against the proceedings of the Spaniards, erroneously supposing that the Dutch had ever been in possession of the rivers or rivulets that empty into the sea from the Esquibo to the Orinoco, because they had there no establishment other than a straw-thatched hut on the eastern bank of the Moruca, or Maroco, which had been tolerated for forty years back, intended to prevent the desertion of their slaves; which toleration degenerated soon into the iniquitous trade of buying from the cruel Caribs the Indians they enslaved, surprising the other nations subject to Spanish rule.

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18. That neither were they in possession of the Maseroni and other rivers that emptied into the Esquibo on its southwestern bank, and it was expedient to disabuse them of this error upon which they founded their complaints; because the Esquibo flowing, approximately, parallel with the sea-coast from the vicinity of the Corentin until it emptied into the sea forty-five leagues east of the mouth of the Orinoco, all the rivers having their sources in the furthest interior of the Province of Guayana and flowing towards the coast lying between the mouths of the Corentin and Esquibo came in contact with the latter which crosses and assimilates them; so that if, as the Dutch supposed, the territory embraced by the rivers feeding the Esquibo (and they are the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Mao, Apanoni, Putara, and other minor ones, with their branches) belonged to the dominion of the Republic, they would have in the Province of Guayana more than the Spaniards; the case being, as appeared from the map he annexed, that the Dutch could only claim possession of the *Surinam, Cupernam, Corentim, Bervis, Demerara, Esqvivo and Powaron rivers.*

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20. That the two garrisoned cabins which Gravesand alleged were in the vicinity of his hut on the Cuyuni river, were two Indian settlements founded by the Capuchins on the bank of the Yuruari, and with no garrison other than one soldier in each as escort of the missionary; that the supposed proximity thereof to his hut was equally false, since they were more than seventy leagues of bad road removed therefrom.

21. That the taking of Indians from Moruca by the Spaniards consisted in that the Catalonian Capuchins having entered escorted, as was customary, by a launch from Orinoco to the Barima river in search of Indian deserters from their Missions, which were dispersed between the Guayne and Moruca (a territory contiguous to the Orinoco and never occupied by the Dutch) they reached the Moruca hut, the guard of which held in slavery three Indian women and their children, kidnapped from the mouth of the Orinoco, as they stated to the missionaries; and they brought these Indians to the Missions without doing any harm whatever to the Dutch; but rather, thinking to favor them, they had given them a certificate of the affair to satisfy the Director of Esquibo.

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23. That on the Cuyuni river, called by the Dutch, Cayoeni, the latter had no possession other than a plantation where it empties into the Esquivo; for, although in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-seven they attempted to establish themselves fifteen or twenty leagues higher up, for the purpose of enslaving Indians through the Caribs, the Commandant of Guayana, being informed thereof, sent a detachment which dislodged them, burning the trading post, and bringing prisoners the Dutch, one negro, and some Caribs, with the instructions and original statements, which fully proved the infamous trade, which, by order of the Director of Esquibo, and to his vile interest, the Guard of the trading post carried on.

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24. That the post which Gravesand stated the Spanish took possession of *near a rivulet south of the Guayne river*, where he supposed the company had from time immemorial a trading place depending beyond contradiction upon the Republic, must be, without doubt, the one which the intruding Dutchmen on the Guarima river abandoned in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-eight, so soon as they learned that our cruising launches were patrolling that river, one of the largest emptying into the Orinoco, notwithstanding that Gravesand made it out a *rivulet*, without venturing to name it, so as not to declare himself a usurper. It is equally strange that he should call this an *immemorial* establishment, when it had existed barely for two years.

25. That they had never up to that time disputed the right of the Dutch to the fisheries at the mouths of the Orinoco because they did not fish there, as is proved by the fact that, having armed during the last three years some cruising launches for this river, they had seized thirty-three foreign vessels, but none of them engaged in fishing, nor was there even any information that the Dutch were in possession of such fishing grounds; and he had only been able to find one instance of having come across and seized, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty, one small fishing schooner and two launches belonging to that nation, at the mouth of the Orinoco and the Barima river. But, nevertheless, it was thought that this pretended right, which would easily degenerate into a disgraceful illicit trade, difficult to stop and most injurious to our Provinces, should be denied.

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All these documents, with many others annexed as antecedents, were sent to the then Attorney-General, accompanied also by another record which had already been considered by His Majesty, ever since the ninth of May of seventeen hundred and sixty eight, relating to an official communication from the Ambassador of England, referring to the return of the negroes passing from her islands to ours of America; and the former official having made known that the investigation and examination of such a mass of papers was a very long task, on which he must of necessity consume a great part of the time needed to perform the other and important business of his office, the Council ordered by its resolution of the first of October of seventeen hundred and seventy-four, that it should all be referred to the Relator, Counsellor Canet, in order that he make a brief of all the matters in the record and its antecedents, which done, he should return it to the Attorney-General for his opinion.

The matter remained in this condition up to the year seventeen hundred and eighty-five, when, the brief having been made by the Relator and the record returned to the Attorney-General, Don Antonio Porlier, he stated in his reply of May twenty-seventh of the same year that at that time there was no action required, since, more than fifteen years having passed without any pressure being brought by the Minister of Holland in the

premises, it was natural to believe that the Republic, better apprised of the want of just reasons for the demand it had made, had desisted therefrom. That moreover, the papers annexed to his memorial, principally the representation of the Commandant of Guayana, Don Manuel Centurion, made evident the want of reason with which the Dutch complained, and the necessity for taking on our part the precautions he suggested in those regions as very important for the State; but that as in the course of so many years the circumstances of the Province may also have changed, the examination thereof could not be entered upon without new and recent reports of its present condition. By reason of all of which he felt that at this time nothing should be done save to await until future developments should demonstrate what had best be done; with which opinion the Council agreed by resolution of June fourth of the said year 1785.

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No. 346.

Letter, dated January 8, 1724, from Juan de la Tornera, Governor of Cumana, to King of Spain, suggesting that a Settlement be made at Angostura.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 260–261.]

As soon as I arrived in this Government I endeavoured to encourage the Missions at Piritu of the Franciscan Fathers giving them an escort with which they might penetrate among the infidel Indians to the Rivers Cari and Orinoco, to preach to them the law of the Gospel, with the result that the Mission of Saint Bonaventure is firmly established and those of Saint Joachim and Saint Rose very much increased, many Indians being drawn from the forest. News was frequently sent me that many foreigners, the Dutch from Surinam, came to these places trading, in vessels, and penetrated more than 100 leagues up the Orinoco, and more than 30 above Angostura, the Fathers lamenting the trade carried on with the Caribs, the sale of tools, stuffs, wine, spirits, guns, and other arms, which they exchanged for a large number of Indian slaves. On account of which it was resolved that they should explore the rivers and banks of the Caroni and Orinoco and the whole country, which they did in two expeditions, for which I gave them a sufficient force for their protection, and the accomplishment of their design. They sent me a description and journals of their preaching and explorations on these two occasions, which I forwarded to Your Majesty by Father Victoriano de Castejon, a Capuchin of the Missions in this province, who went to Court to throw himself at the feet of Your Majesty in November of last year, 1723, that Your Majesty might be made aware of these things, and of the great evils which spring from the toleration of the aforesaid commerce, which might be remedied and pre-

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vented by the missionaries making a settlement at the aforesaid Narrows (Angostura) of the Orinoco, which is situated at the limit of their villages at five days' journey distant, through prairie lands, with no large rivers to prevent passage at any time, being the nearest to it, for, from the Fort of Guayana it is a six days' journey up the Orinoco to the said Angostura, which cannot be accomplished by land on account of the River Caroni, which flows into the Orinoco and is of equal magnitude. The Island of Trinidad is distant 15 days' navigation, of which the greatest part lies through this Government and the villages of the said missionaries. With respect to Your Majesty having granted, by an Order of the 21st August, 1683, 30 soldiers above the seven allowed from Fort Clarines and having ordered Don Francisco de Viveros Salinda, who was then Governor in these provinces that he should establish them in an intrenchment (?) in the most convenient place for the security and protection of the said missionaries of Piritu, having no other duty than that of their guard. When he failed to carry out this order Your Majesty ordered Don Gaspar de Acorta, who succeeded him in the government, to carry out the aforesaid instructions, by a "Cedula" of the 11th of November, 1687. And lastly, by an Order of the 25th December, 1790 [1690], Your Majesty ordered Don Gaspar de Acorta to construct this fort of protection for the missionaries, and assigned the payment of its allowance to the Treasury of Panamá, to be paid at the same time as that of the Fort of Araya; which order was never carried out, with the result that these Missions of Piritu are often harassed, notwithstanding that the Militia guard, and Indians granted them, have formed three villages and spread over all the land, and discovered Angostura on the Orinoco. If Your Majesty is pleased to order that the 37 soldiers, with four or six more, with a captain, lieutenant, ensign, sergeant, and corporal, with eight gunners for the management of the cannon, be established at the said Angostura, and that the missionaries of Piritu found a new Indian Mission there, as the territory is vast and very fertile, the allowance of the infantry to be charged on the Treasury of Mexico, as is that of the Fort of Araya, or on that of Sante Fé, as it defends the entrance to the Orinoco, or that of Carácas as being nearer, by means of this fort, Your Majesty will prevent the trade and commerce of foreigners with the Caribs, making sure of this nation, who have no escape, and securing the kingdom of Santa Fé from attack by way of the Orinoco. It will also serve as a protection to the missionary Capuchins of this province, as also to those of Carácas, the Franciscans being in the middle of the territory to the east, the Capuchins of Carácas to the left in the same direction, so that a fort will protect the three Missions on the side towards the Orinoco, and the subjection of the Caribs will be brought about without arms or bloodshed, and the Indians whom the foreigners remove to their heretical colonies will remain in these provinces subjects of Your Majesty, and enjoying the light of the Catholic Faith in a well-ordered and Christian life. Sire, it seemed to me that I was obliged in conscience to render this

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account to Your Majesty, that you might consider, determine, and command thereon according to your good pleasure for the extension of these Dominions.

God preserve the Catholic person of Your Royal Majesty for the needs of Christendom.

No. 347.

Extract from the *Consulta*, dated 1733, of the Council of the Indies to the King of Spain, as to the attempt of the Swedes to settle in Barima.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 64–65.]

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And when that service had been performed, Juan Miguel Hernandez was instructed to continue exploring the coasts; and the said Hernandez has reported that, having sailed out of the River Orinoco by the Grand Mouth, he noticed, in the creek called Barima, the place where the beforementioned Swedes were located, and that, according to the information he received from the Carib Indians who dwell there, they had seen a number of white men and a large schooner, who were looking for a convenient place on which to settle, and making presents to the Caribs of hatchets, knives, "matchetes," and rum, with which they were much pleased, telling them they would return in the dry season. And that these same Indians declared that two launches with Frenchmen, and some fugitive negroes who were trying to reach Guayana, having come to that creek, they killed the Indians, and took the launches and the effects they contained.

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No. 348.

Order of King of Spain to the Governor of Cumana to report on the rumored Swedish Settlement at Barima; March 13, 1734.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 224.]

To the Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Cumaná.—The Alcaldes of the City of San Joseph de Oruña of the Island of Trinidad and of Guayana, charged with the government of the Province by the death of the Governor, Don Bartolomé de Aldunate, made known by a letter of the 22nd of December, 1732, that the Lieutenant of the Province of Guayana informed them that the Swedes were founding a settlement in the Island of Tabaco, having already built houses, ploughed fields, and established twenty-five families and a certain number of negroes. For this reason the aforesaid Alcaldes resolved to send (which was done) Don Felix Cresel, an inhabitant of the said city of San Joseph de Oruña, to find out the truth of this report from the Indians who inhabit the northern coast of the said Island of Trinidad. He reported that he coasted the southern side of the Island as far as Point Galera, where found some In-

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dians engaged in fishing, and one among them, called Antonio, told him that some Frenchmen who passed that coast in a bilandra, told him that they wished to make a settlement in the Island of Tabaco, where they had already established themselves on the northern side, with their plantations, without possessing any slaves; that Monsieur Cornete, an inhabitant of Martinique, was already named Governor, and they were awaiting the result of an application to the Court of France to introduce settlers. Not being satisfied with this report, the said Alcaldes resolved to send Juan Miguel Hernandez to the said Province of Guayana to verify the statement, and give the necessary orders. On his return he reported that he had put to sea by the principal river of the Orinoco, and entered the creek called Barima, where, according to the Caribs, the Swedes were established. They said they had seen a number of white men seeking a place for their settlement, and they had presented the Caribs with beads, knives, cutlasses, hatchets, and spirits, and left them much pleased and expecting their return the summer following, according to the account of the said Caribs, who also declared that two long boats came to the creek full of Frenchmen and negroes, fugitives on their way to the city of Guayana, who were all slain by the said Indians, who took their boats and all they had with them. That in the creek there was a Carib Chief, son of the Chief Taguaria, who had more than two hundred Indians, with arrows, guns, and broad swords, which force he kept, said the Indian, for the whites of Guayana, because they hindered him taking the Indians of the nations of the Orinoco and selling them to the Dutch. That these latter told the aforesaid Indians not to show the Swedes a good place for their settlement, and they themselves would give them all they required. Having considered this matter in my Council of the Indies, and taken the advice of my Attorney-General, and deliberated thereupon, seeing that the information sent by the aforesaid Alcaldes, though not to be despised, is not full enough to warrant my making any order in the matter, I have resolved to command, and hereby do command, that so soon as you receive these despatches you do forthwith verify the facts of the matter, and, in case any orders should be necessary, you do forthwith make such orders as you think advisable, giving me an account of your proceedings in this matter with all dispatch, remembering that I have also instructed the Governors of Carácas and Margarita by despatches sent this day.

No. 349.

Order of King of Spain to Governor of Cumana to prevent Swedes from settling at Barima, December 16, 1734.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 224-225.]

To Don Carlos Sucre, Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Cumaná.—In a letter of the 18th of July of the year before last Don Rafael

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de Eslaba, President of my Royal Court of the City of Santa Fé in the new Kingdom of Grenada, having communicated the representation made by Father Joseph Gumilla, Superior of the Missions of the Orinoco, with respect to the settlement which the Swedes were attempting to make in River Barima, for whose suppression the Court of that kingdom had previously taken measures; and as soon as the said President entered on his office, he requested the said Father Joseph Gumilla to repeat his former information that he might take the necessary steps; but thinking this a matter of considerable gravity he sends an account of it for his reassurance. Having considered the matter in my Council of the Indies, and taken the advice of my Attorney-General thereupon, I hereby command that with what people you have and with the Capuchin Missions, you take all proper measures to prevent the settlement attempted by the Swedish nation from being established, and that you give me an account of your proceedings herein at the first opportunity.

No. 350.

Extract from *Precis of Despatch*, dated August 13, 1737, from Governor of Cumana, to King of Spain, asking help to prevent Foreign Settlements at Barima.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 225.]

[Under date] Cumaná, August 13, 1737, the Governor, Don Carlos Sucre: Represents to Your Majesty that as soon as he went from this city to the River Orinoco, to carry out the operations for which he was appointed, he reported to Your Majesty the condition of that fortress and dependency, and also of the war which the Carib Indians, with other allies, are making, causing death and torture among the Missionaries, and other Spaniards; and that he was without adequate forces and means to remedy such losses, and that not having had any reply or decision on the important matters in these reports, he finds himself again compelled to have recourse to Your Majesty on the same matter, pointing out the weighty reasons which press for a speedy decision, especially as the Northern nations have begun to settle at the mouth of the river, and sundry families of Swedes are expected to come and settle in the Cañon of Barima within the river of that name. This may result in the loss of those Provinces and of that of Carácas and in the ultimate blocking of the road to Santa Fé de Bogotá.

No. 351.

Extract from *Memorials* of the Marquis de Torrenueva, as to the Spanish and English Commission in Seville, 1737 to 1743.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, p. 69.]

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And it merits equal attention the object with which the Dutch established themselves to the windward of the River Orinoco, in 5° north latitude, and 325° nearly of longitude, according to Delisle, and from the Island of Cayenne, and in 6° north latitude, and 320° 40′ longitude, with the two forts with the name 'Zelandeses,' between the rivers named Surinam and Cupenam. And this could be no other than to get nearer to the mouth and banks of the said river, and to found thereon plantations, which might facilitate their traffic with the new kingdom, and enable them to penetrate, by that part, to those territories and places which their avarice might dictate, until they made themselves masters of the mouth of the Orinoco, and the nations that dwell there in a vast extent of 260 leagues, from there to the 'villa' of San Juan de los Llanos, of which mention has already been made. For from what Delisle shows, it is considered navigable for small craft throughout its course. And it being very necessary to preserve this mouth, as a safeguard of that kingdom, it is no less necessary to restrain the Dutch from approaching its banks either by land or water, by means of the Vth and VIth Articles of the Treaty of Peace with that nation in 1648, and as the mouth of the River Essequibo offers them facilities for carrying out those designs, being situated, according to this geographer, in 6° 40′ latitude, and 318° 10′ longitude, and its source in 1° nearly of north latitude, and 316° of longitude, whose situation in its whole extent forms a large extent of country capable of having established in it a distinct province with a separate Government from that of Cumaná, for it contains within its limits innumerable tribes of Indians, to be reduced, and who would then serve as a barrier so that the Dutch might not pass to the west of this river. Therefore, it would be convenient to occupy the mouth of this river with a fort; but with the object that the town that might be built there should serve as a capital for the new province, and the Caracas Company should be charged with the population, cultivation, and development of it and its resources And if this be not feasible, then it may be carried out by the settling therein of Cathalans. For although the climate is considered very hot, the fact of the Dutch having overcome that difficulty proves that the climate is not unhealthy, and persuades one that the breezes from its mountain chains make it less felt, or that the advantages they derive from those places are so great as to counteract this inconvenience.

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Extracts from various Records of a Visit to the Province of Guayana by Governor Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros in. 1743.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 3, pp. 64–68, 77–80, 97, 101, 106–107, 139–144.]

[*Pp. 64–68.*]

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In the city of Santo Thomé de la Guayana, on the 8th day of the month of February of the year seventeen hundred and forty-three, Señor Don Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, Brigadier of the Armies of H. M., Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of Nueva Andalucia, Nueva Barcelona, Guayana, their coasts and Presidios, for the King our Lord, said: That whereas, on this date his Honor has arrived at this city of Cumaná to make the visit thereto, its Royal fortress, and new conversions of Indians, in compliance with his duty, and in execution of the Royal Decrees.

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Therefore he should command and commanded that a review be held of the infantry company [paid from the allowance] which garrisons the Castle of San Francisco de Asis, and the new conversions of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers and Jesuits of the upper Orinoco. That the Captain commanding furnish a report as to the arms, military stores, munitions and articles existing in the arsenals for the reserve supply, and the sergeant of the artillery as to the cannons and swivel-guns with their carriages, mounted or unmounted, giving their caliber, and advices of the ready stores with which they are supplied, excluding the reserve supplies, which reports they shall frame with, &c.

(Here follow the review of the military, their supplies, the examination of officers, the armament of the Presidios of San Francisco de Asis of Guayana, and of the *Padrastro*, reconnaissance of the Limones channel, measurement of the artillery range, &c.)

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"In the settlement of La Purisima Concepción de Suay, on the seventeenth day of the month of February of the year seventeen hundred and forty-three, his Honor, the said Governor and Captain General of these Provinces, said: That whereas in the prosecution of his visit he has arrived at this settlement, where he must investigate how the Indians are managed and governed, and whether they are aggrieved by some persons in power, military officers or ministers of justice, giving the Indians to understand the Royal recommendations to which they are entitled by the Royal laws, in order that justice may be administered to them; that they may be supported, defended, and receive satisfaction in cash indemnity for the grievances they may have suffered, and justice above all, without any delay, to which end this visit is made; and that

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his Honor is ready to hear and protect them, and the form and policy under which they are to live, and the advisability thereof for their preservation. Their application to the tilling of the fields, for the increase of provisions in their settlements, so advantageous to their progress, and manufactures, which are commonly of hammocks; and fishing, in which they may engage for their profit; the obligation they have to attend church and learn the Christian doctrine, and be present at the holy sacrifice of mass, and aid in the repair and building of the material church of the settlement, the mission house, and that which it is customary to construct in all Indian settlements under the name of the Royal house, for the care of travellers; that each family shall live in a separate house; that they shall have a community farm of the most useful products for the common needs, and that these products, owing to the little capacity of the Indians, be distributed and sold with intervention of the Missionary of the settlements for the benefit of the Indians, since there are no councilmen in these settlements, as they are new settlements.

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And as the latter [the Indians] are under the charge of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Catalonia, appointed by H. M. for the conversion of the Indians of this Province, his Honor prays and charges the Very Reverend Father Prefect of the said sect to accompany him, and that he also be pleased to order the Teacher of this settlement, as well as of the others, to exhibit the rolls of the Indians of both sexes of these settlements, pursuant to which they will be reviewed at once, and that they be filed, and that he furnish a report of the number of houses composing it; whether its site and waters are healthy and its lands fertile; what products are cultivated there and the greatest yield that can be produced, and a list of the jewels and ornaments of the churches, for a better knowledge of everything, &c.

(Here follow the returns and the presentation of the lists of enrolled Indians of the Mission of La Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora de Suay and of Santa María de los Angeles de Amaruca, Province of Guayana; the list and rolls of the Indians of the Mission San Antonio de Caroni; the visit to said settlement; the rolls of the Indians of Alta Gracia, of the Mission of the Capuchin Fathers of Orinoco, from the Province of Catalonia. Rolls of the Mission of Cupapuy. Same of the Mission of La Divina Pastora del Yacuri).

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"In the town of La Divina Pastora de Yacuri, on the twenty-second day of the month of February, of the year seventeen hundred and forty-three, Señor Don Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, Brigadier," etc.

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* * said: That whereas before His Honor had appeared Don Juan

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Guayurumay, chief of the Panacuyo nation, with two other chiefs of the same nation

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expressing in his language (as interpreted by Joseph, the Indian Captain of the town of San Joseph de Cupapay), his wish to settle at the place Cunury, ten leagues, more or less, distant herefrom, subject to the teachings of the Capuchin Missionaries of the Province of Catalonia, who are evangelizing in this Province of Guayana, and as vassals of H. M.; and that for the purpose he has, as a beginning, thirty-three men of arms, married by contract, according to their custom, thirty-eight women, twenty-three boys, and sixteen girls, all friendly and obedient to him, requesting that he be received under the Royal protection and vassalage, and be granted the site of Cunury for settlement.

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Wherefore, in order to encourage them to settle there, he resolved and ordered that the said Don Juan Guayurumay be appointed Founding Captain of the said Cunury settlement.

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Here follows the roll of the Indians of this Mission of Santa Barbara de Guayarayma, Province of Guayana, and on page 73, reverse, is found the visit to the town of Payaraima, and on page 78 appears the edict for the recognition of the status of the new founding of the city of Guayana.

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[*Pp. 77-80.*]

In this Presidio of Santo Thomé de la Guayana, on the second day of the month of May, of the year seventeen hundred and forty-three, Señor Don Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, Brigadier of the armies of H. M., his Governor and Captain General of these Provinces of Guayana, Nueva Andalucia, and their Royal lands, for the King our Master, said: That whereas, his Honor, being engaged in the visit to this Province and the Missions within its districts, at the same time seeing to the execution of Royal Rescripts of H. M.

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And he orders that upon his return to this Presidio there shall be held a general meeting (without the participation of his Honor) of the Commandant of this Province; the Reverend Prefect of Capuchins, and the Assistant Father Friar Augustin de Olot, and Friar Benito de Moya; the Rev. Father Roque Lubian, Procurator-General of the Jesuit Missions, elected with letter of credence, which he presented to his Honor, to represent his Superior and Reverend community in this visit, meetings, reports, and whatever else may be necessary; Friar Diego Francisco Ybañez, of the Franciscan order, Adviser, and the oldest priest in the Missions of Piritu, with like credentials, both of which shall be entered

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in these records; the Captain of infantry of the Castle of this city, and the Lieutenant of Royal officers.

And as it is advisable that their reports and whatever else may occur to them at said meeting shall be framed after mature reflection, in order that they may be examined and studied exhaustively, and meet the requirements of honor and conscience, as each one may find them best adapted to the service of God and the King, the points to be treated and deliberated in order to arrive at the most advisable solution, and report to H. M. such as need his Royal decision, are now declared to be (and they will be informed thereof), as follows, to wit:

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The second is: The present condition of each community, and what settlements they consider should be improved or founded.

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The third is: What districts is each of the Rev. communities governing at present, and what do the Rev. Franciscan Fathers propose doing with the thirty-nine Evangelical workers who recently arrived to propagate our Holy Catholic Faith in their respective districts? They should all endeavor to work incessantly in every way, since they are managed and maintained at a heavy expenditure from the Royal Treasury and the Catholic zeal of the King our Master, without urging, in view of the grave demands of the war, these expeditions such as that which has just been effected in the sending of the thirty-nine Missionaries; no doubt being entertained of the abundant good results brought about by both, which his Honor clearly recognizes, and for which he extends his thanks.

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[*P. 97.*]

Replying to the second point, it is stated that the present condition of the Community of the Franciscan Fathers of Piritu is: There are twenty-two settlements, of which fifteen are already Christianized, divided into six parishes, and seven are new mission towns. Of these seven towns, four are of Carib Indians, one of Cumanagoto Indians, and another of Palenque Indians, and the Cumanagotos and Palenques lived with the Caribs, and called themselves Caribs when they lived with them; and the other town is of Chaima Indians. Among these twenty-two towns are distributed the priests who have recently arrived from Spain and those of us who were already here.

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[*P. 101.*]

Replying to the third point, it is stated: That the Franciscan Fathers intend this year to again settle the site of Mamó, having the escort of thirty men, and at the same time to start another town of

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Guaraunos one day's journey distant from the site on the Limones Channel, and, if it be possible, another town near this ; and they also intend to found a city of Spaniards on the Pao river, near the Orinoco, if they have another escort of thirty soldiers, and in its vicinity found one or more Indian settlements. And they also intend this year to found a settlement near Unare of some Indian families that are in several ranches, and of others which are fugitives from the towns, some living in the forest and others in the Province of Caracas. And they also intend, should they have the escort of forty soldiers, to go over to found a city of Spaniards on the Caura river, and such Carib settlements as they may be able to in its neighborhood, without which escorts no start can be given to the settlements on the three sites mentioned—Mamó, Pao and Caura.

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[*Pp. 106-107.*]

(*Page 134.*)—"With these we maintain and encourage the new settlement of San Ygnacio de Cabruta, against which the persecutions, not only of the Caribs, but of other persons of distinction and quality have been such that were it not for the work of God it would have been ruined from its beginning, as is known to Y. H., under whose help and protection it keeps on growing, and it offers much for the defence of the Orinoco should it continue to grow. There are five other subjugations already founded above Cabruta, four or five days' journey, and in winter a longer time—the first, Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Pararuma, the small fort of San Francisco Javier de Marimaroto, with its town, Santa Theresa de Carichana, all three settlements of the Salibas Nation ; San Francisco de Borja, of the Jaruros ; San Joseph de Paruate, which is now being founded, and which is of the Mapoye Nation. In all the settlements the office of prayer and the expounding of the doctrine is performed every day—in the morning in their language and in the afternoon in Spanish, the Missionary Father personally assisting and explaining. On Sundays the eternal truth is preached and the Christian doctrine is explained in their language ; and on the other principal feasts of the year the Mystery of the day is preached to them.

"In each town there are boys' schools, where all learn to read, and some to write ; they learn and are taught elementary singing, and the diversity of harmony, by which means playing on the harp, guitar, violin, and other instruments such as the trumpet and flute, gains much, according as the settlement is new or older. All this is addressed to the divine worship, teaching and police of the Indians, for which purpose there is also a teacher who instructs them in dancing for the amusement of the Indians, and for holidays. On some occasions they are accustomed to represent some scenes on the mysteries of the faith, now in Spanish, now in their own language, in order that all may understand. These

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children are so advanced that they know the Doctrine in Spanish, with a very clear pronunciation, and it can be seen that they grasp the meaning, because on being questioned they reply in their own language with effect.

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[*Pp. 139-144.*]

Fourth Royal Decree.

"The King. Whereas Friar Francisco del Castillo, of the order of St. Francis, prior and Apostolic Missionary of the new conversions of Piritu, Palenque, Guarive, Cumanogoto, and Carib Indians, and other heathens of the Province of Cumana, has represented to me that there was concluded and executed in the city of Santa Thomé de la Guayana, on the twentieth of March of seventeen hundred and thirty-four, an agreement by the missionaries of the said order of St. Francis, the Jesuits and Capuchins residing in the Missions and conversions on the banks of the Orinoco river, with the intervention of Don Carlos Sucre, my Governor of the said Province of Cumana, through which agreement, setting forth that the said holy men of the order of St. Francis had subjugated by the fervor and zeal of their preaching a great number of Indians, and formed with them twenty-two settlements, including the religious schools, on this banks of the Orinoco river, where they entered to exercise their Apostolic purpose pursuant to my Royal license, and there not remaining there any more Indians to convert, wishing to satisfy their indefatigable desire, the said missionaries stipulated and agreed with the Capuchins and Jesuits to allow them to preach and spread the Holy Gospel on the other side of the said river, designating among each other the locality where they were, without confusion, to practice their holy calling; and in order that what was agreed upon by and between the said three sects may be perpetually firm and binding, he requested me to be pleased to confirm in every respect the said agreement, the tenor of which is as follows:"

Agreement. (*Page 198.*)

"'In the city of Santa Thomé de la Guayana, on the twentieth day of the month of March of the year seventeen hundred and thirty-four, Colonel Don Carlos Sucre, Governor and Captain-General of these Provinces and that of Dorado, and the others discovered and to be discovered on the Orinoco river, of Nueva Andalucia, Nueva Barcelona, their coasts and Presidios for the King our Lord, summoned and brought together in this Government house, residence of his Honor, the Reverend Father Joseph Gumilla, of the Venerable Society of Jesus, Superior of the Jesuit Missions of this Orinoco; the Very Reverend Father Friar Agustin de Olot, Prefect of the Capuchin Mission, situate on the said Orinoco; the Reverend Father Friar Thomas de Santa Eugenia, Friar Antonio de Vargas, and Friar Benito de Moya, of the said holy order of Capuchin Apostolic

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Missionaries; the Very Reverend Father Friar Francisco de las Llagas, of the regular order of our Father Saint Francis, and President of the Mission of the missionaries of Piritu, and the Rev. Fathers Friar Francisco Rodriguez de Ledesma, Friar Mathias Garcia, Friar Lorenzo Algaba, and Friar Bernardino Camacho, of the regular order, and Apostolic missionaries of the conversions of Piritu.

"And their Reverences being met and congregated together, his Honor proposed and said to them: That being about to cross over to this Province from that of Cumana, not only because of the news of the disturbance of the peace committed by the Carib Nation to the great spiritual ruin of the converted Indians and desecration of the temples, but in the execution of some Royal commands, and being informed of the large number of Indians there is to be converted on this Orinoco, of divers and different barbarous nations inhabiting its territories; in view of the Royal authority granted by his Majesty (God preserve him) to the Reverend Franciscan Fathers, missionaries of Piritu, for the conversion of the Caribs of this Orinoco, and there being a very great abundance of this territory, and much heathenism therein to be converted to the fold of the Church; being apprised of the lack of workers for the purpose of this said Orinoco, and recognizing also the great fervor in the propogation of our holy Catholic faith of the missionaries of Piritu, and that they had not on the other side of the Orinoco (there being no Indians there) a field to work, owing to the great spread of their conversions, and because all those living on the other side of the said Orinoco have been settled in twenty towns they have founded, with those already consecrated to the Catholic religion and living in the Evangelical law; in order that the Royal will may be carried out by the increase of the conversions, and that the said reverend missionary Fathers of Piritu may have where to exercise their Apostolic zeal, he determined to bring with him the said Reverend Father Friar Francisco de las Llagas with his four companions, so that for the better service of both Majesties there be designated by the said Very Reverend Father Joseph Gumilla and the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, territories where they may on their part spread the preaching of the Holy Gospel and labor in the vineyard of the Lord according to their calling.

"'Which being heard by the Reverend Jesuit and Capuchin Fathers, they counselled and conferred thereon for a long time, and having reflected on the case and what was the most advisable thing to do, they agreed and stated that for the best service of both Majesties it was necessary and very expedient to designate territories for them, to gain time in the conversion and saving of souls, and they said unanimously and of one accord that they designated, and at once did designate, for the said Reverend Franciscan Friars, present and future, that they may establish and found whatever settlements they could in this

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part of Guayana, from Angostura on the Orinoco up as far as the banks on this lower side of the Cuchivero river, making a straight line from the banks of the said Orinoco to the Marañon, or Amazon: the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, to encourage their conversions, remaining with the territory and district lying between the said Angostura and the principal mouth of the said Orinoco, where the missionaries joining them will distribute themselves; and the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, from the banks of the upper part of the said Cuchivero river, all the rest of the Orinoco, going always up, and all limits or boundaries in a straight line from the Orinoco to the Marañon, or Amazon.

"'Which, having been heard and understood by the said Reverend Franciscan Fathers, they unanimously and of one accord said that once, twice, thrice, and as many times as may be necessary, for themselves and in the name of their Prelate, the Very Reverend Father Commissary of Piritu, Friar Francisco Rodriguez, and the other missionaries of the said conversion of Piritu, present and future, they accepted and they did accept the said territory so designated for them, and with demonstrations of humility and gratefulness they extended repeated thanks to the said Reverend Father Superior and Prefect and the other Capuchin Fathers, each regarding the other and promising themselves great increase of Christianity through the medium of so much union and fervor.

"'After which they agreed, and said unanimously and of one accord, that in order to prevent difficulties in the future that might disturb the peace they desire to maintain, that they establish, and from the moment stipulate and agree, that whereas there are several Indian Nations within the limits designated, they declare that as regards the conversion of said nations so situated within the limits, it is to be free for him who most labors in its advancement; so that, without excepting any tribe, each Mission may, on its own part, convert and advance as many as it can of the nations within its limits; and the Indians once having been settled, they are to belong to the Mission of the sect settling them, without being allowed to pass to another; binding themselves reciprocally, should they do so, to always return them to their possession, which is established as a distinct article, to act contrarywise being prohibited now and forever—to which they agree.

"'And his Honor, the said Governor and Captain General said that he approved, and did approve, this compromise, convention and agreement, and that he therein interposed and did interpose his authority and judicial decree that it may have force and effect now and at all times, and that in the name of the King our Lord he extended thanks to the Reverend Fathers for the Apostolic zeal shown in the increase of the holy Catholic faith, and he ordered me, the Notary, to furnish their Reverences with the exemplified copies they should request, and his

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Honor with those necessary to report to H. M.; and he signed it with the Fathers—to which I certify.

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"And it having been considered in my Council of the Indias, with the opinion of my Attorney General, it has been resolved to grant this request, and to confirm and approve in every respect (as by these presents I do) the agreement aforesaid.

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No. 353.

Extract from Report by Joseph Gumilla, S. J. to the King of Spain, as to Means for Preventing Hostilities of Dutch and Caribs, [? 1745.]

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 262-268.]

The deplorable state of the Missions which the Province of the Society of Jesus for the New Kingdom began to restore on the Orinoco in the month of December, 1731, has obliged my Province to send me to this Court (having regard to my twenty-two years' experience in missionary life) to throw myself at the feet of Your Majesty, and as an eye-witness to represent these grave evils, and beg their remedy from Your Royal Benevolence, to the greater glory of God, the service of Your Majesty, and increase of your Royal dominions, which not only the Jesuit missionaries, but many apostolic men, Franciscans and Capuchins, will endeavour to promote on the said Orinoco.

Sire, the harvest is great, the soil of many pagan nations well-disposed and fertile for the reception of the Holy Gospel, and the labourers (though few) would produce much fruit if the enemy of souls did not avail himself of the avarice of the Dutch, and the bloodthirsty and inhuman character of the Caribs, to destroy in a day the apostolic labour of a whole year. They come up from the sea (both these nations) to rob and burn the villages of the Missions and carry off as many captives as they can, and sell them at Essequibo, Berbice, and Surinam, colonies of the aforesaid Republic established (not on the Orinoco), but a good distance to the east of its mouths. Besides the profit from slaves the Dutch are moved to keep up their strong alliance with the Caribs, by the value of the balsam of Tolu (Aceite de Maria), and of a species of bixwort found on the Orinoco. To procure these some Dutch introduce themselves among the fleets of these Indians, painted according to the custom of the said savages, by which they encourage them, and add boldness to the lamentable destruction which they work. Added to which, many Caribs receive a great supply of arms, ammunition, glass beads, and other trifles, with the understanding that they are to be paid for within a certain time

with Indians, which they must take prisoners on the Orinoco. And when the time has elapsed, the Dutch creditors encourage and even oblige the Caribs to their bloody raids against the defenceless Indians of the Orinoco.

From this root sprang the first and second ruin of the Missions which the Jesuits established with great labour and trouble in the years 1684 and 1693, when the Reverend Fathers Ignacio Fiñol, Ignacio Toebas, Gaspar Bek, and Vicente Lovero gloriously shed their blood in defence of their sheep, as did also Tiburcio de Medina, the Captain of the guard, leaving the settlements once and again sacked and burnt.

But coming to our own times, from the same Dutch root springs the pride of the Chief Taricura and of the Caribs, his successors, and the incessant evil which it has wrought us from the year 1733 to the year 1738 (and, as I hold for certain, even to the present day) in the colonies on the Orinoco, with the death of many Indian catecumens, and the captivity of many more. On the 31st of March, 1733, they burnt our Colony of Our Lady of the Angels, and on the following day they came down on that of San Joseph de Otomacos with twenty-seven war canoes, and if the soldiers of the guard and the friendly Indians had not defended themselves valiantly, they would have burnt and sacked the place and taken my companions and myself prisoners, or killed us for their banquets, for this was the principal end of this and the following attacks, which I will briefly touch upon.

In the year 1735 the said Caribs burnt the settlement of San Miguel de Richado, and took a great number of Indians prisoners leaving many others dead. On the 29th of September, 1735, they stormed the colony of Mamo, which was under the care of the Franciscan Fathers. They killed nearly all the Indians and two soldiers, and after having shot the Venerable Father Andres Lopez through the body, and struck him on the mouth with one of their wooden weapons, they hung him when half dead, and returned with many captives to take the settlement of San Antonio de Caroni, which belongs to the Capuchin Fathers, unawares; but God willed that the aggressors should be discovered, and they were obliged to retire, and content themselves with having killed one of the principal Indians of that Mission. Shortly afterwards they burnt the colony of Conception of Uyapi, from whence the Franciscan Fathers had recalled their missionaries of Piritu that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. A few days afterwards they burnt the colony of San Joseph de Otomacos, and we were obliged to fly with a few Indians to a more secure and distant spot, where we were exposed to hunger and the total want of all necessaries. Though here set forth in a few words, these are bitter afflictions which have caused, and still cause, the missionary Fathers many tears; but their grief is no sooner grown more calm than we seek places of more security, gather together the dispersed Indians, and form new Colonies, with the grievous obstacle of fierce and repeated

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assaults from the Caribs on the small guard which assists us; but with the evident protection of God and the firm hope that Your Majesty's pious zeal will put an end to these evils, the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Capuchins still stand firm in Orinoco; and though they know the boldness of the Caribs will be daily increased by the encouragement they receive from the Dutch, the knowledge is so far from inspiring them with terror that many others at the sight of their glorious labours desire to bear them company.

Besides the aforesaid, I would also bring to the high understanding of Your Majesty that this great River Orinoco is like an open door, giving free access to the most interior provinces of Cumaná, Carácas, Maracaybo, and to all the New Kingdom of Granada. All these provinces have their fronts (so to speak) protected by fortresses, redoubts, &c., but their backs are unprotected on account of the free access given by the Orinoco, a point worthy of all consideration, and of notable consequence.

From whence it follows that we must look not only to the pacification of the Orinoco and the forwarding of its missions, but also that this great river shall have a door whose key is in the possession of Your Majesty, that thus the three bodies of missionaries may continue to instruct these uncivilized nations in peace, and that the back of the adjacent provinces, which form such a considerable part of South America, may be guarded and secured.

This was the aim of our province of the New Kingdom when in the year 1719 they sent Fathers Juan Capuel and Juan Romeo to explore the three hundred leagues of the Orinoco which flow from the River Meta to Guayana, which they did with all exactitude, taking with them persons well acquainted with the territory.

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No. 354.

Extracts from description of the Lower Orinoco, Movements of Caribs, etc., by Ramon Santa Maria. From correspondence of Yturriaga, 1747.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 3, pp. 184-185.]

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Three leagues below the city that great river divides itself into three large branches. Two of these, which bend to the north and northeast, separate into so many channels that they empty into the sea through more than forty mouths. The third, which bends to the east, flows almost whole for fifty leagues until it empties into the sea under the

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name of ship channel (*boca grande de Navois*), because it is only through this that small vessels of six guns can go up.

Following the large branch in its course to the sea, some rivers are encountered which empty on the right hand, like that named the Aquire, and a branch of the Barema river, which separates into many other branches, the great windward point forming a labyrinth of islands and channels. Through these channels, without going out to sea, one can go in canoes up to the stronghold called the Post, which the Dutch of Esquivo maintain with three men and two small cannons, sixteen leagues from the Colony towards the ship channel, and this is the way taken by the Dutch when they return from the Orinoco in small vessels, in order not to expose themselves to the strong currents and winds which retard and render dangerous the navigation outside.

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The Caribs, which live within the Orinoco line, occupy about seventy leagues of the southern bank from the mouth of the Caroni, distant six leagues to the west of Guayana, up to the mouth of the Caura river. Their audacity and superiority over other nations keeps them in constant action against the latter, however distant they be, to the end of making them slaves and selling them to the residents of the Dutch Colonies of Esquibo, Berbice, Corentin and Surinam. For this trip they have, besides the navigation of the Orinoco and the channels of the Barima, a road on land which, crossing the Caroni above the Guajana Missions, reaches the Aquire river, and they go down by this river to near its mouth, when they act in concert with some vessel, which waits on this river, and when not, they enter the Yuruari and follow it down to the Esquibo.

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No. 355.

Inventory of Stock etc., at the Cuyuni Post, 1747.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 33-34.]

In the year 1747 of the transfer of accounts to the former Postmaster and stock of the same, as follows:

Nine yards of coarse cloth to buy casave (tapioca bread) for the people of the Post's maintenance.

Fifteen knives for the same.

Eleven knives that were paid to the Indians for carrying a despatch to the Governor.

A hatchet and short broadsword to buy a curiara (small Indian boat).

A looking glass to buy casave.

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Four yards of new blue cotton cloth to buy casave.
Three pieces of iron utensils to buy casave.
Nine yards coarse cloth to pay the Indians for carrying several despatches.
Eighteen knives for casave.
Nine knives for casave.
One bundle of beads for casave.
Eighteen knives to pay the Indians who were employed by the Post.
Three pieces of iron utensils for casave.
Four yards of coarse cloth for casave.
One bundle of beads for casave.
Four knives for casave.
Eight yards of coarse cloth to buy palm meal.
Three yards of coarse cloth for casave.
Four looking glasses for casave.
Five knives for casave.
Six coarse combs to pay the Indians for an errand on behalf of the post master.
Four fine combs for casave.
Three looking glasses to pay the Indians who were sent to the Governor.
Eleven knives for casave.

List of debts of the Master of the Post Tumfermant.

Yriveno owes eight slaves	8
Tucunuara owes three slaves	3
Arinamene owes three slaves	3
Marayacano owes one slave	1
Aritamar owes two slaves	2
One more said Señor Buzon	1
Carinare owes two slaves to the Governor	2
Cumuara owes two slaves more to the Governor	2
Asavue owes one to the son of the Governor	1
Arimanaca owes two slaves	2
Manarvay owes two slaves	2
Manarvay owes two slaves	2
Total	29

Hammocks due.

Caysamane owes three	3
Manayro owes eight	8
Canarua owes two	2
Other names of Caribs cannot be made out on account of the paper being worn out, the total sum being	37

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Extracts from replies to the orders given to Colonel Eugenio Alvarado, by José de Iturriaga, Rear-Admiral, as to the Secret Mission in Guayana, with replies, April 20, 1755.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 84-85.]

* * * * * *

No. 8. This place (*i. e.*, the cattle farm of Divina Pastora) is the best for carrying out the investigations and commissions with which you are charged.

Reply.—In this instruction your Excellency gives me the name of the cattle farm which you consider the best place for making the various investigations; but in view of the fact of its not being central in the Missions, nor of there being any one here able to afford me the confidential information required and vouch for the truth of the same, I was obliged to forego my convalescence after my severe illness and betake myself to other places, visiting all parts, and personally making the necessary investigations.

No. 10. At a distance of 3 leagues from the "cattle farm" ("hato") is the Mission of Capapuy, where mines are said to abound, and the Father Missionary will be able to afford you all information concerning them, as he has acquired considerable knowledge about them.

Reply.—The generic term your Excellency employs in this Article [of the instructions] in regard to the mines of Copapuy I presume refers to that known as the perfect metals, and not in a general sense, which includes eight different minerals, &c.

I visited Copapuy, examined the two which they call gold mines, and had a conversation thereupon with Father San Augustin de Olot, President of that Mission, as your Excellency indicated to me, who found a good lode, known to him and guarded for some years, and very desirous of having in his district gold mining carried on, but possessing about as much knowledge and the mode of working them as he does of the human heart.

* * * * * *

Although your Excellency only wished me, according to this Article of the instructions, to investigate what belongs to Copapuy, I offer no apology for informing your Excellency of other mines existing in the interior of the province, as well because so far no account has been made of them, as that you may, if it appear well, inform our members about them.

In the destroyed Missions of Cuniri, Tupuquen, Curumo, and that of Miamo, which were swept away by the relentless fury of the Caribs, and which is at present in charge of Father Moxo de Villazan, Missionary

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Apostolic, of great energy, gold and silver are found, at every step, in the districts of all.

* * * * * *

The village of the Mission of Miamo is situated about 14 leagues from the cattle farm of Divina Pastora, and, properly speaking, trends towards the south. It would, indeed, be the best place possible to entertain or make a fool of a miner.

* * * * * *

The lowlands, or, better said, the sandbanks of the River Miamo, from which the Mission takes its name, are as brilliant when pulverized as particles of the gold mines of Copapuy. This is also the case with the sands from the bed of the River Macarumee (which enters the Miamo), and is different from that of the Curumo, of a gold colour like those of Miamo.

* * * * * *

No. 357.

Extract from a Precis for the Spanish Secretary of State, of Documents as to the Boundary Commission, 1756.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 87–88.]

The expedition before leaving Cadiz was not in harmony ; and a difference arose between Iturriaga and Alvarado.

Immediately on their arrival at Cumaná, Iturriaga caused much dissension among his people, and separated himself from Alvarado, to whom he would make no communication.

Alvarado is too sharp and forcible, and finding himself alone and neglected, and to revenge himself, he entered into friendship with the Governor of [Cumaná], the result of which was that both censured the conduct of Iturriaga, as is seen from the notes sent now by him to Señor Arriaga.

Here follows an account of the proceedings of the Governor of Cumaná, who, notwithstanding that Iturriaga had a Royal Warrant to him, commanding him to supply the expedition with all it required, refused point blank to give him "a farthing," though he provided "boats, men, and munition, which he had at hand. * * * In this manner a whole year was spent, and the supplies they took with them, both plentiful and good, and sufficient to carry them to the end of their journey, were consumed.

* * * * * *

No. 358.

Extracts from letter from José de Iturriaga to Ricardo Wal, relating to a New Dutch Fort on the Maruca (and containing letter dated December 2, 1757, of Juan Valdes to Iturriaga on the same subject), December 15, 1757.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 3, pp. 166-169.]

MY DEAR SIR: Having understood through the Capuchin Fathers of Guayana that the Dutch were constructing a new fort on the Maruca river, to windward and a short distance from the *Boca de Navios* of the Orinoco, and being certain that the Commandant of Guayana would not of his own motion take any measures to ascertain the fact, or the purpose, I requested him to send there, at my expense, a launch with pilots to go up the passage exploring the river, and inspect the condition of the building, its materials, dimensions, artillery, and garrison. And he replied, under date of December 2, what Y. E. will learn from the annexed copy.

What I understand from the report is that the purpose is to establish some sugar plantations, adding to the owners and slaves a number of Acowa Indians, who have their greatest confidence, to prevent the passing of deserters, soldiers, and Indian slaves, by that passage.

It may be that for this purpose, and to defend the plantations against the uprising of slaves of both kinds, they may build a small fort, with two or three small cannons served by from four to six men.

* * * * * *

Tolerated now on the Maruca, they will next pass on to Barima, which empties into the same mouth, and later on they will come to the Aquire river, whose mouth is on the Orinoco itself, some leagues from the ocean. By this river the neighborhood of the Palmar Missions is reached, and by it they accomplish free communication with the other Missions in the interior of the country, as they have already done owing to the indifference of Father Friar Bruno, of Barcelona, who for this reason was removed therefrom by his Prefect, and reduced to serve as a companion in another Mission, and deprived of active or passive part in the meetings.

The request they make in writing of the Commandant of Guayana to allow their Aroacas, who come to fish turtle, to go further up, is not very much in keeping with their title of Governors of Esquivo and Orinoco, but still necessary to their advantage, and I am assured that the Commandant not only yields, but that his permits cover the different boats that go up for this purpose.

* * * * * *

[*Letter Inclosed.*]

MY DEAR SIR: I inform Y. H. that I have performed the duty en-

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trusted to me to reconnoitre the waters of the Moroca channel, and the fortification you were informed of, from which reconnoissance it results that the information is incorrect, for on the whole of that channel and the other channels communicating therewith there is no fortification to be found, and all there is is the news that the Dutch of the Esquivo Colony intend to move the guard which, under the name of post, they maintain on the Moroca channel, taking it down to the mouth thereof, emptying into the ocean, which will be about a distance of six leagues, for which purpose they have cut down trees and made many clearings for sowing that site, and built the houses necessary for the Aruaca Indians and the Dutch, which news I have been unable to verify with certainty, and I have only heard it said that the purpose is to prevent the negro slaves of the Company and residents of the said Colony from running away so easily to these Dominions, for the said guard being at the month of the Moroca, it can watch the boats that, without entering it, may pass by the coast to take the main mouth of this river.

The depth that the greater part of the above-mentioned river has is from two-and-a-half to three fathoms at its fullest, and entirely free from obstacles, as large feluccas and small schooners of ordinary draft navigate it with the assistance of the tides.

They are unable to say at said post whether the Frenchman Ygnacio passed by there or not, as he could have gone by the seacoast without entering the said Moroca channel, as the sloops do, as do also the canoes of the fugitive negroes and soldiers. All of which I bring to the notice of Y. H. for your better information, and in compliance with what was entrusted to me.

God our Father preserve Y. H. many years. Guayana, December 2, 1757. Your most obedient and grateful servant kisses the hand of Y. H.

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Letter from Juan Valdes, Commandant in Guayana, to José Iturriaga, Chief Spanish Commissioner of the Spanish-Portuguese Boundary Commission, March 30, 1758.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, p. 91.]

In reference to yours of the 20th ultimo, concerning the commission with which you charged me for the purpose of investigating and reporting upon the settlement, fortification, and other matters of interest in the River Moruca, I have now to state to you that the change of the guard, under the name of post, which the Dutch of the Colony of Essequibo have at a distance of 20 leagues, more or less, from there, situated in the said River Moruca, has had no effect. And that there was only a house of 15 yards long, which they built at the mouth of the said river,

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with a stockade and gates. This they say is for the use of those engaged in the trade of the before mentioned Colony, and for the purpose of serving as a rest-house during the time the river is at its height or flood until it falls. On this account the old guard or post is still maintained without increase of the force, nor of artillery, there being only three cannon, unmounted, of the calibre of 3-pounders, and a corporal with two soldiers, so that the Aruaca Indians, dwelling there for the purposes of trade, are divided into three settlements or villages, each of ten or twelve small houses, for an Indian family. And the villages are separated the one from the other by a distance of more than a league, and are situated on the banks of the said River Moruca.

I believe I have now fully carried out your commission and instructions, but well understood, however, that your Excellency is already aware that the site is 7 leagues distant from the sea, more or less, and that there are 12 or 13 leagues of coast between it and the Colony.

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Letter from Fray Benito de la Garriga to Felix Ferreras, Commander in Guayana, as to Dutch Slave Trade, etc., on the Cuyuni River, June 9, 1758.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 8-9.]

DEAR SIR: The Caribs from the mountains having killed the captain and his companion of the Guayca Indian Station, who with their people formed there a population upon good principles and with hopes of making it a large establishment on the banks of the Supama river, on the Hauchica site, that settlement has now been lost on account of the above deaths. The Guaycas have therefore again taken to the woods, and as other folks of the said tribe there may be yet found in the Missions of the Yuruario, they are oftentimes clamorous for vengeance; but the Father of that Mission, with his usual prudence, has made me acquainted with the fact, and that he had persuaded them to stop, fearing still worse misfortunes. I requested the Commander, Don Juan Valdes, to be kind enough to make himself available to Your Honor with his long practice and experience abont these Indian affairs, in order to proceed, with proper directions, farther in the interior of the country, and investigate and discover the reason of that slaughter, and if possible to find out the names of the offenders. You have carried out the directions of the Commander and made the necessary inquiries and investigations contained in the information you rendered to me about your inquest. Having been as far as the Miamo, Carapo and Yuruario Missions, and fully investigated the case about the middle of May of last year, it was

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found that they had carried away a wife to be sold at Esquivo. It was found out besides that the murderers were certain Caribs from the settlement of Tupuquen, who had rebelled in the year 1750, commanded by the Indian Cayarivare, who had been an Alcalde at Tupuquen and headed the ringleaders of said rebellion who were staying at the time in the interior of the Cuyuny river, at the mouth of the river Corumo, which empties into said river, and where a few Hollanders of the Esquivo Colony were purchasing Poytos Indians and carrying them away. The principal cause for their having killed the captain was on account of his settlement in the above mentioned site of Auchica, closing thus their way to the Usupama river, preventing their coming out without being discovered. By word of mouth as well as by letters from the Reverend Fathers, your Honor has been made acquainted with the permanence of the said Hollanders, in company with the Caribs at the mouth of the river Corumo, buying Indian slaves.

Now, by your letter of the 30th of May, your Honor kindly requests me to make an accurate statement, informing your Honor whether the Hollanders remained at the same site or at any other parts around there, if they continue their trade in dry goods, hatchets, etc., and in what consists their means of defence; if they keep any artillery, and its caliber, so that Your Honor, as commander *ad interim*, may send in proper time a suitable report to the Superior Government.

My answer, as well as that of all the Reverend Fathers of our Missions the nearest to the frontiers, and that of the Father Presidents of those of Miamo, Carapo, and Yuruario, will be that the Caribs of the Miamo very often have asked the Father of that place to allow them to go and arrest and kill those Hollanders at the mouth of the Corumo, who make ransoms for the purchase of Poytos, as they were informed by the Barinagotes of Yuruario. Very often they had heard that the Hollanders had threatened to set fire to the Mission settlement on account of being an obstruction in their way to Yuruario. The Caribs from Carapo reported to the Father that a negro who was at Cuyuni went to the Mission and out of fear came back again. The Caribs have advised repeatedly that three white Hollanders and ten negroes, with many Caribs, were building houses and clearing the woods so as to establish settlements on the Cuyuni, but they do not know whether they had cannons. They have, however, large blunderbusses and many carbines. They likewise employ Aruaca Indians from Esquivo to fell very large trees, involving a great deal of work, which the Caribs avoided by running away. Of this case we have no more news than what has been conveyed to us by the Indians, such as has been represented to me by several other persons of the Mission. It is not unlikely that the Hollanders stopped their purchase of Poytos at Cuyuni, because they do not hesitate to continue doing this illicit trade in the neighborhood of the Missions. Your Honor knows well that Captain Bonalde, within a day's journey from the Mis-

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sions, arrested a Hollander who used to buy Poytos or Indians, who were sold to them by the Caribs, and although he was not actually found in the Carib's house, three Indian Poytos were rescued and several machetes and bugles were found in his ranch and distributed among the Miamo Indians. We know, besides, that very often the Hollanders pass by Paraba, Caura, and the sources of the Carony. They do that every year, and there is no need to mention in particular these things, which your Honor knows very well, after having resided for a long time in these Missions, and travelled several times through these mountains. I have, however, to say that a large number of young Indians are carried every day to foreign colonies by Caribs and Hollanders. Taking into consideration that the Caribs keep an active trade for the purchase of Poytos, in exchange for iron tools, dry goods, knives, beads, looking glasses, fire-arms, and many other things, it will not be an exaggeration to estimate the yearly sale by the Caribs at more than 300 young Indians, killing the old ones, over 400, which are not salable to the Hollanders, because they run away, as we know they do, through some of the fugitives found in the Missions and recognized by the brand that a great many of them have painted on their bodies, as the Esquivo Company orders that all the Indian slaves be iron-branded, under penalty of forfeiture. I am not able to name all the tribes that are persecuted by the Caribs to be made slaves, save those that we have near our frontiers well known to the Barinogotos, Maomacos, Amarucotos, Camaracotos and Añaos, Parabinas Guaycas, etc. The Hollanders and Caribs, in order to reach these tribes, go to the Esquivo river for about 20 leagues, up to the point, where there is a station. As there is a deep cataract on the way they take their boats by land, and resume the navigation up the river until they reach Rio Negro on the upper Esquivo, taking on the right side of the river Aripamury, up to a place where there are a few small lagoons, after going up the Aripamury as far as possible, having to carry the boats for a distance through land for about half a league, where said lagoons form the river Mao, through which they meet Rio Negro, and going down through the latter on the left they reach the Amazonas, and going upwards enter the river Orinoco. I have made this statement so as to show that the Esquivo navigation was the way of communication of the Hollanders in their trip, both to Barinas and to Paraba at the sources of the Carony. As this is a long and tedious navigation from the Esquivo they enter Corony and Paraba, as all these rivers are in communication with the Esquivo, which receives the waters of the Coyuny, Yuruama, Supama and Yuruario.

And this Yuruamata has many brooks and thickets of (Moriche) palm-trees that reach Carony. We know also that many Hollanders, besides those going up Paraba, remain to make purchases of Poytos

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among the tribes of Tacupo, Capi, and Paraman. These sites inland are about three and four days' journey from the last Missions. They are in the mountains and run as far as the plantations on the Esquivo, where there is no more level ground. In these places there are generally Hollanders who purchase from the Caribs the Poytos which are carried there, and several horses, as was the case in the year 1749, when a large quantity of mules were purchased from them at the Esquivo, which is seldom the case, as there is no forage for keeping them around those mountains, where the purchasers have to lose them. Purchasers from the Esquivo come to these sites of Tacupo and Paraman by land, making the Indians carry, on their shoulders, the baskets containing the ransoms for Poytos, or else they go through Esquivo, Coyuny and Corumo. This latter is a river that before joining the Coyuny carries the waters of the rivers Tucupo and Marenambo, all navigable, during the rainy season, for a short distance only, having no means of navigation to reach their sources for any longer than four or five days, enough for the enemy to penetrate conveniently through our land, and the traders in Poytos reach likewise the Tupuco tribe through the river Moruca, in which the Esquivo station is situated, or through the river Vaini, all of which come out near the mouths of the Orinoco, and follow their navigation up to the river Paraman, in which the Caribs are found in abundance at Moruca and Rainy. The traders in Poytos come likewise through the Orinoco as far as Aquire, Carapo, and although they have no fixed time to undertake their trips, they come and go always whenever they please, but it is known that for the most part of the year they keep about there, sometimes for as long as ten years, among the Caribs, keeping the trade in Poytos, and sending them to the Esquivo in charge of their agents, in quest of other ransoms to continue the purchase from the Caribs. At least they stay there from one to three years.

This trade in Poytos keeps the Caribs busy all the time, without any other attention than that of going and coming to resume the war, sell and kill the Indians of the above tribes, not only in the mountains but even those in the Missions, who cannot be kept away from them. Many run away to meet them. It is easy to shut the doors to these enemies, so as to prevent their communications with the Hollanders and from joining Caribs from the Esquivo, Coyuny, Yuruario, Carony with those tribes, forming a people, which, if it cannot be Spanish, ought to be of select Indians, which under ten soldiers at least keep continually at the mouth of the Corumo or the islands of Cuyuny, in a post duly provided with swivel guns, so as to close the entrance to the Yuruama and Yuruario, and consequently succeed in stopping their communication and keeping them away from Corumo.

These people will command the respect of the Hollanders, preventing

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them from trading in Poytos at Tucupo, no matter how near it is. The Indians of said place will be soldiers, and it will be convenient to keep them away from enemies coming through these rivers, and from the Caribs from Miamo, Carapo and Conury descending the Esquivo with Poytos. I think the Missions will be kept safe by cutting their communication with the Caribs from Conuny and Esquivo. If it is not closed, we may soon lose the pacific tribes which, if persecuted as they are now, will be carried away as slaves. It would be a sad thing to see these Indians carried away as slaves from the Yuruario. I believe the Hollanders are in earnest trying to buy Poytos. Therefore it is more difficult to convert the Caribs, while under the advice of the Hollanders, in order to avoid their staying in the place. Many go back to the mountains, and through the bad advice of the Dutch, ran away from the Missions in the year 1750, when they had four settlements rebelled, on account of having been told that if they settled in the villages the Spaniards would make them slaves, preventing them from going to war and trading with the Flemish.

I have to inform Your Honor likewise, that I have heard from Moyo N., that while he was coming from Esquivo to become a Christian here, after he was baptized, he told me that he had brought many papers from Esquivo, among them a chapter, in which the Governors had delineated their jurisdiction, which he said extended as far as the mouth of Aquire, and from said mouth a straight line drawn towards the south, making the boundary line for the Governor, so that said line reaches as far as the skirts of the last prairies (savannahs) of our Missions of Miamo, etc.

Said line goes through Tucupo and Curumo, reaching the above-mentioned Aripanury, and I think the above news to be true, and if so, the Governors yonder have suited themselves to the best of their ability, by robbery, so as to give their permits under those limitations.

Whatever I have stated heretofore is well and publicly known, and it is a pity that the purchasers of Poytos are never severely punished when His Majesty recommends to all the justices to endeavor to extend the best treatment to the reduced Indians and to those who have peaceful intercourse with the Spaniards, taking care to defend them from those waging war against them. All the above-mentioned nations are in such a condition that if they had sufficient help they could go and bring many of them to the village, as it is done already with the Barinagotos. The hatred is such that the Caribs call all these tribes Guaycas Poytos, Barinagotos Poytos, Amarucotos Poytos, and they are all Poytos before they are caught, etc. All these nations would be glad to know how the Spaniards defend them by arresting their purchasers ; it is true, however, that it will be advisable to seize them in order to prevent the

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long delay in their conversions, and if Your Honor follows this plan think it will be a great service to God and to the King.

God preserve Your Honor many years.

I remain Your Honor's most obedient servant.

FRAY BENITO DE LA GARIGA.

To DON FELIX FERRERAS,

Infantry Ensign of His Majesty and Commander *ad interim* of this station and the Province of Guayana.

SUAY, *June 9, 1758.*

No. 361.

Order, dated July 27, 1758, by Felix Ferreras for Arrest of the Dutch slave trader, *Jacob*, in the Cuyuni river.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 10-11.]

Ruling—Whereas I have received news from the island of Caramacuro, in the river Cuyuny, in the interior of this Province, stating that there is there a Hollander by the name of Jacob, and a colored man of the same nation, living in permanent houses and making the inhuman trade of Indians enslaved, purchased from the Caribs in exchange for coarse cloths, hatchets, knives, ammunitions of war, and other kinds of ransoms; whereas such a commerce is forbidden by law and repeated cedules, for the enforcement of which fortresses have been erected and kept under proper custody of a detachment of troops, so as to protect the Missions of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, who have sustained, and are in fear of sustaining the total loss of their settlement through such an obnoxious traffic kept upand maintained by the Hollanders and other foreigners, who incite the gentile Indians against the establishment of those settlements—the result being that the Gospel is not more extended in this Province. Therefore in order to stop these injurious difficulties, and carry out the good intentions of His Majesty and prevent the Hollanders from encroaching every day, more and more, upon this part of His Majesty's dominions, I ordain and command, Don Santiago Bonalde, in the first place, and in the second place, Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, to depart to-day for the interior, in the direction of the settlement of Yuruari, and embark there on the vessels found in said river with their crews, provisions, ammunitions of war, and the soldiers which will be enlisted and placed under them, with the ablest and most trustworthy pilot. They will march towards the said island of Caramacuro and apprehend said Hollander and all those persons besides, who may be found with them, whether Caribs or from any other nation; and bring

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them as prisoners well secured to this garrison, leaving in the hands of, and under the Reverend Father Prefect, all the Indians that they may have found enslaved.

In order to succeed in the object of this expedition on the part of the King our Lord, I pray and commend the Reverend Father Prefect, and the other Fathers of his Holy Community, to give all the necessary aid to the above-mentioned Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, as they have been accustomed to do, with a holy zeal on every occasion ; and I order and command that the soldiers and the other people who are going in the same vessel, keep themselves under the orders and pleasure of the above-mentioned chieftans, alternately, and it will be the same with all the Indians through the settlements they visit, being well aware if they fail to obey their orders that they will receive the corresponding punishment. Wishing the best success to this expedition, under the arrangements made by said Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, with the instructions that will be furnished them, expecting, from their well-known love of the Royal service, that they will acquit themselves with the present commission, I grant them every power necessary for their full discharge.

Dated in this garrison of La Guayana, on the 27th day of the month of July, in the year 1758.

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Juan Valdes Appoints Luis de Aleman and Francisco Xavier Filgueyra, as Witnesses, in proceedings following the Arrest of the Dutchmen on the Cuyuni, 1758.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 13-14.]

In the city of Santo Thomé de Guayana, on the 27th day of the month of October, in the year 1758, Señor Juan de Dios Valdes, Castillian captain of the fortresses of His Majesty and Commander-in-Chief, said: That in order to make and institute a summary information, according to the chapter of instructions from his Honor, the Captain General and Governor of these Provinces, upon the secret expedition and the result of the apprehension of two Hollanders, with their wives and a negro slave, in the river Cuyuni, and as one of the Chiefs in command of the expedition is the Notary Public of this city, Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, not able to act as such in this matter, it has become necessary to appoint two satisfactory persons highly trustworthy, so as to make them witnesses in all the acts corresponding to this subject, and these circumstances concurring in the persons of the Ensign of Infantry, Don Luis de Aleman and the Cadet, Don Francisco Xavier Filgueyra, I

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ought to appoint, and do appoint the same, so as to act as witnesses, after having been notified for their acceptance and the oath of office; first, and before everything else, they must faithfully attest to all the acts that will be performed in their presence, and then it will follow every other act in the same manner.

It was so ruled and signed.

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Instructions of Felix Ferreras to Santiago Bonalde and Luis Lopez de la Puente for their guidance in Arresting the Dutch Slave Trader in the Cuyuni River, July 27, 1768.

[Reprinted (with correction) from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 11-13.]

Instructions to be observed in the first place by Don Santiago Bonalde, and in the second by Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, in the entrance to the island of Caramucuro to the station occupied by the Hollanders therein established, making the trade of ransoms in Indians, which they enslave.

1. They will set out to-day for the settlement of Yuruario, where they will find the necessary vessels, furnished with crews, stores, ammunitions of war and soldiers, and without detention they will pass in review everything, and if anything else is wanted they will ask for it from the Reverend Father President of the settlement, and they will continue their march towards said island, having all the vessels united, without advancing or going behind, giving to the cockswain of each the order which they have to carry out.

2. If on their way they meet Indian vessels they will seize and carry them along with them, finding out every particular upon the subject of their march which they can possibly acquire, keeping them as guides with all the necessary precautions, so as to avoid their desertion and secure the end of their journey.

3. They must employ the best means to ascertain how the Hollanders keep their establishment; if they have their houses barricaded in the lower or higher part; if they have any cannons or light guns, or either class; under what kind of people; if the Indians accompany them under arms; in which way they may be reached without being perceived, so as to take them unawares by surprise; if they keep stakes around, and whether the ends of said stakes are poisoned; if they are disguised with false floors in the transit; if they keep lookouts, in which places, and how they can be caught.

4. When everything has been found out they will advance towards the houses of the Hollanders at daybreak, and not by night, to avoid the

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risk of offending one another, and the protection of the obscurity and the knowledge of the ground enabling the offenders to escape. But, in case that a night advance be required, to have every one of the party under a white device, covering their heads, so as to recognize each other.

5. The prisoners once well secured, if there is any information about other Dutch places on the lower or upper portion of said river Cuyuni, and if there is a certainty of their apprehension, they shall go after them, proceeding with the same precautions observed in regard to the others, and with the same security they shall be brought to this garrison, as well as the Carib Indians found with them, and the Poytos, which must be treated with love and charity, and delivered to the Reverend Father Prefect, Fray Benito de la Gariga.

6. As said Reverend Father Prefect has had the first information upon this painful subject and the serious injury done to the success of their holy administration, a conference must be had with said Reverend Father, so as not to make any mistake. The war instructions already mentioned will be carried out by said Bonalde and Puente as it may be found proper.

7. If the Carib Indian named Bumuro be found, he must be secured, as I am informed he controls all the Indian settlements of his tribe, and imprisons those of other tribes, to be sold to the Hollanders, as well as to other Indians employed in similar negotiations, taking from him all the slaves that he may have in his possession and delivering them to the order of the Reverend Father Prefect, for their Christian instruction and settlement.

8. If it happens that during the navigation they are attacked from the banks of the river by any enemy, embarrassing their way and destination, and that the same vessels are not suitable for returning the fire with advantage, they will leave them in custody, so as to be able to land and charge the enemy until every one be apprehended.

9. Everything will be carried out as directed by the above-mentioned Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, whose valor and zeal for the Royal service promise the best success under these instructions, to which they will adjust their conduct in everything connected with their orders, in virtue of the present commission intrusted to them.

Guayana, the 27th day of July, 1758.

FELIX FERRERAS.

The greatest care will be taken so as to secure the ransoms and all the articles of commerce which may be seized, making an inventory of everything, and not allowing anything to be taken out and kept in the vessels in which they make the commerce.

No. 364.

Deposition made October 1, 1758, by Juan José Fragas as to the Arrest of two Dutchmen on the Cuyuni.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 21-23.]

On the same day, month and year, [Oct. 31, 1758,] in compliance with the preceding rule of his Honor, the Commander, there appeared before him and the witnesses of this act Juan José Fragas, a military man of this castle, who was duly sworn by his Honor in due form, and under the strength of his oath he promised to tell the truth of all that he might know and was interrogated, and having been questioned by his Honor, he answered about the time of departure following the expedition, the point of destination reached by his company and the events of the expedition, saying: That he left the settlement of Yuruario under the command of Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, at the head of the party, and followed them down to a certain place (the name of which he does not recollect), where they met a white Hollander, who, without resistance or attempt to run away, let us apprehend him, and from thence they left, in company with some Indian Caribs, until they reached the ranch they had in said river Cuyuni; that before reaching there the chiefs in command stopped cautiously at a place, in the immediate neighborhood of said ranch, and there awaited until seven or eight o'clock of the evening, when they advanced toward said hut, where they met a white Hollander and a negro that seemingly was lying in a hammock, and at the rumor of the barking of a dog he rose, and having been assailed by all at once, so as to secure his person, I heard the firing of four musket shots without knowing then who fired them, and he could only understand (when he saw it) that one of the shots was fired by the military man Pedro de Rojas, outside of the house, aiming at a negro, who was found in company of the Hollander, because he ran away, and after they had all quieted from the first assault, he heard Don Santiago Bonalde say that when he left the boat he had cocked the two triggers, and one of them went off, in the act of apprehending the said Hollander, and that he did not know whether it had been himself the author of the death occurred; that in regard to whether there are or not other ranches, he does not know of any; and that from the Cuyuni river they returned to the Mission wherefrom they had departed, taking twenty-two days on their way back; that he has nothing else to say than what he has already answered under oath, and that he ratifies and will repeat it over if necessary; that he is twenty-four years old, and signs with his Honor and the witnesses who certify to this act.

No. 365.

Order given by Juan Valdes, October 30, 1758, that the two Dutchmen, Arrested on the Cuyuni, be sent, together with their papers, to the Governor.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 241.]

The translations of the document and two passports that were brought by the two Government officers who came in the vessel from the Colony of Essequibo having been seen by the Señor Commandante, Don Juan Valdes, and his Excellency having studied their contents, and taken note of the demand made by the Governor of the said Colony with regard to giving satisfaction for certain injuries done, and the remission of the two Dutch subjects seized in the River Cuyuni by the secret expedition, together with the various other events resulting therefrom, it appeared from the said letter that his Excellency should come to a decision about this affair, and he did resolve that the said passports and document, together with their respective translations, and the report of the inspection made by the Lieutenant of the Royal officials be united, and that as this was a matter which solely concerned the Captaincy-General of these provinces, the two Dutchmen should be sent to the Captaincy-General, together with a copy of the various reports of steps taken in connection with their visit and of all the remaining documents which have been drawn up so far in regard to the matter, leaving the proofs in the hands of his Excellency the Governor and Captain-General, for his superior judgment, so that he may come to any decision which he may consider best. For this purpose I hereby decree and command it to be done, and I sign the same.

No. 366.

Order given by Juan Valdes, October 30, 1758, to take Testimony as to the Arrest of two Dutchmen on the Cuyuni.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 14-15.]

In the city of Guayana, on the 30th day of the above month and year of the Lord [1758] Don Juan Valdes, Castillian Captain of His Majesty and Commander in Chief of this Province, said: That, in order to proceed and substantiate these proceedings according to law, he ought to command and does command to have at the head of them the letters of the most Reverend Prefect of these Missions, which were the motive of the sending and organizing of the above-mentioned expedition, together with the instructions and appointment of the chiefs in command, signed by the Ensign Don Felix Ferreras, who, in his absence, was the Comman-

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der *ad interim* of this place; and afterwards the above-mentioned witnesses, Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, the appointed chiefs, will be summoned to appear at eight o'clock to-morrow morning before his Honor, said Commander, to render their sworn affidavit about all the incidents, acts and resistances on the part of said Hollanders opposed to them, exhibiting the papers that they may have found with them, and stating distinctly which of them was the aggressor who took the life of one of the soldiers of said expedition and badly wounded another in his arm, answering to all the questions of his Honor from the beginning to the end of the above-mentioned expedition until their return to this city. To the same end several other soldiers who went in the expedition will be examined, and after their affidavits have been taken, the declarations of the two prisoners, the Hollanders, will be heard, and they shall be brought under a suitable custody to the presence of his Honor, so as to state the reasons for their sojourn and business in those places, by whom they were posted there, and for what purpose; all of which being accomplished, the other necessary acts connected with these proceedings will follow.

No. 367.

Certificate of Summons on Bonalde and Lopez de la Puente, Oct. 30, 1758.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 15-16.]

Summons.—Following in order, we, Don Luis de Aleman and Don Francisco Xavier Filgueyra, the witnesses appointed to substantiate these acts, called at the residence of Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente and summoned them, as ruled by the above act, for to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock, in person. We certify to the same.

No. 368.

Deposition, made October 31, 1758, by Santiago Bonalde, as to Arrest of two Dutchmen on the Cuyuni river.

[Reprinted (with correction) from from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 16-19.]

In the above city of Guayana, on the 31st day of October, in the year 1758, appeared before his Honor, Señor Don Juan Valdes, and the witnesses, Don Santiago Bonalde, in order to render his affidavit in compliance with the above rule as one of the chiefs appointed for the secret expeditionary force that was sent to the Cuyuni river, and after having

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been duly sworn in the proper form, and promising to state the truth of all that he knew, and upon which he would be interrogated, and being questioned, he said as follows:

1. That having departed from this city with the order and instructions that he shows to reach the settlement of Yuruario, where he found the armed people ready, and that he reviewed immediately and examined their arms, stores and vessels, and finding everything in proper shape and ready for the march, he gave orders to the coxswains and people to embark and have the vessels to proceed in good order one after another.

2. In regard to the second chapter of his instructions, he said that he had failed to carry out its directions as to apprehending and carrying along with him those Indians that he would meet, because he thought a more convenient policy to attract them with friendship and affection, so as not to frighten them, which policy proved correct, as he succeeded in securing their help in everything that was wanted. If he had seized and tied them, after apprehending them, a few at least, he was afraid, would have rebelled and brought about mischief, as they are numerous and their fields afforded no facilities for any defence.

3. That in regard to the third chapter, he performed with every possible skill everything therein expressed, and did not find any old houses staked in, nor any other kind of ambush.

4. That in regard to the fourth chapter, he said that in order to avail himself of the occasion he got some of the Caribs who infest those places to befriend and lead him, without being noticed, until he reached a place, the name of which he does not bear in mind, where a white Hollander was found at noon and made no resistance, nor attempt to run away when he was apprehended. From that place they continued their march, in company with the Indians, as far as the hut where said Hollander lived. Said hut was covered with palm leaves, without any walls. They spent two days in reaching the same, going down the river. When they were near the said hut they stopped until it was dark, as he thought the darkness favorable for an advance; that he disposed his men in the best possible order at the time suggested by the Caribs, and at about eight o'clock in the evening, or it may have been seven o'clock, he undertook the assault with his men on the said hut, and found one Hollander, who seemed to be lying on a hammock, and warned by the barking of a dog he arose, and they all fell on him so as to prevent him from reaching any arms that he might have had there. At this time four or five gun shots were heard, and they were not able to find out who fired them; that he found out that his own went off accidentally, and that a soldier that had fired his blunderbuss said it was on a negro who accompanied said Hollander and was running away from the hut; that he could not find out who fired the other, that

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he only heard the voice of one of the soldiers, while struggling with the said Hollander, in order to tie him, saying, simultaneously with a pistol shot, "This rascal has killed me"; and without minding who it was we endeavored only to secure the person of the Hollander, and having succeeded he found out, on inquiry, that one of his soldiers had been killed and another badly wounded in an arm; that he immediately tried to find the arms held by them, and found two pistols already emptied and a musket in the hands of the Caribs; and having upbraided the Hollander for his having fired, he answered that he had not, that it might have been the negro who was with him.

5. As to the fifth chapter, he followed his instructions and found out that there were no other huts or ranches up or down the river.

6. That he followed the sixth chapter just as it is.

7. In regard to the seventh chapter, he found it was better to let the Caribs come freely, as they promised and did so, as otherwise he could not have succeeded, on account of their large number. Many of them are found already in the Mission of the Reverend Capuchin Father. In regard to the Indian Tomuto, he had no news whatever.

8. As to the eighth chapter, he found nothing new in its contents.

9. As to the ninth instruction, he followed everything as directed. In regard to ransoms, he found only twelve dozens of knives, seven of hatchets, and remnants of cloth that he distributed among the Caribs, so as to keep them well pleased and safe; that the ten dozens of said knives and seven of hatchets he delivered to the Reverend Father Fray Thomas de San Pedro, as he could not bring them to this city on account of the long delay and fatigues of the road; that he did the same with five guns and a pistol taken from the Hollander, to whom he asked who had placed them in that station and for what purpose, and he answered that they had been placed there by the Governor of Esquivo, without saying anything else in reply to the other questions; that in a little box he found certain papers having the appearance of instructions, and that he delivered them on his arrival to this city in the hands of the Ensign of Infantry, Don Felix Ferreras; that from the place where they found the ranch on the river Cuyuni, to the Mission, wherefrom they had departed, the journey took twenty-two days, thirteen[1] of which in the navigation up the river and the remainder by land; that this is all that he knows and what is contained in his notes, and the truth under the oath that he has taken, and that he affirms and ratifies the same, and will assert again if wanted; that he is thirty-four years old, and signs with his Honor and witnesses.

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[1] As to this *see* U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 1, p. 329, note 4.

No. 369.

Deposition, made October 31, 1758, by Luis Lopez de la Puente as to the Arrest of Two Dutchmen on the Cuyuni river.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 19–21.]

On the same day and year [Oct. 31, 1758] there came before his Honor, the Commander Don Juan Valdes, and the acting witnesses, Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, one of the chiefs appointed for the secret expedition, who was duly sworn by his Honor in the usual form (as already given), and promised to tell the truth of all that he knew, and was interrogated as it was done in the order of his instructions, and he said: That having left this city with the order and instructions shown him, he took his departure for the settlement of Yuruario, and there found the soldiers, and that every thing was ready; that he examined the arms and took to the boats, which left as directed.

2. In regard to the second chapter of instructions, he said: His comrade did not think it was a good policy to do the least harm to the Indians which they met on the way, and thought best to treat them kindly, so as to deserve their favor, as it was done successfully; that on account of this circumstance he did not carry out the letter of instructions of this chapter.

3. In regard to this chapter, he endeavored to find out and ascertain the points mentioned, as directed, and he could not find nor ascertain the places, or any case of ambushes.

4. In regard to this chapter, he said: After eight days' navigation he arrived at an Indian ranch of the Caribs, and there found out that a Hollander by the name of John Baptist used to come and visit another ranch of Caribs, and he sent from there the pilot, directing him that in the event of finding said Hollander in that ranch to notify his party, as it was done on the following day, when the Hollander was apprehended, without opposing any resistance to follow them as far as the site where they found the straw-roofed house; that they made a stop in order to reach it by night, as it was done at seven or eight o'clock; that their approach was anticipated by the barking of a dog; that on account of that circumstance they entered the house in haste to secure the person of the Hollander, who seemed to be lying down on a hammock and was already standing, at the time of being seized by a soldier; Francisco Roblez fired a pistol shot, which caused him to address the said Roblez the words: "This dog has killed me"; that hearing at the same time three shots more he ascertained that one of them was fired by a soldier called Pedro at a negro who was running away, and the other shot was fired by Don Santiago Bonalde without knowing how or at whom; that the other shot, he never knew who fired it; that he found out through the interpreter that the said Hollander thought that

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they were Caribs, and for that reason he fired, and the wounded man could not give any explanation.

5. In regard to this chapter, he tried to find out whether they had some Poytos, or other ranches; that none were found, nor any news of having any either up or down the river.

6. That this chapter was carried out as it is, without doing anything to the contrary.

7. That in regard to the seventh chapter, they found no Indian there by the name of Tamuto, nor any other employed in taking Indians to make them slaves.

8. That in regard to this chapter he said: That there was nobody against whom to take any precautions, as nobody was found.

In regard to the last chapter, he said: That everything was carried out as directed, with the greatest zeal for the service of both Majesties; and that in regard to ransoms, they found only twelve dozens of knives, seven of hatchets, three swords, one kettle, five muskets, three pistols, and a large number of cloth remnants, that were distributed among the Caribs accompanying the party, and the distribution was made by his comrade, who was the principal chief, and likewise a few papers which were taken and delivered to the Ensign, Don Felix Ferreras; that it took twenty-two days to make the return journey to the Mission from where they had started; and that he has nothing else to depose on the subject, and thus ended his statement, in which he affirms himself and ratifies, and if necessary will renew the same under his oath; that he is thirty-three years old, and signs herewith with his Honor and the witnesses who certify to the act.

No. 370.

Deposition, made November 2, 1758, by Segundo de la Cruz as to the Arrest of two Dutchmen in the Cuyuni.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp, 22, 23.]

In the city of Guayana, on the second day of November, 1758, in order to carry out the preceding rule, appeared before his Honor the Commander, Don Juan Valdes, and witnesses, the military man, Segundo de la Cruz, whom his Honor had duly sworn, and promised to tell the truth of all that he knew and was to be questioned. He was asked wherefrom did he depart on the secret expedition and where he went with his company, whom he met and whether they apprehended anybody, and what the events were on that journey, and he answered: That he left the settlement of Yuruario, in company with the troops commanded by Don Santiago Bonalde, the first chief, and Don Luis

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Lopez de la Puente, the second; that he followed them down to a place (the name of which he does not know) and there apprehended a white Hollander, who made no resistance, and was carried in his company until they reached a ranch in which another Hollander resided; that they assailed the place all at once, because they were heard, on account of the barking of a little dog found there; that there were several shots, one of which killed a companion and badly wounded the deponent in his arm, which is paralyzed, and that he does not know who fired on account of the obscurity, but heard saying, while suffering pain, that Don Santiago Bonalde's gun went off on account of one of the triggers having been cocked, it was a double barreled musket, and he did not know whether any harm had been done. He affirms his statement that said Hollander did not fire, nor were any arms found with him, as he was the first that seized him by the breast, and that in regard to the other shots he cannot give any explanation, for the reasons already explained of having been wounded; that he does not know anything else on the subject, beyond what he has already asserted under oath, and that he will, if necessary, repeat again; that he is twenty-five years old, and did not sign, as he did not know how. His Honor signed with the witnesses of the act, and certifies to the same.

No. 371.

Deposition, made November 2, 1758, by Pedro Arocha as to the Arrest of two Dutchmen on the Cuyuni.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 23-24.]

In the said city of Guayana, on the same day, month and year [Nov. 2, 1758] pursuing the same investigation, appeared before His Honor Don Juan Valdes, Castillian Captain of His Majesty, another witness summoned to appear, the military man Pedro Arocha, who being duly sworn, promised to tell the truth of all he knew, and was questioned, and having been asked wherefrom he departed, with what people and in virtue of what order, for what purpose and where did he go, and whom he met, what houses he saw and what events took place, he said: That he left the settlement of Yuruario in company with the other military men (the number he does not know) in virtue of orders made known to him by the Ensign of Infantry, Don Felix Ferreras, and Don Santiago Bonalde, first chief, and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, second; that he knew they were ordered to apprehend a few Hollanders, and descended the river Cuyuni; that they found a Hollander who made no resistance when apprehended, and was carried by his company up to the neighborhood of a little ranch, where they awaited the night in order to advance, following the order of the chiefs as it was carried out, between seven and eight o'clock in the

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evening ; that there were a few shots fired in the disorder in which the advance was made, and that he is not aware who were those who fired the same nor who killed the man who died, nor who wounded the other ; he heard Don Santiago Ronalde say that his gun went off and that it might have been the cause of the mischief ; and he heard somebody else among the soldiers say that he fired his blunderbuss in the air, and that was outside of the ranch ; that he knows that no arms were found with said Hollander, nor did he fire any; that he had no news of any other ranch up or down the river ; that he came back to the Mission from which he departed, taking twenty-two days on his return, suffering many hardships ; that he has nothing else to say about the matter, and that he has stated the truth under his oath, and will be ready to repeat it if necessary before any other tribunal ; that he is twenty-eight years old, and does not sign, as he does not know how to do so.

His Honor signs, and the witnesses of the act certify to it.

No. 372.

Deposition of John Baptist Brum, Soldier at the Slave Trading Station on the Cuyuni, November 3, 1758.

[Reprinted, (with corrections,) from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 29-31.]

On the same day, month and year [Nov. 3, 1758], in the same city of San Thomé de Guayana, his Honor caused the appearance before him and the witnesses under a proper custody, of John Baptist Brum, whom his Honor had sworn in due form according to his faith, by raising two fingers of his right hand and promising to tell the truth of what he knew and were asked of him, and having been asked by said Commander, through the interpreter, he answered the following questions :

1. What is your name? Where are you a native from? Where is your residence? What is your trade? And he answered : That his name was John Baptist Brum, a native of the States of Flanders, and a resident in the colony of Esquivo; that he is a tailor by trade.

2. Asked what he was doing in those places, he answered : That he was there as a soldier of the post, placed by the Governor of Esquivo, under Stephen Hiz, the head of said post.

3. Asked what reason the Governor had for keeping a guard there, he answered : In order to apprehend the fugitive negro slaves who run away from the Colony, and to prevent the Carib tribe from making any mischief to the domesticated Indians.

4. Asked what reason he had to be away from the site where the Post is kept, at two days' distance, as stated by the Spaniards who apprehended him, he answered : That by the direction of his superior he had

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come to said place in quest of a few Indians to help the work of a farm they were opening, and that shortly after being there the Spaniards arrived and tied him, without his opposing any resistance or defense, and was carried away in their company up to the neighborhood of the house he had.

5. Asked whether he knew or has any notion of who wounded one of the Spanish soldiers and who killed the other, he answered: That he knew nothing, and could give no account of anything, as he was left behind and tied up at a distance from the house within a gunshot, when they advanced, and from there he had to continue the way under said Spaniards to this city.

6. Asked what arms and defenses they had, he answered: That only five muskets, belonging to the Company of Esquivo.

7. Asked what was the name of the site where he had his ranch, and what river is near the same, he answered: That the site is called Cuiba[1], and empties into the Cuyuni river.

8. Asked how long he had been there and whether he had made any purchases of Poytos, he answered: That he had been there eight months and never had anything to do with such purchases.

9. Asked how far is it from that site of Cuiba to the Esquivo Colony, he answered: Three days, more or less, being understood that the navigation could only be *carried on with the tides, when the channels were flooded.*

10. Asked whether he knew if the above-mentioned place is within the jurisdiction of Esquivo, and whether the Governor had kept that guard there for a long time, he answered: That he did not know, and that the guard had been kept there for many years.

11. Asked whether that site is fit for farming, he answered: No, on account of its being swampy land, but that in the upper part there are found portions of good land, but the Governor does not allow it to be tilled nor permit any one to stay there.

12. Asked whether the negro was a slave he answered: No; but he was placed there by the Esquivo Company and is bound to serve for a compensation.

13. Asked what other trade he was pursuing, what his instructions, verbal or written, were, and to tell the truth, he answered: That he does not know or had any knowledge of anything else, except what he had stated under oath, according to his faith, and which he ratifies and will assert again if wanted; that he is forty-eight years old, and is not able to sign, not knowing how to do so.

Signed by his Honor and certified by the witnesses of the act.

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[1] As to the spelling of this word, see U. S. Commission Report, vol. 1, p. 826, Note 3.

No. 373.

Deposition of Stephen Hitz, the Dutch Slave Trader on the Cuyuni, November 3, 1758.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs. Vol. 2, pp. 26-29.]

In the same city of Guayana, on the 3d day of November, in the year 1758, Don Juan Valdes, Castillian Captain of His Majesty, made appear before him and witnesses, one of the two Hollanders now imprisoned in the castle of San Francisco de Asis, and, after being sworn according to the rite of his religion (he said he was a Lutheran), he raised two fingers of his right hand, and was examined as follows:

1. Asked wherefrom he was a native, his name and occupation, he answered: That he is a native of the States of Holland and his name is Stephen Hiz, and a laborer in mines.

2. Asked what he was doing in those places, he answered: That he was placed there by the Governor of Esquivo as the head of a fixed guard kept there.

3. Asked how many men composed the guard and the reason why he occupied that post, he answered: That the guard is composed of four men, including the two white Hollanders and two Indians, and that he keeps there in order to apprehend the negro fugitive slaves leaving the Colony of Esquivo and to restrain the Carib tribes, so as to prevent them from making any mischief, either to said Colony or the neighboring Spaniards or to the domestic Indians, as shown by the chapter of the instruction that was seized from him by the chief of the Spaniards who apprehended him.

4. Asked why he took arms against the Spaniards and fired on them, he answered: That he had done neither one nor the other, nor could he do so, as he was alone and the Spanish people were too many, and that when they advanced towards the house he was actually asleep in a hammock and at the trampling and noise made he awoke, attempting to get up and run away, thinking that they were Caribs, and in his surprise and fright he did not do so, nor did the Spaniards allow him to do so, as he was immediately seized and tied.

5. Asked how it was that if he did not fire, a Spaniard was killed and another badly wounded, he answered: That he is persuaded that the Spaniard was killed by his own companions, and that the other was likewise wounded in the act of entering and trying to tie him, when the Spaniards commenced to fire within his house.

6. Asked what arms and defence they had in that post and what is the name of it and what river is near by, he answered: He had five muskets, three sabers, three pistols, a flask of powder, and piece of lead for ammunition, and of these arms only two muskets were his own property and the rest were furnished by the Company; that the post is called Cuiba and close to the banks of the river Cuyuni.

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7. Asked what goods or ransoms were seized by the Spaniards when he was apprehended, and if he had them for the purpose of negotiations and purchases, he answered: That they seized fourteen dozens of knives, eighteen pieces of iron utensils, like hatchets, machetes, and two pieces of calico, nine bundles of glass beads, and a dozen small looking glasses, twenty-four yards of skirting, twenty of coarse blue cloth, all for the purchase and maintenance.

8. Asked how long had he been kept there and what had become of the farms, how did he carry out his trade, he answered: That it was eight months since he came there as a head man, and was commencing to til la short piece of ground so as to plant it with the yucca or tapioca plant, and has not carried out his trade.

9. Asked whether they had given him goods for the purchase of Poytos and how many had he sent to the Colony of Esquivo, he answered: That in the short time that he had been there he had not made any such purchases, nor had he been given any ransoms for them; that he had only in his charge the collection of what was due to his predecessor, as it will appear by the said papers.

10. Asked how far is said post from the Colony of Esquivo, he answered: It is only a short distance, although they take three natural days to make it, as it is only navigable in keeping with the tides, and the navigation is performed through creeks.

11. Asked if he knew those lands, where he was found, belong to the jurisdiction of Esquivo, and if for many years they have kept those posts, he answered: That he does not know whether it is or not under the jurisdiction of Esquivo, and that for many years they kept the post in that place.

12 Asked if said site is fit for the cultivation of cane and other plants he answered: That they are not fit for that purpose, as they are swampy, but where the post is maintained, and farther upwards, there are places fit for the cultivation of said plants, but there is an express order from the Governor to prevent the passage upwards to any person whatever.

13. Asked whether the negro who is in his company in the prison is a slave, he answered: No; but he is bound and dedicated to servile occupations under the company who keeps him there.

14. Asked what other order he had and what other trade he kept and what general news he knew about there, he answered: That he does not know, nor any news; that that is the truth under his oath, according to his religious faith, and that he affirms and ratifies his statement and will make it again if needed; that he is forty-eight years old and signs with his Honor, after being duly certified.

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Extract from letter from Nicholas de Castro, Provisional Governor of Cumaná, to Governor of Essequibo, November 9, 1758.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 248-249.]

The Commandant of Guiana has forwarded to me, among other documents, a letter which you sent him claiming the two Dutch prisoners, a negro slave and a half-breed woman with her children, whom the guard dispatched from that fort seized in an island of the River Cuyuni, established there in a house, and carrying on the unjust traffic of slavery among the Indians, in the dominions of the King my Sovereign. As this same River Cuyuni and all its territory is included in those dominions, it is incredible that their High Mightinesses the States-General should have authorized you to penetrate into those dominions, and still less to carry on a traffic in the persons of the Indians belonging to the settlements and territories of the Spaniards. I therefore consider myself justified in approving the conduct of this expedition.

* * * * *

For these reasons I do not consider myself at libery to condescend to return the prisoners which you demand until the question is decided by my Sovereign, to whom I shall render full account of all that has happened, supported by all the necessary documents.

No. 375.

Letter from Nicholas de Castro to Storm van's Gravesande, Director-General in Essequibo, November 10, 1758.

[Re-printed from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 118.]

Cumaná, November 10, 1758.

MONSIEUR: The Commandant of Guiana has sent me, with other papers, a letter which you have written to him, demanding the delivery of the two Dutchmen, a negro, and a creole, with their children, and of all that was found by the guard in command there on an island in the river called Cuyuni, which is, with its dependencies, a part of the domains of His Catholic Majesty, my Master, and on which these prisoners publicly kept up an illicit trade with Indians, Poytos, although it is incredible that their High Mightinesses, your masters, should have authorized you to enter the said domains, or to treat with these Indians in order to make slaves of them. This being so, and our action being a justifiable one, I cannot consent to the restitution of the prisoners whom you demand until I know the will of my Master, to whom I have made a report of all that has passed, with papers in justification of my action. In the meantime, I offer you my services, and pray God to preserve you many years.

No. 376.

Letter from Fr. Joseph de Therriaga to Fr. Benito de la Garriga on the Mission of Murucuri, December 12, 1758.

[Translated from Copy printed *in* Strickland (*Rev. Jos. s-j.*). The Boundary Question between British Guayana and Venezuela, fol., Rome, 1896, appendix I, pp. 6–7.]

RIGHT REV. FATHER; SIR: I received two (letters) from your Reverence dated the 13th and 21st of November, dictated by the love and charity you are wont to show me, your Reverence, with your venerable community. I give your Reverence many thanks for the hundred loads of *casave* and twenty-six bushels of rice, which your Reverence ordered to be sent to the house of Don Felix Fereras, and I feel certain that had not the crop of corn turned out so badly, your Reverence would have assisted me with this product.

Don Felix tells me that he had ordered a house to be built at the port of Cacagual, in order to attract Indian peons, rowers and loads of products that might be sent hither from there, and to avoid the dangers of the bad summer harbor of Guayana. Your Reverence may ordain whatever he deems best.

It is well that the Caribs should keep withdrawing from the Cuyuni, even if it be through fear of the Dutch. With them your Reverence will form new villages; if they could only be few and large, so that they might be attended to by Missionaries, when their short number does not reach above one for each village. Those expected by your Reverence will have employment from time to time. Would that they came soon, so that the land and water might be peopled within a brief period. Your Reverence should feel no apprehension about the Dutch; they are not in condition of doing us any harm. The movement of the Governor of Esquivo was only a spark of his rage. I cannot persuade myself that it will meet with the approval of the States-General of Holland.

I have written in urgent terms to his Excellency, the Governor, upon the projected village of Guaycas, with a stronghold and garrison, and a favorable answer can be expected to the representation of Your Reverence.

The absence of Father Próspero is to be regretted, as also that of Father Fidel, on account of the illness of Father del Hato. Please God that he may soon recover and come to the assistance of your Reverence.

I am aware that Father Guardia has established at Caravaschi a great rogue of a Carib. I should like to see at the Angostura de Arimnawa a settlement of good *Guayanos*, though only of some fifteen or twenty families from Copapui, accompanied with a few soldiers, to guard the pass with swivel guns or small cannon, placed in a sentry-box.

I renew my obedience to your Reverence, and pray God preserve your Reverence many years.

No. 376.

Cabruta, December 12th, 1758.

Your Reverence will please inform me whether the women of the Caribs captured by the boat which took the Right Reverend the Bishop to Guayana, are in Murucuri, and how many they are.

I kiss your Reverence's hands,

Your obedient servant,

Fr. JOSEPH DE THERRIAGA.

No. 377.

Report, dated December 28, 1758, of Counsellor Julian Padilla y Moron on the Arrests in Cuyuni.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 249.]

The Counsellor has seen these documents, and says that whereas the foreigners to which the above documents refer were apprehended, whilst acting as a guard, by order of the Governor of the Colony of Essequibo, within the limits of the jurisdiction of that Government for the purpose of apprehending fugitive negro slaves deserting from their masters who may pass by those places, committing the impious act of purchasing many Indians to work on their farms, and subjecting them to perpetual slavery, as is shown by the account which the aforementioned foreigners presented for the recovery of certain slaves, and also by the instructions issued by the Governor of that Colony, by which the said guard is charged to procure the Indians; and whereas by the said account it is further shown that the soldiers of the guard did carry on that traffic, thereby depriving the natives of their natural liberty, which they should be allowed to enjoy, without instructing them in our holy Catholic faith; in opposition to His Majesty's commands, as ordered and decreed in various Royal Decrees, in which His Majesty (whom God preserve) expressly recommends that the Indians be well treated, not deprived of their liberty, and receive proper instruction in our holy faith; therefore, as this is an affair of the greatest importance, and worthy of the Royal consideration, and in order that His Majesty may determine and make known his Royal pleasure in regard to it, so as to stop this traffic, and hinder, as effectually as possible, the said foreigners from enslaving Indians and condemning them to perpetual labor and exile, it is my opinion that the said documents be forwarded to His Majesty in original, and accompanied with a legalized copy of the same for the King in his Supreme Council of the Indies, in order that His Majesty may issue His Royal commands as to the matter.

No. 378.

Order by Juan de Dios Valdes to Juan de Dios Gonzales de Flores to arrest Dutch, French, Spanish and Carib Slave Traders at mouth of Barima; September 7, 1760.

[Reprinted (with correction) from Ven. Sp. Docs. Vol. 2, pp. 36-38.]

Don Juan de Dios Valdes, Castillian Captain, by His Majesty, General Judge for the revenues of this Province of Guayana and Commander of the arms of the same, etc.

Whereas, on account of a report received from the Most Reverend Prefect of the Missions of this Province, I have become aware of the information received by him from four fugitive Poyto Indians about the tyrannic power of the Hollanders inhabiting the neighboring Colonies of Esquivo and Surinam, at the mouth of the Barima creek, coming out from this river, where five Hollanders from said colony are staying and carrying out the inhuman and lucrative commerce they maintain with the wild Indian tribes who trade in the Orinoco, buying from them the infidels taken in their wars, making them prisoners and trading them for iron utensils, clothing, and munitions of war; and as said Hollanders are awaiting for a party of Indians, they have sent Carib agents to purchase said Indians and bring them to their Colony.

Such an illicit traffic in human beings is already going on. The four Indians who escaped were included as victims and came in quest of protection to the said Missions. As the service of our Lord and of His Catholic Majesty requires the stopping of this illicit trade, and the punishment of the Hollanders of the above-mentioned Colony, restraining them within their own possessions (if they had any right for this kind of possession), they ought not to be allowed to communicate through the rivers and dominions of the King. Therefore, in virtue of the powers granted to me, I order and command that the Lieutenant of Infantry and second officer of this place, Don Juan de Dios Gonzales de Flores, without any delay whatever, depart on board the Royal vessel that he will find in Port Royal with a crew of ten men and manned in the ordinary way, armed with two light guns and the necessary stores for twenty days. He will take Spanish river pilots and the fugitive Indians, and go to the place where said Hollanders are staying. He will proceed straightway, navigating night and day, and as soon as he reaches the place, he will attack the ranch, after having surrounded it. He will imprison the Hollanders, French, and Spaniards found there, at the words, "Long live the King!" and will employ his arms in punishing and apprehending the same persons, as well as the Caribs that he may find in their company, carrying out this inhuman trade. He will likewise seize every vessel he may meet, going up or down the river, and the foreigners as well as Spaniards unprovided with the lawful and proper

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papers of navigation. The masters and crews of the same will be brought along to this place, well secured. The full cargoes as well, without allowing the least fraud or disorder by the troops of his command. It is expected from his fidelity and zeal a satisfactory discharge of his duty; that no doubt it will be performed with the greatest zeal for the Royal service and personal disinterestedness, availing himself of his good judgment and experience. I grant him all the powers necessary for the best service of both Majesties.

Dated at Guayana, on the seventh day of the month of September, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty.

No. 379.

Report of Juan de Dios Valdes and Lorenzo Coronado as to Seizure (on September 11, 1760), of a Schooner and Two Launches at Barima; September 27, 1760.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, p. 38.]

In the city of San Thomé de la Guayana, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of September, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty, Don Juan de Dios Valdes, Castillian, Captain of his Majesty, and Don Lorenzo Coronado, Lieutenant Royal Officer, said that the war schooner commanded by Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Juan de Dois de Flores, has just arrived at the principal port of the city; that he was sent in order to stop the inhuman commerce of the Hollanders and Carib Indians in the sale of human beings, from the other gentile tribes, seizing them in war and reducing them to slavery, at the price paid by said Hollanders, of a few ransoms or trifles; that this information was conveyed to the Commander by the most Reverend Father Prefect of these Missions, through four fugitive Indian Poytos, who asserted that the Hollanders with some merchandise were at the mouth of the Barima creek, as it is stated in the aforesaid order. As a consequence, said Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores has seized and brought along with him a schooner and two launches which were anchored under the artillery of the Castle of San Francisco de Asis, which is the chief port of this city. In order to take the necessary steps, the visit of said vessels will be ordered, therefore they ought to command and did command the search of said vessels, in the presence of the Notary Public for this act, taking an inventory of the cases, trunks or other things on board, and making a full statement of all the circumstances connected with the seizure of said vessels.

It was so ordered and attested by the Notary Public.

No. 380.

Inventory of Schooner and Launches, seized in Barima, September 27, 1760.

[Reprinted (with correction) from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, p. 39.]

On the same day, month and year [Sept. 27, 1760], in compliance with the above rule, their Honors, in company with the acting Notary Public, visited the vessels lying at anchor in the Port of the Castle of San Francisco de Asis, in order to examine everything found on board and make a regular inventory of the contents found—

In the first place, there was a schooner with her main and foremast, and rigging without sails.

One small anchor, with its corresponding rope.

Five barrels of salt fish.

One launch, with a mast, canvas shrouds and a round sail of coarse cloth.

Four barrels of powdered salt.

One curiara (a small Indian boat) for the service of the launch, with wash boards. Six hatchets, ten short coarse Indian drawers, eight knives, six bundles of beads and an old case.

Another launch, with its mast, canvas shroud and a round sail.

A small anchor with its corresponding hemp rope.

One curiara, answering as a boat.

And having found nothing else we closed the inventory, and their Honors ordered the discharge of everything, so as to be kept at the Treasury Office; and that in regard to the fish, the Royal Treasury Lieutenant will find out a suitable administrator to sell the same, and carry a regular account of the sales at fair prices, deducting a suitable commission in the usual current money.

It was so ruled and provided by their Honors, who signed before me, the Notary Public.

No. 381.

Deposition, made September 29, 1760, by Yana, an Aruaca Indian (alias Juan Bautista, a Mustee), as to the Seizure of a Schooner and launches at Barima by Juan de Flores on September 11.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 45-46.]

In this city of Santo Thomé de la Guayana, on the same day, month and year [Sept. 29, 1760], their Honors, in order to improve the preceding investigation, made appear before them and me, the Notary Public,

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one of the prisoners brought by Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores, who being asked by his Honor if he was a mustee, and of what religion, where was he born, and what was his name, what business brought him to the Orinoco, and by whom he had been sent, he answered: That he was an Aruaca Indian, from a father and mother also Indians; that they have no religion whatever; that he was born in Guacapou, near the Esquivo Post; that his name is Yana; that he came to the river Orinoco for fishing, and that he was sent by a Hollander called Fordull.

Asked what was the nature of his cargo and to whom did the schooner and launch seized belong, and for what purpose they came to the river, he answered: That his cargo was only a little barbasco (a vegetable fish poison) and a barrel of salt; that the schooner belongs also to the Esquivo Colony, and is the property of a Hollander called Monk; that the launch likewise belongs to the same Colony, and was sent by a Hollander by the name of Bobre, and that both came on to do the same business of fishing.

Asked if he knew whether in the Barima creek there are any Hollanders purchasing Poytos, and if so, at what distance were they from the place where the schooner was seized, he answered: That he knew that in the said creek of Barima there are four Hollanders purchasing Poytos, and that in their company there are many Carib Indians; that from the place where the schooner was seized, to where they are, there is a distance of five or six days' navigation; that the creek where said Hollanders are found is very narrow, as he understands by the information he has from other Indians of his own tribe, and that no large vessels can go through; that the Hollanders that purchased Poytos do not belong to the Esquivo Colony, but to that of Surinam, because in that of Esquivo the Governor does not allow any Hollander to come out and make this kind of trade. This deposition being finished, the deponent said he could not tell how old he was, and did not sign, as he did not know how to do so.

Signed by their Honors before me.

No. 382.

Deposition of Juan de Dios, Flores, made September 29, 1760, as to Seizure of Schooner and Launches, at Barima on September 11, 1760.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 40–41.]

In the city of Santo Thomé de la Guayana, on the 29th day of said month and year, [Sept. 1760] in pursuance of the investigation to be made about the seizure of the vessels, their Honors met at the Royal Treasurer's Office, and summoned to their presence the Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Juan de Dios Flores, who, after being duly sworn, and promising to tell the

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truth of what he knew and were interrogated, he was asked where he had seized said vessels, how and what resistance was opposed with fire-arms, and where were the people of the crew, and he said: That having left this port under orders of the Commander, to proceed to the Barima creek, and having reached and tacked about the mouth of it on the eleventh instant, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, he descried a sail towards the point of Guani, that was coming in the direction of the mouth of the Orinoco, and he went after it, and having met her and fired a small gun, she stopped immediately, and having boarded her he found ten Aruaca Indians who came from the Esquivo Colony to fish in the river, three of whom ran away, throwing themselves into the river, and on the following day he continued his journey and went through the mouth of Barima, going up the creek for about three leagues, when he descried a vessel that was left aground by the low tide, at a long distance, finding no means to reach on board the same, until it was full tide, when he could draw near. The people and the crew on board, as they had seen and recognized his vessel, had left theirs, carrying away their sails and cutting the best part of the rigging. Although he tried his best to reach them, he could not succeed. Through the Aruaca Indians who had been seized he was informed that that schooner belonged to the Esquivo Colony, and came there for the purpose of fishing; that finding himself with these two vessels without any crew, he had only four men in their charge, two men in each one; that he had only six men left, and being informed that five days at least were necessary to reach the place where the traders in Poytos were reported it to be, it was natural to suppose they had been warned of his visit by those who had left the vessel; that he found necessary to return at once, as he did, finding that his order was only to reach the same mouth (Barima); that on his return up the river he met another launch, which he had heard before was to be found there; that he sent Pedro de Salas in a curiara (small Indian boat) with orders to seize everybody found on board, without allowing any one to escape; he did so in regard to the launch, but not the people who had taken to the woods where they had a ranch, and they could be seen; that from there he continued his journey up to the principal port of this city, where he anchored with the three vessels seized; that that is the truth in virtue of his oath, and affirms and ratifies his statement, and will make it again if wanted; that he is thirty-nine years old, and signed with his Honors, of all of which I attest.

No. 383.

Deposition made September 29, 1760, by Pedro de Salas, a Soldier, as to Seizure of Schooner and two Launches at Barima.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 251-252.]

On the said day, month and year, [Sept. 29, 1760] in order to draw up the report which is in hand, their Honours caused to appear before themselves and before me, Pedro de Salas, a soldier from these forts, to whom their Honours administered an oath which he made by God our Lord, and a sign of the Cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned by their Honours, he declared: That having sailed from this port in the armed schooner they reached the front of the mouth of Barima, and while tacking therein, they saw a vessel which they approached and fired a shot at, whereupon she surrendered at once, and having boarded her they only found a few Aruac Indians, who said that they came from the Dutch Colony of Essequibo to fish; that on the following day they entered the mouth of the Barima, and going about three leagues up the creek they saw a schooner, which, owing to low water, was aground at a very long distance, and so they could not go on board until the tide came up, when they approached it and did not find a single person, for during the time that they could not go on board, the crew succeeded in escaping into the woods, carrying off the sails and some of the tackle and cutting up some of that which remained on board; that they were informed by the pilot that it took five days to go up to the place where the traders were, for which reason, and because a large portion of the crew was engaged in the captured vessels, and likewise because they were informed that in going up to the place where the said Dutch were, the creek narrowed considerably, and no ship of any size could pass, his Lieutenant resolved to turn back up the river, which he did, and hearing that there was a launch at anchor in a creek with a hut on shore, his Lieutenant despatched him with four men in a canoe to seize it and arrest its crew; that having gone on board and found nobody, he proceeded to examine the hut, and not finding anyone there either, he concluded that they had fled to the woods, and came back and delivered up the said launch to his Lieutenant; and from there they continued to go up stream until they reached the chief port of this city, where they cast anchor.

That this is the truth under obligation of the oath which he made, which is affirmed and ratified therein, and that if necessary he will repeat it; and that he is 44 years of age, and has signed it jointly with their Honours, whereunto I certify.

No. 384.

Deposition, made September 29, 1760, by José de Sosa, a Soldier, as to Seizure of a Schooner and two Launches in Barima.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 252.]

In this fortress of Guiana, on the said day, month and year [Sept. 29, 1760], in execution of the report which is being drawn up, their Honours caused to appear in this Royal "Contaduria" before themselves and before me, the Notary, Joseph de Sosa, a soldier from these forts, whom they admitted upon oath which he made by God our Lord and a sign of the cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth concerning what he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned by their Honours, declared: That he went from this port in the armed launch under Infantry Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores, and arrived at the mouth of the Barima, where in order to make it they began to tack, and, while doing so, saw a vessel come into the river, and followed it at once and made it heave to by firing a shot, and upon going on board they only found ten Aruac Indians, of whom three escaped, who, being examined by his Lieutenant, said that they came from the Dutch Colony of Essequibo to fish in the River Orinoco; and directly they had secured the vessel by putting two soldiers on board, they continued their course, and on the following day entered the said mouth of Barima, and went up the creek for about three leagues, where they saw a schooner which the ebb had left stranded at a very considerable distance from the stream, for which reason they could not board it until the tide rose, when they approached and went on board but found nobody, because while they were waiting for the tide to come up the crew of the said schooner took the opportunity to escape, carrying off the sails and a portion of the tackle and cutting up some of the remainder; and that notwithstanding all the efforts which his said Lieutenant made to capture the crew he was unable to do so, and that the Aruacs (whom they had previously captured) at once said that the schooner had come from the Colony of Essequibo with the same object of fishing, and that upon asking the pilot whereabouts the Dutch traders in "Poitos" were camping, he said they were at five days' distance from that spot, and that the vessel they were navigating could not enter the creek where the traders were, because it was extremely narrow and only navigable by canoes; that for this reason, and because some of the soldiers they brought were divided among the vessels captured, and likewise because the said Dutch would be warned of their approach by the crew which had escaped from the schooner, his Lieutenant determined to withdraw, which they did, and in going up the river they received information that a launch was lying at anchor in a creek, and his Lieutenant forthwith despatched Pedro de Salas in a canoe to seize it, ordering him to let none of its crew escape, and accordingly

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he seized it and brought it back, saying that he had found no one therein, nor in the hut on the shore, and that he thought they had fled directly they perceived them, and that they continued their voyage thence to the chief port of this city, where they cast anchor; that this is the truth, under obligation of the oath which he made, which is affirmed and ratified therein, and that if necessary he will repeat it; and that he is 27 years of age and has signed it, together with his Honour, whereunto I certify.

No. 385.

Deposition, made September 29, 1760, by Antonio Ravelo, a Soldier, as to Seizure of a Schooner and Two Launches in Barima.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 253.]

On the said day, month, and year, [Sept. 29, 1760] for the purpose of the report which is being drawn up respecting the seizure of three vessels, their Honours caused to appear before themselves and before me, the present Notary, Antonio Ravelo, a soldier from these forts, whom their Honours admitted upon oath by God our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned by their Honours he declared: That having gone from this port in the armed launch under the Orders of his Lieutenant, Don Juan de Flores, they descended to the front of the Mouth of the Barima, where, in order to make it they began to tack, and then perceived a vessel coming into the River Orinoco, which they followed, and, having come up with it and fired a shot, she surrendered at once; that they boarded her and only found ten Aruac Indians, whom his Lieutenant examined, and who said that they came to fish in the said river; That from there they went again in search of the mouth of Barima, and on the following day they entered it and went about three leagues up the creek, where they saw a vessel which the ebb had left stranded at a considerable distance from the stream, for which reason they could not board it until the tide came up, when they approached it and went on board, but found no one, because while they were waiting for the tide to rise, the people of the schooner took the opportunity to escape and to carry off its sails and part of the tackle; and that while there his Lieutenant enquired from the pilot who was with them whether the Dutch traders in "Poitos" were very far off, and he replied that it would require five days' sailing to reach them, but that with the vessels they were navigating they could not enter the Creek because it was very narrow and only canoes could pass; for which reason, and for want of men, because the greater part of the crew had been dis-

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tributed in the captured vessels, and likewise seeing that the said Dutch would be told by those who escaped from the schooner, his Lieutenant determined to withdraw; and going up the river they were informed that a launch was lying at anchor in a Creek along which they were passing, whereupon his Lieutenant despatched Pedro de Salas in a canoe with four men, under orders to seize and bring it together with all its crew, without letting one escape; and having succeeded in capturing it he returned saying that he had found no one therein, nor in the hut which was on the shore, and that he concluded they had gone into the woods as soon as they saw them; That they continued their voyage from there until they arrived and cast anchor in the chief harbour of this city; That this is the truth under obligation of the oath which he had made which is affirmed and ratified therein, and that if necessary he will repeat it, that he is forty-two years of age and has signed it together with His Honour, whereunto I certify.

No. 386.

Summons ordered to issue for the halfbreed (mustee), Yana, September 30, 1760.

[Reprinted From Blue Book, No. 3, p. 253.]

Having seen the foregoing declarations Their Honours said that, in order to draw up these reports more adequately, they would summon the half-breed whom Infantry Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores captured with the Aruac Indians, in order that he and the other Aruac Indians should give evidence respecting the particulars about which Their Honors should consider it desirable to question them, and hereby Their Honors, have thus provided, ordered and signed on the 30 September of the said year, whereunto I certify.

No. 387.

Deposition, made September 29, 1760, by Simaracuri, an Arawak Indian, as to Seizure of a Schooner and two Launches in Barima.

[Reprinted From Blue Book, No. 3, p. 254.]

In the said City of Santo Thomé de Guayana, on the said day, month and year [Sept. 29, 1760], for the purpose of the report which is being drawn up, Their Honours caused to appear before them, and before me, the present Notary, one of the Indians, sufficiently conversant with Spanish, from among those seized by Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores, and he

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was asked by their Honours where he was born, what was his name, for what purpose he came to the River Orinoco, and by whom he was sent; and he replied that he was a native of Muruca, a place where the Post of Essequibo is situated, that his name was Simaracuri, an Indian of the Aruac nation, that the purpose for which he came to the River Orinoco was to fish, that he was sent by a Dutchman called Fardûll, and that the cargo consisted of a small quantity of salt; being asked if he knew to whom the other vessels which were seized belonged, he replied that the schooner belonged to a Dutchman called Monk, and the launch to another called Bobre, and that they also came for the purpose of fishing. Being asked if he knew whether there were any Dutchmen buying "Poitos," and in what places they were to be found, he replied that he knew there were four Dutchmen in the Creek of Barima with a number of Carib Indians, carrying on this traffic, that they were from the Colony of Surinam, and that it was impossible for a large vessel to enter the part of the said Creek where these traders were, as it was much higher up and very narrow; and that this is what he knows in reply to the questions, that he does not know how to give any account of his age or to sign; so their Honours signed it, whereunto I certify.

No. 388.

Order of Juan Valdes and Lorenzo Coronado as to Record of Seizure of Schooner and Launches in Barima, September 11, 1760, and as to Disposition of Yana and the perishable Cargo; October 1, 1760.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, p. 47.]

In the city of Santo Thome, in the Guayana, on the first day of October, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty, the Castillian Captain of His Majesty, Don Juan Valdes, and the Royal Lieutenant, Don Lorenzo Coronado, said: That the foregoing acts being sufficient, about the seizure of one schooner and two launches, belonging to the Esquivo Colony, introduced in this Orinoco river on the pretext of fishing, but in reality to go on practicing the illicit commerce and the purchase of Poytos from the Carib tribe, we rule that an authentic copy of these acts be made and the originals be sent to the Superior Tribunal of the Treasury; and that in regard to the mustee, Jean Baptista, well known, although in his confession he denies his name and to be a mustee, calling himself an Indian of the Aruaca tribe, and dyeing himself red with annotto, maliciously, so as not to be recognized, his Honor the Commander, ordered that he be kept secure in irons in the Castle until further orders from his Honor, the Governor and Captain General, furnishing him the daily ration of a dime, as the Reverend Father Prefect refuses to admit him, on account

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of the serious evils brought about among the people by the mustees whom they have received before, and who had run away afterwards, carrying along with them several persons of those already settled; that in regard to the Indians, he ordered to have them sent to said Reverend Father Prefect, so as to be distributed among the several settlements under his charge, and increase the population in the way that has been regulated; that in regard to the part of the cargo consisting of fish, the Royal Lieutenant will be in charge of the sale on account of the Royal Treasury, as this is a kind of article that loses in weight and quantity.

It was so ordered, and signed before me by their Honors.

No. 389.

Verification by Juan Valdes and Lorenzo Coronado of Inventory of Schooner and Launches seized at Barima on September 11, 1760; October 1, 1760.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 48-49.]

Don Jose Diguja Villagomes, a Colonel of the Royal Armies, Commissioner of the Royal Expedition of Boundaries, and Captain General of these Provinces of New Andalusia, Cumana, New Barcelona, the Main-land and Guayana, its coasts and fortresses, Superintendent in the same, and of the branch of crusades by the King, our Lord; Don Pedro Luis Martinez de Gordon y Lugo, Accomptant, and Don Antonio de Alcala, Royal Official Treasurers of His Majesty, etc.:

Whereas the preceding acts refer to the seizure of a schooner, two launches, and two curiaras (small Indian boats), made by the Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Juan de Dios Gonzales de Flores, in the Barima Creek, at its mouth, we have definitely ruled that the same, with the inventory contained therein be inserted to the letter, and they are as follows:

Inventory.—On the same day, month and year [Oct. 1, 1760], in compliance with the above rule, their Honors went on board the vessels, lying at anchor in this port, at the Castle of San Francisco de Asis, in order to pass the visit of said vessels, and being on board, the following inventory was made of everything found by them on board:

Firstly. One schooner, with main and foremasts, with its shrouds without sails.

A small anchor and hemp rope.

Five barrels of salt fish.

One launch, with mast and canvas shrouds, and a round sail of coarse cloth.

Four barrels of powdered salt.

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One curiara, answering for a small boat to the washboarded launch, six hatchets, ten short, coarse, Indian drawers, eight knives, six bundles of beads, and an old case.

Another launch, with mast, canvas shroud and a round sail.

A small anchor, with hemp rope.

One curiara, answering for a small boat.

And having found nothing else, the inventory was finished, and their Honors ordered the discharge of everything at the Royal Treasury stores; and in regard to the fish, the Royal Lieutenant Officer will find a suitable person to sell it, keeping a regular account of the sale, and allowing the usual commission to the agent for his trouble.

It was so ruled and provided by their Honors, signing before me, the Notary Public.

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Extracts from an Account, dated February 26, 1761, of the Capuchin Missions, by Fidel de Santo, Prefect.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 269-270.]

It is true that ever since the year 1724 the Indians of the Province of Guayana began to show some perseverance in the Catholic Faith preached to them by the Capuchin Missionaries of Catalonia, and it may therefore be said that their true foundation dates from that time. Although the preaching of the Gospel in that Province was not begun in that year, it may be inferred from the old register of Baptisms that from the year 1664 various priests at different times attempted their pacification and conversion: such were Father Joseph Sampayo, a Dominican, Father Manuel de la Purificacion, barefooted Friar of the Order of Saint Augustine, the priests, Don Francisco de Roxas, Don Miguel Buenaventura de Angulo, Don Joseph de Figueroa, and the Prebendary Don Andres Fernandez; the Jesuits Juan de Vergara, Dionisio Mesland, Francisco de Mauri, and Ignacio Cano; the Capuchins of Catalonia, Father Angel de Mataró, and Father Pablo de Blanes.

The Jesuits solemnly renounced these Missions in favor of the two aforesaid Capuchins and others on the authority of the Governor of Trinidad, Don Tiburcio Arpe y Zuñiga, in the year 1681, and he intrusted them to the aforesaid Capuchins of Catalonia, being commissioned by the Royal Audiencia of Sante Fé to provide missionaries for the Province of Guayana, as appears from the Decrees which remain in the Government Office of Trinidad, as also the Royal "Cedulas" of the 7th of February, 1686, and 29th April, 1687, by which His Majesty grants the Missions of the Provinces of Guayana to the said Catalonian

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Capuchins, who took charge of them from thenceforth; but the poverty, misfortunes, and many deaths among the missionaries, it being impossible to succour them in their abandonment, or to send missionaries to replace those who were constantly dying, were the cause of long intervals, in which the Apostolic ministry was at a standstill and in which all the progress made in the conversions and pacification of the natives was lost.

* * * * * *

Eight Missions lost since the year 1724:

1. The first Mission which was lost was Santa Maria de Yacuario in the year 1728, which had been founded two years previously, and was composed of 120 souls of the Pariagoto nation. The cause of its loss was an outbreak of small-pox.

2. The second Mission lost was San Miguel de Unata, composed of Guarauno Indians, founded in the year 1735; it consisted of 149 souls. It was destroyed by the Caribs, who burnt it.

3. In the year 1740 the Mission of Payarayma was lost by the invasion of the English. It was composed of Arhureas, Saliba, and Guarauno Indians, to the number of 298 souls.

4. In the year 1742 the Mission of Tipurua was lost by the rebellion of the Asayma Indians, 115 in number.

5. In the year 1750 the Mission of Cunuri, composed of Caribs, was lost; they rebelled and killed six Spaniards, the missionary barely escaping. The Mission was composed of 300 souls.

6. In the same year and day the Mission of Tupuquen, composed of 230 Caribs, was destroyed by the same cause as the two preceding—the rebellion of the Indians—with loss of several Spaniards; and the missionary escaped miraculously, though they had already bound him with the intention of killing him.

7. The same misfortune from the same cause was suffered by the Mission of Cummu [?Cumamo], also composed of Caribs, to the number of 180, in the same year 1750.

8. In the year 1758 the Mission of Terepi was also lost. The Caribs, of whom it was composed, 48 in number, had fled the preceding year, but were retaken, and showed signs of perseverance. They were established in the same place; but moved by their inconstant character, they again fled.

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Schooner and Launches seized in Barima Sept. 11, 1760, declared lawful prize and ordered to be sold at auction; also disposition made of parties arrested; April 24, 1761.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 49-51.]

Final rule.—In the city of Cumaná, on the twenty-fourth day of April, seventeen hundred and sixty-one, Don José Diguja Villagomez, Colonel of the Royal Armies, Commissioner of the Royal Boundary Expedition, Governor and Captain General of these Provinces and of New Andalusia, Cumaná, New Barcelona, Main-land, and Guayana, their coasts and fortresses, and in them Superintendent of the branch of Crusades by the King our Lord; Don Pedro Luis Martinez de Gordon and Lugo, accomptant, and Don Antonio de Alcala, Treasurer, and both Officers of the same by His Majesty, after having seen these proceedings by Don Juan de Dios Valdes, Captain Commander, and Don Lorenzo Coronado, Lieutenant of their Honors in the fortress of Guayana, about the seizure effected by the Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Juan de Dios Gonzales de Flores, of one schooner, two launches, two curiaras, and several other articles contained in their inventory, at the Barima Creek, at its mouth, in virtue of the order and power allowed to him by said Commander, Don Juan de Dios Valdes, Judge General of the revenue, with the opinion given to them by the Licenciate, Don Jose Fernando Espinosa de los Monteros, a lawyer of the Royal Audience and Chancellor of the District; and taking everything into consideration, their Honors have agreed to conform themselves, as they do, with the above opinion, holding the same as good, and declaring forfeited and to be a good prize the already mentioned schooner, two launches, two curiaras, and the other articles, and as such belonging all to the Royal Treasury, to be divided and apportioned and applied according to the law eleventh, book eighth, title seventeenth, of the laws of Indias, and to the model sent for their observance, with the Royal cedule of the nineteenth of February of the year seventeen hundred and fifty-seven, ordering that letters rogatory be forwarded, with insertion of the inventories, and of this commission, to said Commander and Lieutenant, so as to proceed to appoint two experts of conscience and intelligence; that after having accepted and being sworn, apprize the same and bring them to public auction, after proclaiming the sale through the public crier in the customary manner for the term of four days consecutively, so that the sale and award to the highest bidder or bidders be closed on the fourth day, and the proceeds be delivered and entered, by way of deposit, in the Royal Treasury, and the original acts about the same matter be forwarded to this Superior Tribunal, with a sworn statement of the legitimate and true costs expended in the seizure of said vessels and effects, in order to liquidate said

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confiscation, preceded by a statement made by the present Notary Public of the costs incurred. And as the Aruaca Indians seized at the mouth of said creek have been delivered to the Reverend Fathers of those Missions, so as to people the same and distribute them, his Honor ought to rule, and did rule, that said Indians be kept for the above purpose in the said Mission; and that the mustee Jean Baptist, who, as it is very well known, will be kept in prison until the end of this process, the said Commander, Don Juan de Dios Valdes, before a Notary Public of that city, will make a summary investigation to find out his name, country, origin, the religion he professes, the trade in which he occupies his time, and the offences he has committed, and if he is shown to be guilty his case must be substantiated and tried according to law, and if it turns out to be innocent he will be sent to the remotest Mission existing, so as to be catechized, and for that purpose his Honor empowers said Commander to follow the present instructions on separate acts, the heading of which will be a true copy, duly authenticated, of this rule.

So was ordered and ruled as a final decision—signed before me.

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Extracts from Notes by José Diguja, Governor of Cumana, to accompany a General Map of Cumana, and sent by him to the King of Spain, December 18, 1761.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. I., pp. 212-215, 220-226.]

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[*Pp. 212-215.*]

Dutch Colonies—Esquivo.

To the east, on the coast of this Province, are situated the Dutch Colonies of Esquivo, Demerari, Bervice, Corentin, and Surinam. According to the reports obtained by Don Juan de Dios Valdez, Commander of the fortress of Guayana, a person of information and ability, the Esquivo Colony consists of several sugar-cane plantations that the Hollanders have planted for a distance of 30 leagues on the banks of the Esquivo River, beginning from its mouth, and likewise several islands formed by said river with lands fit for plantations. The greatest part of those plantations are of sugar-cane, with dwelling-houses and grinding mills at a distance of about two or three leagues from each other.

The Esquivo River and continuation of details of the Colony.

The Esquivo river, from which the Colony takes its name, at its entrance into the sea is one of the important rivers of America. The source of its waters is to the south, and its bed diminishes in proportion

to its approximation to said source. It is navigated by launches for a distance of about six days' journey up the place where its waters diminish and are divided into various rapid streams, with many islands amongst them ; and up to the present time there is no Hollander who has ever been at its source, and the only report they hear is from the Carib Indians, saying that its sources originate from the great lagoon of Parima. This river receives other very important rivers, especially those called Mazaroni and Cuyuni, that enter together into the Esquivo, at a distance of 8 to 10 leagues from its mouth, the reason why it is so bulky, when it reaches the sea, where it empties its waters through five mouths, and in every one of them with a sufficient channel for the navigation of sloops and schooners, but not of larger vessels. In two of its islands formed by its mouths there is a plantation in each one of them, with several houses for negroes and Indians. Every owner has a group of those, resembling small villages, and the same appearance is noticed at the plantations on the river banks. On the third island, more to the east, they have about twelve houses erected for the residence of the Governor of that Colony, the Captain of the troop, and the Surgeon, that of the Secretary, minding the interests of the Company, two or three inns, two blacksmith shops, a few stores and lodgings for the negroes of the Company, besides the church or place of worship. This small number of houses form the only population of the Colony. On the highest spot of the island, close to the house of the Governor, stands the fort, Zeeland, built upon stakes on muddy ground, beaten by the river and the sea at high water, a reason why they very often have to undertake new repairs. Besides this fort there is a horizontal battery on the level of the water of both river and sea, with twelve pieces of artillery of 24-caliber.

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Injuries occasioned by the Dutch Colonies, especially that of Esquivo, in the Province of Guayana.

The Dutch Colonies are very injurious to the Province of Guayana, especially that of Esquivo, as the nearest to the Orinoco river.

They go by this river and those of Mazaroni and Cuyuni, protected by the Carib Indians, pillaging and capturing the Indians that are not Caribs, from this Province, and reducing them to slavery, in the same way as they do with the negroes, and sell them and employ them in their plantations and farms. In order to seize them they employ every device that tyranny and avarice can suggest, keeping in close friendship with the Caribs, a ferocious and warlike tribe overrunning all this extensive Province and part of those of Barcelona, Caracas, and Santa Fe, in persecution of other Indians, on whom the Caribs hold control, on account of their peaceful and gentle character, being continually assaulted in their ranches or grounds ; the old Indians are killed and the young and the

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women captured to be reduced to slavery. These incursions disturb very frequently the Mission of the Reverend Catalan Capuchin Fathers, not quite so well established, enticing away their Indians who take to the woods at the least news of the approach of the Caribs, in spite of all steps taken by the Missioners to stop them, in consequence of their cowardly pusilanimous disposition, which may sometimes be overcome by the presence of Spanish escorts in the settlement to which they resort for protection and defence. The native Hollanders of those Colonies who accompany the Caribs, teach them how to manage the arms, and they are even more inhuman than the Caribs themselves, so that a close watch is necessary to stop them and defend the Missions which they procure to destroy in order to remove that obstacle from their Colonies, as shown in the map.

Settlements of the Guayana Province.

All this extensive Province contains no more Spanish settlement than the fortress, known under the name of the City of Santo Thomé de la Guayana, for although the Chief of squadron, Don Joseph de Iturriaga, tried to establish the cities of Real Corona and Ciudad Real, neither the one nor the other has been successful, as will be explained, but there are sixteen settlements of Missions under the Reverend Catalan Capuchin Fathers, four settlements likewise of Missions under the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, and three more under the Reverend Franciscan Fathers and Missioners of Piritu.

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[*Pp. 220–226.*]

Bodies of Missioners Spreading the Gospel in Guayana.

Three bodies of Missioners spread the Gospel in this Province of Guayana. They belong to different orders, to wit: The Reverend Catalan Capuchin Fathers: the Reverend Father Jesuits of the Province of Santa Fe, and the Reverend Observant Fathers of Piritu, under whom are the Missions and ecclesiastical settlements of the Province of Barcelona, as heretofore explained.

These three bodies of Missioners and the settlements under their charge, as well as the progress obtained, will be the subject of a separate note.

Catalan Capuchin Missioners.

The Capuchins of the Catalan Kingdom keep in this Province a community of Missioners, who at the expense of the Royal Treasury are transported from their Province, until incorporated in this Mission; all those existing in it appoint their Prelate every three years, under the name of Prefect, but neither the community nor the Prefect are subordinated to the Provincial Prelate of the Catalan kingdom, but to that of

the Province of Andalusia, their only Superior Prelate. This community performs the duties of their ministry with wonderful diligence, good order, and success, without sparing labors, and due to these circumstances are the happy progresses accomplished by the Missions in their charge.

Beginning of the Missions.

They were established in the year 1724, notwithstanding that other Missioners had undertaken the same work before. This conclusion is derived from the contents of a book of baptisms, showing that from the year 1664 several other Priests at different times had tried the pacification and reduction of these Indians, such as Father Joseph Sanpayo, a Reverend Father of the Dominican order, and Father Manuel de la Purification, of the Bare-footed order (descalzos) of Saint Augustine; the Clergymen Don Francisco de Rojas, Don Miguel de Angulo, Don Joseph de Figueroa, and the ration canon, Don Andres Fernandez; the Father Jesuit Juan de Vergara, Dionisio Mestand, Francisco de Ellauri and Ignacio Cano, the Catalan Capuchin Father Angel de Mataro and Father Pablo de Blanes, the Capuchins and others. The Fathers of the Company made an assignment of said Missions, and the act was authorized by the Governor of Trinidad, Don Tiburcio de Harpe y Zuñiga, in the year 1681, as shown by the Royal Cedule of the 7th of February, 1686, and the 29th of April, 1687, by which His Majesty approves the assignment made by the Jesuits, and sends the Catalan Capuchin Fathers to attend the Missions of the Province of Guayana. These two Cedules are kept in the Archives of the Community. From said year 1687 they took charge of the Missions and commenced their work, but the miseries and deaths, without any help in their wants, were so discouraging, having nobody to replace those who died, many long interruptions of the Apostolic ministry followed, losing at the same time whatever advancement had been made previously for the good of the souls and the pacifition of the natives.

In the year 1723 the Mission of Guayana was in want of Father Missioners and without means to bring the few that might have been obtained, for want of provisions and the necessary alms for their support; but during that year several pious persons, especially the Missioners of Piritu, gave and facilitated the transportation of 100 head of cattle, which have kept on the increase and are to-day the support of the Missions in all the extreme necessities of the Indians, for want of meat, whenever they were to be attracted to the townships, as this element is an inducement securing exemption from famine and want.

First Settlement in 1724.

Upon this basis, in 1724, the first Mission was founded, under the name of Concepcion de Suay, two leagues inland from the City of

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Guayana, and to-day they have planted 16, as it will be shown, going inland about 40 leagues to the south of said city, situated at that distance from the Mission of Avechica, as it is shown in the map.

Besides the 16 Missions existing, 8 previously settled have been lost, on account of the misfortunes of the pestilence of smallpox and measles, besides the invasions of the Caribs, and the hostilities of the English in the year 1740, with the loss of over 1,000 Indians, several settlements and their furniture.

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The Sixteen Existing Mission Settlements.

The 16 Missions established at present are those of Capapui, Altagracia, Suay, Amaruca, Caroni, Arepuco, Aguacagua, Murucuri, San Joseph de Leonisa, Guarimna, Carapu, Miamo, Guazapati, Palmar, Avechica, and Piacoa, as shown in the map, in the corresponding statement of the men of arms, families, souls, houses, and churches existing in every one of the said 16 settlements.

Men of Arms, Families, and Souls.

One thousand and eighty-one men of arms; 1,031 families; 4,392 souls; 408 houses; and three churches.

Lands of the Missions.

These Missions are most of them situated in very fertile lands, fresh, salubrious, abounding in water and well provided of all the necessary products fit for the maintenance of the Indians, except those of Suay, Arepuco, Caroni, and Piacoa, that are not salubrious nor abundant in eatables on account of their proximity to the Orinoco river and sandy ground. The houses of all the settlements are built with symmetry in extension and sufficiently convenient for the Indians. The three churches, although poor, are very clean and capacious, the same as the house of the pastor close to the church. Near the patsor's house there is a sort of tower built of timber and mud, covered with straw, and they keep two or three swivel guns. The tower, house and church are defended by a round fence of stakes so as to take care of the Caribs if they do not come in company with the Hollanders, for whom the swivel guns, if there are experts in the population to handle them, the noise alone may impose fear on the Caribs, who would not dare to reach the settlement and much less the palisade defended by the tower, where the women and children and even the Indians take refuge, in case that the enemy's forces are superior and do not allow sufficient time for the use of arrows in their defence.

Education of the Indians.

The education of the Indians is not the same in all the settlements; in some of them they are not all baptized, when just taken out of the

woods, incapable of a Christian education, and only in cases of need they are baptized, but this sacrament is administered to all their children born in the settlement and the infants arriving from the woods. Other Indians are already Christians, but without having forgotten the crowd of vices so common with them, and both sexes remaining naked, out of their natural rusticity and habit, as well as the impossibility to pay for clothing. The Fathers try their best to provide them with iron utensils for the cultivation of their fields. In four or five of the oldest settlements they are dressed, in keeping with the good government of the Missioners, who gather with the greatest care and keep an account of the casave, superabundant with them, send it to the city of Guayana where there is a demand, and out of the proceeds buy clothing for the people in return for their casaves. This recourse is not available for those who are at a greater distance from the fortress, on account of the cost of transportation wiping out any possibility of profit. The Indians of these five settlements are well instructed in the Christian doctrine and sufficiently conversant with the Castillian language. Many of them learn music and play several instruments skilfully, and most of them are applied to the service of the Church, where the solemn functions are carried out with really edifying ceremonies. Indeed, all these Missions are proportionately well established, and governed with very particular harmony, economy and education, so that in the visit of the same I had nothing to observe that was not highly laudable, a reason why, in the name of the King our Lord, the government rendered thanks to the community, encouraging them in the continuation of their holy ministry, as it is shown in part third of the acts of the visit to said Missions.

Reverend Fathers present at the time of the visit.

The fourteen Reverend fathers and one layman, making in all fifteen, were present at the time of the visit. The layman attends to the sick, and this number is very limited, considering the amount of work they have to perform taking care of the settlement and new conversions for new establishments.

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Cattle estate of the Missions.

The same certificate shows that the cattle estate of the Community contains from 14,000 to 16,000 head of bovine cattle for the maintenance of the settlements and the Missioners. The cattle has been placed on new grounds in proportion of its increase, and to-day it is kept in the Mission of Guarimna, where the fields and mountains are most abundant in grass and water, in a cool climate. On account of these circumstances, the multiplication of the cattle has been incredible.

High convenience of the expected help to this Community.

If His Majesty kindly assigns the payment of these alms to the Mis-

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sioners at a Royal Treasury's Office, where they do effectively pay, enough to maintain 25 or 30 Fathers, allowing this Mission the bells and ornaments established by law, and an escort of 25 to 30 men, in a very few years a great increase should be noticed and many more, if as the Community desires, His Majesty applies similar alms for six or eight lay Brothers, good carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and weavers, so as to teach these trades to the Indians, especially weavers, of which they might avail themselves for the use of the large amount of cotton which they may gather, and is not fully used in the manufacture of hammocks done by the Indians, and taking a long time and labor for want of instruments.

These Missions are most important to the service of God and the King. Besides the spiritual advantage obtained by the natives, they help the fortress of Guayana with their provisions and interposition between the same and the Hollanders, who by all means endeavor to enter inland in this Province and the mouth of the Orinoco, the key to these dominions—upon the subject of which the necessary reports are sent to His Majesty.

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Settlements of the Jesuits in Guayana.

Encaramada, Uruana, Carichana, and Raudal belong to the Province of Guayana, although they have been established and reared by the Jesuit Fathers. The four settlements are very poorly situated, on account of the sandy ground and little fertility of the banks of the Orinoco, and on account of its proximity they are not salubrious; but the necessity of temporizing with the Indians who are settled in them does not allow, for the present, anything better.

The distance of these settlements from the communication and treatment of the Spaniards keep them totally ignorant of the Castillian language, but they are in everything else well instructed with that profusion of the Missioners, as far as permitted by the recent date of these four Missions.

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Notes by Francisco Antonio Moreno Escandon, relating to Map of the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé, drawn by Juan Aparicio in 1762.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 258–259.]

The statistical particulars that are on the margin of the map of the Government of Cumaná, drawn by Juan Aparicio in 1762. The said statistics show the actual position of the cities, towns, posts, and other

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places of the Spaniards, learned foundations, Missions of the Indians, number of men capable of bearing arms, families, individuals, houses, farms, churches, contributions of the Indians. * * *

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[The said map is to accompany "the Reports of the visit made by the present Governor, Colonel Don Joseph [Diguja] Villagomez."]

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	Missions in the Charge of the Reverend Fathers the Catalonian Capuchins of Guayana.	Men capable of bearing Arms.	Families.	Souls.	Houses.	Planta-tions.	Churches
Missions sixteen.	Of Capapui	159	159	634	97	..	1
	" Alta Gracia	122	123	499	86	..	1
	" Suay	72	72	294	51	..	1
	" Amaruca	65	65	230	..	..	..
	" Caroni	60	60	225	34	..	..
	" Aripuco	..	..	42	2	..	..
	" Aguacaua	21	19	87	12	..	..
	" Murucuri	70	70	329	..	..	..
	" S. Jph. de Leonisa	103	66	271	20	..	..
	" Guarimna	60	60	219	..	..	..
	" Carapu	71	62	291	..	..	..
	" Miamo	147	146	517	64	..	..
	" Guaseipati	..	..	210	24	..	..
	" Palmar	99	98	350	..	..	..
	" Ave-Chica	..	..	191	18	..	..
	" Piacoa	82	82	78	..	..	..

[NOTE.—*Column of reference to folios omitted.*]

The foregoing Tables are taken from the respective part of the folios and Reports that are mentioned, and are transmitted to His Majesty the King in Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies.

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Extracts from Report of José Diguja, Governor of Cumana, to the King of Spain, December 15, 1763.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 1, pp. 7, 18–22, 45–49, 53, 84–85, 95, 98–99, 106, 112–113, 166-167, 198–199.]

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[*P. 7.*]

2. The Royal Order, issued at Aranjuez on May 27, 1762, contains several instructions, the most important of which refers to the decision which His Majesty was pleased to make in regard to the city of Guayana. His Majesty directed the said city to be moved and transferred to a place called La Angostura, 34 leagues above the Castle, where the Orinoco has a width of only 800 yards. But I, after having given to this grave

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subject, as to all the others of the said Royal Order, the most serious attention, have acquired the conviction that said moving will be attended by irreparable injury to our Holy religion, to the service of the two Majesties, to the Royal Treasury, and to the inhabitants of those countries. I am fully aware of the fact that insuperable difficulties will have to be encountered in the execution of the said Royal Order, and that even without counting these difficulties, not less than 25 or 30 years, and three or four hundred thousand dollars, shall be necessary to carry the whole plan into effect, sacrificing many lives, and causing all these Provinces to be at the mercy of the enemies of the Royal Crown. I feel, therefore, that it is my duty, as a loyal subject, and as Governor of these Provinces, to take advantage of the authority granted by Law 24, Title 1, Book 2, and request His Majesty, with all due respect and assurances of obedience, to be pleased to reconsider the subject, and direct the execution of the said Royal order to be suspended until His Majesty, upon further investigation, might be pleased to decide as proper.

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[*Pp. 18–22.*]

12. All my predecessors, from Don Gregorio de Espinosa down, were particular in taking measures to insure the safety and proper development of these Provinces. As for myself, I can say that the steps I have taken, after my general visit, specially for the good government and the proper treatment of the Indians, have not been few. To remedy the evil effects of intoxication in the Caribbean Missions on the banks of the Orinoco, I gave the local authorities of Barcelona, Aragua, Pao, and Guayana such instructions as were deemed necessary to secure their appearance in the respective places of their territory, as soon as some disturbance occurred. I also made arrangements by virtue of which the said local authorities, and all other officials of the Government, were enabled to assist each other whenever necessary. All of this will appear from the elaborate statement of the General Results of my visit, submitted by me to His Majesty through his Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies. The fact is, that owing to these measures taken by myself, and to those which my predecessors had taken during their respective terms of office, communication can now be had without risk between all places of the territory, whether on the plains or in the mountains, belonging to the Provinces under my command. Any man can now go alone to Guayana, and come back, without fear of molestation of any kind. Twenty years ago no man could think of making such a journey without a strong escort. No foreigner, allied to the Caribbean Indians, is now seen in the country; nor can any Caribbean Indian himself be seen outside the towns. The same safety is to be noticed in the communication by water. The navigation along the sea coast, through

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Golfo Triste, the mouths of the Orinoco, and up the river, is freely made, and those engaged in this business can go and come without disturbance. There are excellent pilots, perfectly well acquainted with every locality in the whole Northern Coast, the Guarapiche River, the Channels of Santa Isabel, Teresen, and Coiguar, the Coast of Paria, and the Labyrinth of the mouths of the Orinoco.

13. At the time of my visit there were in the Province of Barcelona 121 ranches, which, according to the statements of their owners, contained from fifty to fifty-five thousand head of cattle. This secured for the Province a revenue of 25 or 30 dollars per year, as shown in note No. 13 of the Book of Notes. The number of ranches is becoming every day larger and larger; and this fact, the abundance of cattle, and the increase of the number of Indians who become civilized and devote themselves to the cultivation of the lands, have rendered the capital of Barcelona four times better and more advanced in every respect than it was in 1720. Now, as far as the comfort of the inhabitants is concerned, the said capital is the best city in this Government.

14. The same increase in the number of houses, population and wealth of the inhabitants which has been noticed in the capital of Barcelona, has also been noticed in the capital of Cumaná and in all other cities and towns of this Government.

* * * * * *

1. It cannot be doubted that the repeated measures, more or less active, taken by my predecessors, have caused the very noticeable development of the cities and towns of this Government; the exploration of the vast territories which pertain to it; the pacification of the Indians who inhabited its mountains and forests, and are now reduced to live in proper settlements the life of civilization; the expulsion of those foreigners who, in union with the Indians, overran these Provinces and harassed their inhabitants with the intent of establishing themselves in their territory; the discovery, safety and good arrangements of the road ta Guayana, which facilitates the communication with that place; and, as a consequence of all these facts, the occupation and settlement of those hitherto unexplored Provinces and vast territories by Spanish people, who formerly had been compelled to live in the arid and barren lands which lie in close vicinity with the establishments on the coast. None of these measures, however, would have amounted to anything, if their execution had not been secured and fostered as it was by the missionary bodies, engaged in the evangelization of the Provinces of Cumaná and Barcelona, namely: The Aragonese Capucins in Cumaná, as explained in Note No. 4, and the Franciscans of Piritu in Barcelona, as explained in Notes No. 7 and No. 10. The territory in which their missionary work is done is marked in the General Map.

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Lately, when reporting the results of my general visit, I called his Majesty's attention to the present needs of the two missionary bodies above named, and also to the needs of the other body of Catalonian Capucins of the Province of Guayana.

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The fact is acknowledged that the missionary work is no longer carried out with as much zeal and efficiency as in former times, or as it is now carried out in Guayana by the Catalonian Capuchins.

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4. These two missionary bodies are certainly the cause of the pacification of these provinces. With no little difficulty, and incurring grave risks, they have subdued the Indians, and succeeded in establishing 79 Indian villages, the town of Aragua, and the settlement of El Pao. In the villages aforesaid they have congregated from 26,000 to 27,000 natives, most of whom have been converted to our holy religion. In the Caribbean villages of the neighborhood of the Orinoco, where there are no missionaries to attend to the education of the inhabitants, or where the missionaries, if any, sent there have not been given such an escort as was necessary to their protection, heathenism still prevails. The inhabitants are baptized only in case of necessity, but they do not refuse this Holy Sacrament to be administered to them, when in condition to receive it, or to their infant children.

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[*Pp. 45-49.*]

1. As the Aragonese Capucins and the Franciscan Fathers of Piritu pacified the Provinces of Cumana and Barcelona where they are engaged in evangelical labors, they having been instrumental to the settlement by Spanish people of the vast territories of said Provinces, and to the foundation of the town of Aragua and the villages of Concepción del Pao, Rio Caribe and Carúpano, as stated in the proper place, so also the Catalonian Capucins of the Province of Guayana, pacified its Indians; reduced to subjection a great number of them; prevented the Dutch from settling in the interior of the Province; assisted the Presidio and city of Santo Thomé; caused things there to have reached the state in which they are now; closed the Orinoco to the inhuman commerce of the Caribbean Indians and of the Dutch; prevented the latter as well as other foreigners from running through the country freely, as they used to do in former times in the Provinces of Cumaná, Barcelona, Caracas, Varinas and Santa Fé; did what never could have been done before in spite of the measures taken ever since 1694; caused the Presidio to be a serious establishment; improved the fortifications of the same; secured thereby the settlement and population of the Province; established in Guayana sixteen Missions; and founded, eight leagues towards the interior, the

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new town of San Antonio de Upata, which will hereafter secure respect to those places.

* * * * *

I said that in the year above-mentioned, those Fathers founded a Mission, which was the first, and which they named "La Concepción del Suay." I also stated that at the time of my visit the number of the Missions founded by them had grown up to sixteen, without counting eight more, which had been founded during the same intervening period, but had been disorganized and disbanded. And I gave furthermore a detailed explanation of the condition in which the said Missions were at the time of my visit, and of the causes which had produced the loss of the establishments of the same kind which had been ruined.

* * * * *

4. The growth of the Presidio and the fact that its establishment has become day by day more permanent and important, have permitted it to provide the missionaries with such escort as they needed to continue their explorations southwards, and found, among others, such villages as El Hato, El Yuruario and Ave Chica, the latter at about 40 or 45 leagues from the Presidio, all of them on the banks of rivers which empty into the Cuyuni, as can be seen in the General Map. By means of these Missions, serving as advance posts, the Dutch and their assistants, the Caribbean Indians, have been prevented, to a great extent, from reaching the interior of the country through the Cuyuni and the Mazaroni Rivers, committing acts of hostility, kidnapping Indians, not belonging to the Caribbean tribe, and starting some settlements of their own in the center of this Province. Several expeditions, the last of which was organized in 1758, have been fitted out, at diverse periods, to frustrate those invasions. The expedition last mentioned succeeded, as before stated, in possessing itself of the fortified place which the invaders had built on the banks of the Cuyuni River, which fact had been reported by the missionaries, upon information furnished them by the Indians inhabiting villages in the neighborhood of said river.

* * * * *

7. The provisions with which the Presidio is daily supplied consist of casabe, corn, rice, fruit and poultry. All the soap consumed at the Presidio is also given to it. But all of this is furnished, not by all the villages, but only by four or five out of their number, which are surrounded by fertile lands, and are inhabited by Indians already civilized and educated, whose effects are managed by the missionaries with great order and economy. These natives are, therefore, well dressed and supplied with everything necessary, including tools and implements for agricultural and other purposes. Some other Missions might be able to do the same as the five just referred to, because of their enjoying identical advantages as to the fertility of the land; but so far they are prevented

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from contributing, as explained, owing to the recent date of their foundation, to the fact that the Indians who have settled in them are not as yet fully accustomed to work, to the great distance which separates them from the Presidio, which, together with the difficulty of communication, increases the cost of transportation, and deters the Presidio from looking to them for its supplies, except in cases of extreme necessity.

8. The Missions in the neighborhood of the Orinoco can not furnish anything to the Presidio, owing to their being located on sandy ground, of no fertility at all, and to the fact that their inhabitants, as I have said in note No. 10, above cited, are rather fishermen than agriculturists.

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[*P. 53.*]

3. I said then: *that the defences* (*Presidio*) *and City of Santo Thomé are situated at eight degrees seventeen minutes north latitude and three hundred and fourteen degrees seventeen minutes and a half longitude. I have nothing to add on this point.* I said likewise *that it was the capital and only settlement of this unknown Province;* not considering as cities those of Real Corona and Ciudad Real, for the reasons I exposed in the last chapters of the ninth and tenth notes, and here I will show likewise that after said visit, and without any cost to the King, the new population of San Antonio of Upata has been founded, being situated inland, at a distance of eight leagues from the fortress and between the Missions of Alta Gracia and Copapui, as shown by the general map, that I will explain in due time.

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[*Pp. 84-85.*]

1. The more or less estimation of a settled place is regulated by the commerce and wealth it contains, its strength, extent, and usefulness of the territory defended. Those are the reasons that recommend Havana and Vera Cruz, without controversy, the most important held by the King in America.

2. The fortress of Guayana has no claim to any estimation by its contents, as they are miserable, as shown by the exposition of the preceding chapters, being of considerable more value in this respect the fortresses of Carthagena, Panama, La Guaira, Puerto Cabello, Buenos Aires, and all the rest held by His Majesty, with the exception of Puerto Bello, with which Guayana may be compared.

3. The stronghold of the garrison can not be taken into consideration at present, although the castle of San Francisco, in point of situation, resistance of its walls, difficulty for an attack and other circumstances explained in the foregoing chapter is a somewhat regular fortification, becomes useless by the want of defence of the Padrastro, from where a dozen muskets may surrender it, as has been already stated.

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4. On account of the extent and value defended by the fortress, no other of the many held by the King, except Vera Cruz, can compete with it, because all the other fortresses protect ports, but do not prevent the landing on the coast nor the entrance of the enemies, introducing their commerce in diverse Provinces more or less indefensible. On the contrary, the fortress of Guayana is the key to the defence of its own Province and those of Cumana, Barcelona, Caracas, Barinas, Santa Fe, Popayan and Quito, countries under the control and traffic facilities of the grand Orinoco River, having no other defended or fortified place so advantageously situated as this fortress is to-day. If it is abandoned or lost, the nation holding it might control freely said Provinces and that of Guayana. The enemy could never succeed in doing so while the fortress is held and well fortified.

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[*P. 95.*]

30. And in reference to the greater utility and preference which I give to the fortress of Guayana over all the other fortresses kept by the King in America, I do not say so without being well posted, for I have seen at the South Pacific those of Valdivia, Conception and Valparaiso in Chile, and those of Callao, and I have a sufficient notice of what are those of Panama, Acapulco and Sonsonate. On the Atlantic I have seen those of Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, Carthagena, La Havana and Cumana, at present in my charge, and I have a fair knowledge of those of La Guaira, Puerto Cabello, Maracaibo, Puerto Bello and the Windward Islands, and taking all in all, I have come to the conclusion that none could bring as great loss as that of the fortress of Guayana, and that if the enemies would take it, their possession would be far more valuable than that of Sacramento, held by the Portuguese on the La Plata River, which I have likewise seen, and I know in what its commerce consists.

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[*Pp. 98-99.*]

8. The situation of the city of Guayana is in the best place, and as well ventilated as that place permits.

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9. The population has not only 450 persons, including the troops, as they have informed His Majesty, but 535, as shown in my first part, Chapter 9, No. 91.

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12. His Majesty has not been informed with more accuracy in regard to the garrison of said castle, as it does not consist of one Castillian captain, one lieutenant, two standard bearers, and 100 men, but one Castillian captain, one lieutenant, two standard bearers, one constable, one chaplain, two sergeants of fusileers, two corporals, 12 artillery men, one

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drummer, and 77 soldiers, making in all 100 men, who receive salaries and are employed, according to my exposition, in the first part of Chapter 9, No. 89.

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[*P. 106.*]

27. In the year 1541, according to Father Gumilla, folio 8 of the "Orinoco Illustrado," the first Spaniards were located in the Orinoco River. For their first establishment the Angostura was not selected nor the Island of Fajardo, nor Guayana, it was the mouth of the Caroni River, marked in the accompanying map, undoubtedly for the want of knowledge of the river and its more advantageous grounds. They subsisted in their first settlement until the year 1579, when the Hollanders destroyed it by fire, its inhabitants already familiar with the Orinoco, setting aside Angostura and the Island of Fajardo, were located 7 leagues below, from there, in that gorge of said river, where for the second time the breadth of the water is reduced to 1,400 or 1,500 yards, and there they founded the city of Santo Thomé of the Guayana, and as they found it possible, they fortified the rock that forms to-day the Castle of San Francisco, the ground of which is so hard, and they kept it, until the year 1720, with constance, exposed to destitution, as shown in Chapter 6, No. 1.

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[*Pp. 112-113.*]

50. Evident as it is by the contents of Chapters 2 and 7 that the tranquility of said Provinces, most of them inhabited by Indians, except the unknown parts of the Guayana, has been secured, and the Caribs are bringing no more trouble, except once, and then on account of intoxication. From said Caribs several settlements have been established in the Province of Barcelona under the Father Observants of Piritu. The same thing has been done in the Province of Guayana, under the Catalan Capuchins, where the gentiles and inhabitants are in the vicinity of the Dutch Colonies, shown in the general map, and in fear, and discouraged from entering into the Orinoco, nor in the Province of Guayana, but very seldom and with the utmost precautions. The care taken with them leads to their withdrawal, and facilitates the work of the Catalan Capuchin Missioners, as shown in Chapter 8, followed likewise by the establishment of the new settlement of San Antonio de Upata, as shown in Chapter 9, Nos. 101 to 105.

51. That in none of said Provinces are noticed at present any foreigners going around as enemies, nor inducing the Carib Indians to hostilities, except the Hollanders, their allies, who purchase from them all the Indians that are not Caribs. There are no foreigners navigating the Orinoco, that is above Guayana, for at their mouth and in the neighborhood of said fortress they do so freely, but without being able to land, in any

of the above quoted Provinces, nor do any more trade than the fortress allows, and within the terms exposed in my note 13, of my memorandum of news, and without said condescendance, nothing at all can be done, as the remedy to this short and despicable injury will be exposed on the third part. There is no case of foreigners travelling through the Orinoco since 1746, except the case of a Frenchman, called Ignace, a great expert, who navigated the Orinoco in the year 1752, up to the mouth of the Apure River, where he took a stand, as shown on the back of folios 84 to 86 of the accompanying proceedings, but his vessels were seized then, and on two other occasions in which he tried to do the same; and being thus undeceived and rich in troubles and misfortunes, he desisted from undertaking similar enterprizes, and no other persons have been willing to try the experiment of like misfortunes, imitating said Frenchman Ignace. All these facts are true, and subject to no contradiction. It is likewise a fact that, during the tranquility of these Provinces, several settlements of Spaniards and natives have been established in the plains of Caracas and Barcelona, and the fields contain now large herds of cattle, yielding positive advantages and profits to all the inhabitants, as shown by Chapter 2, Nos. 11 to 14.

52. The pacification and settlements of the Indians of this Province is due to my predecessors and to the bodies of Missioners spreading the Gospel throughout, as stated in all of the Chapters 3 to 8.

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[*Pp. 166-167.*]

126. The Mission of Suay is situated 2½ leagues to the south of the Guayana fortress, has no cattle, and, as the rest of them, in charge of the Catalan Capuchins, is supplied from the cattle estate known as the property of the Mission, situated 50 leagues inland, as I have already stated. It draws its subsistence from their farms in poor lands, such as those of Piacoa, Aripuco, Caroni, and Aguacagua, that do not render any help in the way of provisions to the fortress. It is the oldest settlement, and was founded in the year 1724, as shown by Chapter 8, No. 2. Their natives are smart and well educated. It is one of the three Missions where to the present time they have not been able to build a church. Their municipal house is held by the community, with a library and the archives. They have a good jail and hospitium for the inland Indians bringing provisions to Guayana by way of said Mission. From there they go to the city and leave their loads in the hands of the Syndic, returning on the same day to Suay. If this settlement is removed the communication and commerce with the inland Missions will suffer a serious interruption, as the nearest stopping place at the south, through which the city is supplied, is that of Alta Gracia at a distance of 10 leagues from the fortress.

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[*Pp. 198–199.*]

1. I have shown in Chapter 3 of part first, that although the bodies of Missions spreading the Gospel through the Provinces of Cumana and Barcelona have been always in want of more Missioners to make up their corresponding numbers, and deprived of sufficient alms for their subsistence and ornaments, images and bells for their Churches in their new settlements, without sufficient escorts to keep and improve them, it is due to them the pacification of these vast Provinces and the establishment of sixty-nine townships, containing from 26,000 to 27,000 Indians; and the village of Aragua, the settlement of Pao, Rio Caribe and Carupano of the Spaniards, besides other improvements known and already explained, that without these bodies of Missioners should have rendered useless all the measures of the Governors on the subject.

In Chapter 8, I have explained that to the Mission of the Catalan Capuchins, spreading the Gospel in the Province of Guayana, is due the establishment of 24 settlements, although only 16 are now in existence. The fortress of Guayana has been formed and brought up to its present condition, which could never have been obtained or subsisted without the help of the Missions, and lately the establishment of San Antonio de Upata is due to said Mission. In consequence of my general visit, I submitted to His Majesty the condition of these bodies of Missions, their wants, and the abuses introduced, making impossible the collection of the alms assigned to them; the necessity of more Missioners as well as ornaments, images and bells for the new settlements, and sufficient escorts for the protection of those established already and the future settlements. The great convenience to the Royal service for the safety of those extensive dominions and the spiritual benefit of so many poor Indians spread throughout them, require the support of these bodies of Missions and their progress, going farther inland through the extensive Province of Guayana, as shown by the copies of said communications and other documents therein quoted at folio 247 of the proceedings accompanying the present report. * * * *

No. 395.

Extract from letter from Fray Joseph de Guardia, Prefect of the Capuchin Missions in Guayana, to Fray Estevan de Olod, Provincial of the Capuchins, on the State of the Mission of Guayana; June 20, 1765.

[Translated from copy printed *in* Strickland (*Rev.* Joseph *S. J.*). The Boundary Question between British Guayana and Venezuela. fol. Rome, 1896. Appendix 1, pp. 9–10.]

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We shall not be long in having again to ask for Friars, as those who

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lately came over, will soon be employed. We have three new Missions to provide with Fathers, namely, la Soledad del Cavallapi, San Raymundo de Caravaxi, and San Félix de Villacova, besides these there are two others begun, devoted to female Caribs, one in charge of Rev. Father Benito de la Garriga, and the other in charge of Father Alexos de Villajar; another of Arawaks in charge of Father Buenaventura de Santa Coloma; another of Guaycas in charge of Father Thomás de San Pedro; another for Guarano Indians, in care of Father Manuel de Greixana; another for Cachiricotos, in charge of Father Raymundo de Olod, and another of Pariagotos, in charge of Father Mariano de Sabadel. These Pariagotos we took out of the Cupapuy Mission, which, on account of its numbering nearly 800 souls, cannot be well attended to, nor instructed in our Holy Catholic Faith, and we put them in a place shut in by the Carony river which serves us as a stopping place for a great number of Nations. All these incipient Missions, within a year and a half at most, will have to be provided with Priests. Whence you will infer that it will not be long before we are all occupied, and there will not be enough.

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No. 396.

Seizures from the Dutch at Barima in 1768, by Francisco Cierto, Captain of Pioneers.

Order for sale, Apr. 9, 1768..... 359
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[Reprinted from Blue Book, No, 8, pp. 274-279.]

In the year 1768. Copy of the "Autos" made on the seizure of the utensils and implements, taken from the Dutch foreigners in the Creek of Barima by the Captain of Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierto.

A list of the effects which Don Francisco Cierto has on this day delivered to this Royal warehouse under my charge, and which are as follows: * * *

So that the effects enumerated above are the same which are under my charge to await the disposal of the Commandant-General. And for its validity I have signed it in this city of Guayana on the 11th February, 1768.

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"Auto" ordering the sale of the effects.

In this City of Guayana on the 9th of April, 1768; We, Don Manuel Centurion Guerrero de Torres, Captain of the Royal Artillery Corps, Commandant-General of this Province, and Don Andres de Oleaga, Royal Accountant therein; having seen the entries contained in the foregoing Inventory of articles which the coast guard vessels of this said Province under the Captain of the Company of Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierto, seized in the Creek of Barima from the Foreigners who had established themselves clandestinely in the said Creek, for trade and exportation of woods and other products. Wherefore we had to order and do order that, being for the greater part spoiled from exposure to damp, they be sold by public sale without delay, being first valued and cried, in order to place the amount produced in the Royal "Contaduria"; and therefore that the declarations of the said Captain of Pioneers and others of the crew be taken as required. For all which, and in order that they may not further decrease in value, we appoint as Third Valuers, Estevan Arnaud, Master-Blacksmith, and Diego Marino, of the "Plateria," inhabitants of this city, to whom the present witnesses, with whom we are acting for want of a Notary, shall communicate this order, so that each one for himself may undertake to execute faithfully the office with which they are entrusted. And in like manner they shall summon the said Captain Cierto to be present at the act of valuation, and at whatsoever else may be required until the sale. And by this "Auto" which we have drawn up we thus command and sign, together with the aforesaid witnesses, on ordinary paper, stamped paper not being current, whereunto we certify.

* * * * * *

First Notice [of Sale].

On the 11th day of the Month of April, 1768: I, Don Andres de Olega, Royal Accountant of this Province:

Being with the undersigned Witnesses in the chief door of this Royal Contaduria which opens into the street, about four o'clock in the afternoon, I ordered that by the voice of Francisco Moreno, a slave who acts as crier in default of a regular one, the first announcement should be given of the goods and utensils contained in the foregoing valuation, which are the same that were seized by the Captain of the Pioneer Corps, Don Francisco Cierto, by means of the revenue vessels and men under his command, from the foreigners clandestinely settled for commerce and traffic in the Creek called the Creek of Barima, Jurisdiction of this Province; and although the announcement was repeated several times in a loud voice by the same crier, no bidder appeared, and consequently it

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was ended until the morrow : and in token I have signed it with the said witnesses, whereunto I certify.

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Sale.

In this City of Guayana on the 14th April, 1768. We, Don Manuel Centurion Guerrero de Torres, Captain of the Royal Artillery Corps, Commandant-General of this Province ; and Don Andrés de Oleaga, Proprietor, Royal Accountant, constituting a tribunal therein, at the principal door of this Royal Contaduria which opens into the public Road, and accompanied by the witnesses with whom we act in default of a Notary, in order to make a sale and auction of the implements and other utensils and articles which are entered in these "Autos" and which have been valued by intelligent and conscientious persons, do command that by the voice of Francisco Moreno, a slave who fills the office of crier in default of a regular one, an announcement be made ; stating the implements, utensils and other things which were seized from the foreigners who were clandestinely settled in the Creek of Barima, Jurisdiction of this Province, for the purpose of exporting woods and other products ; and the articles valued are a clock at 35 dollars, a grindstone at 6 dollars * * *

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[The same articles enumerated again for sale, and again as sold or reserved ; with names of purchasers and prices given.]

And the amount of the said items was paid at once and each [buyer paid] separately in current money, and I, the said accountant, received the said moneys into the Royal Contaduria from the said auctioneers, wherewith I am content ; and the said moneys were given against deliveries of the articles specified ; and in this same act we, the said Commandant General and Accountant, caused to appear before us Nicolas Martinez, Constable and Warehouse Keeper of this Fortress, whom we ordered to take under his charge, in his said warehouse, the articles ordered to be reserved for His Majesty's Service, which are a grindstone, two slates, &c. * * *

And the said Warehouse Keeper took them into his charge and undertook to give due account of them whensoever it might be demanded, and has signed this, together with us the auctioneers and witnesses, who act in default of a Notary ; whereunto we certify.

Declaration of First Witness, Francisco Cierto.

On the 18th April, 1768: We, Don Manuel Centurion Guerrero

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de Torres, Captain of the Royal Artillery Corps, Commandant-General of this city of Guayana and its province, and Don Andres de Oleaga, sole Royal Accountant therein; in continuation of what we have ordered in the "Auto" made on the 9th of the current month, being in the tribunal of this command, have caused to appear before us Don Francisco Cierto, Captain of the Company of Pioneers, and consequently of the Coast Guard which protects the ports of this said Province, who was admitted upon oath which he made by God our Lord and a sign of the Cross, under obligation whereof he promised to God and the King to tell the truth so far as he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned according to the tenor of the foregoing and above mentioned "Auto," he declared: That the Commandant-General there present having received information that in the Creek called the Creek of Barima, which is close to the great mouth of the River Orinoco and falls into it, sundry Dutch families were established, despatched him with instructions to warn them once, twice and thrice to quit the whole of that territory because it belonged to the said Province, in virtue whereof the Declarant went in his vessel, with another accompanying him, in search of the said Creek, and having arrived at the mouth he saw several Indians of the Carib nation, and these, before the Declarant could reach the establishments and farms of the said foreigners, gave them intelligence, and thereupon they took to flight without giving an opportunity for the notification; and they only found the deserted houses and the effects, implements and utensils contained in the inventory, which they put on board the two vessels and then set fire to the said houses, in order that they should not form settlements in future, and destroyed the farms as far as they possibly could. And this is all that happened, and that he can declare under obligation of the oath which he has made, wherein it is affirmed and ratified, and if necessary he will repeat it, and he is 47 years of age, more or less, and has signed this with us, the Commandant-General and Accountant, and with the Witnesses, with whom we are acting in default of a Notary, on ordinary paper, because stamped paper is not current, whereunto we certify.

Declaration of Second Witness, Manuel Cubas.

On the same day, month, and year [Apr. 18, 1768]: We, the Commandant-General and Accountant, caused to appear in this same tribunal Manuel Cubas, Mariner of the Coastguard Vessel of this Province, in order to take his declaration, whom we admitted upon oath which he made by God our Lord, and a sign of the Cross, under obligation whereof he promised to God and the King to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked; and having been questioned according to the tenor of the foregoing "Auto," he declared: That having gone, as Mariner, down the river in the Coastguard Vessel, under orders of the Captain of the Company of

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Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierto, without any knowledge of whither they were going, upon arriving at the mouth of the Creek of Barima, which falls into the River Orinoco close to the great mouth, they made a stop, and the said Captain told them that on behalf of the Commandant-General present he was under orders to give warning once, twice, and thrice to the foreigners settled in the said Creek to quit it, seeing that it is territory belonging to this said Province, and no stranger is permitted to settle there; and while this took place they saw a body of Carib Indians. who at once gave intelligence to the said foreigners, for when the Declarant and the others reached the place they did not find a single person, but only deserted houses and the implements shown in the Inventory, which implements they took on board, and afterwards set fire to the said houses and likewise destroyed the farms as far as they could; and having performed these duties they returned immediately up the Orinoco and anchored at the Fortress of old Guayana. And this is all that occurred, and that he can declare under obligation of the oath which he has taken, wherein it is affirmed and ratified, and if necessary he will repeat it, and he is about 21 years of age, and has signed it with us, the Commandant-General and Accountant, and the Witnesses with whom we act in default of a Notary, on ordinary paper, because stamped paper is not current, whereunto we certify.

Declaration of Third Witness, Juan Francisco Rodriguez.

On the same day [Apr. 18, 1768], for the certification of that which we have commanded in the foregoing "Auto;" we, the Commandant-General and Accountant, caused to appear in this tribunal Juan Francisco Rodriguez, Seaman of the Coastguard Vessel, who was admitted upon oath which he made by God our Lord and a sign of the Cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth concerning what he might know and might be asked; and upon being questioned according to the tenor of the foregoing "Auto," he said: That as one of the crew of the Coastguard Vessel under the Captain of the Company of Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierto, he went therein down the Orinoco, without knowing whither they were bound, and as soon as they reached the Mouth of Barima, which falls into the said Orinoco close to its great mouth, the said Captain made them a long speech, saying that he was under special orders and instructions from the Commandant-General present to give warning once, twice, and thrice to the foreigners who were settled in the said Creek of Barima, that they should depart immediately, as it was not permitted to establish any Colony in this Province; and being ready to enter the said Creek they saw a canoe of Carib Indians going before them to give intelligence to the said foreigners, who in consequence of the intimation they received completely abandoned their houses and left the implements contained in the inventory; and when the Declarant and

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the others reached the dwellings they did not find anyone, and consequently they only remained a short time in order to take on board the said implements and to set fire to the houses, and directly they had done it they turned and went out of the said Barima into the Orinoco and came to the fortified settlement of old Guayana. And this is all that happened, and that he can declare under obligation of the oath which he has made, wherein it is affirmed and ratified, and if necessary he promises to repeat it, and he is about 25 years of age, and has not signed it because he said that he did not know how to do so; we, the said Commandant-General and Accountant, have signed this, together with the witnesses, with whom we are acting in default of a Notary, whereunto we thus certify.

Declaration of Fourth Witness, Joseph Gregorio Gomes.

And on the same day [Apr. 18, 1768], We, the said Commandant-General and Accountant, did, for the same purpose, cause to appear Joseph Gregorio Gomes, one of the crew of the Coastguard Vessel of this Province, who was admitted upon oath which he made by God our Lord and a sign of the cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth in whatsoever he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned according to the foregoing "Auto," he said: That having gone in the cruiser of this Province under Captain Don Francisco Cierto without knowing whither they were bound, as soon as they approached the mouth of the Creek of Barima, which falls into the River Orinoco, the said Captain ordered them to stop, and making a long speech to the Declarant and the others, told them that, by special command of the Commandant-General present he was to give warning once, twice, and thrice to the foreigners settled within the said Creek of Barima, to quit the whole of that territory; and during this speech they saw a canoe rowed by Carib Indians, which was going up at full speed to give them intelligence, and in consequence of this intimation they all took to flight without leaving a single person; for when they arrived at the dwellings they only found the cabins deserted and the implements left behind, which implements they brougt back, as shown in their inventory inserted in these "Autos"; wherefore they only stayed for the short time necessary to burn the said houses and to put the implements on board, and having performed this duty they returned to the fortified settlement of Guayana. And this is all that occurred, and that he can declare under obligation of the oath which he made, wherein it is affirmed and ratified, and if necessary he promises to repeat it; and he is about 21 years of age, and has not signed it, because he said he did not know how; we, the said Commandant-General and Accountant, have signed it, together with the witnesses with whom we are acting in default of a Notary, on ordinary paper, because stamped paper is not current, whereunto we certify.

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"*Auto.*"

In this City of Guayana on the 19th April, 1768, We: Don Manuel Centurion Guerrero de Torres, Captain of the Royal Artillary Corps and Commandant-General of this Province, and Don Andres de Oleaga, sole Royal Officer therein, proprietor having seen these "Autos" and the result of the four Declarations therein, and whereas the Dutch have unwarrantably sought to take possession of the Territory of Barima, Jurisdiction of this Province, where they had established farms and houses to carry on the exportation of woods and other products in a clandestine manner, for which purpose, according to information received, they had likewise gathered together certain runaway slaves, fugitives from the Provinces of Cumaná and Carácas, to act as pilots, and point out the lawless Spanish subjects who only occupy themselves in carrying on clandestine exportation along the creeks and landing-places which are out of the way and unknown; Wherefore, and also seeing that by various laws, and the most recent "Cedulas" issued by His Majesty, it is forbidden under any pretext whatsoever to suffer or permit foreigners to exercise the freedom of establishing themselves in these dominions by establishing new colonies, considering the importance thereof, and the repeated pragmatic Cedulas which prohibit it, we have had to declare and do declare that the said Dutch by the crime they have committed, and the penalty they have incurred, must forfeit the implements and other things which they were found to possess, and which were brought by the Captain of the Coastguard Vessels, and that they be devoted to the Royal Treasury; therefore we order that their amount of 386 dollars, after deducting the costs, the assessment of which is entrusted to Don Diego Azero, a Resident of this city, be distributed according to Laws No. 11 of Book 8, Title 17, and in view of the Royal Cedula dated in Aranjuez on the 14th June of the year 1764, with the instructions ("demostracion practica") issued out in the year [17]62; and by this "Auto" which we have drawn up, we thus declare and pronounce definitely, signing it together with the witnesses present, on ordinary paper, because stamped paper is not currrent, whereunto we certify.

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No. 397.

Extracts from Report to the Council of the Indies on the State of the Government of Cumana and of the Province of Guayana (circa 1769).

[Translated from Copy printed *in* Strickland (*Rev.* Joseph, *S. J.*). The Boundary Question Between British Guayana and Venezuela, fol. Rome, 1896; Appendix 1, pp. 17–19]

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The Province of Guayana is situated on the other side of the River

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Orinoco. Its boundaries are: On the east all the coast on which are the Dutch Colonies of Esquibon, Berbis, Mesari, Carenten and Surinama; and more to the windward the Cayanne belonging to the French; on the north the banks of the Orinoco, which, dividing the Provinces of Cumaná, Barcelona, Santa Fe, Caracas, Barinas and Popayan, describes a semicircle, returning to the east in the direction of its headwaters in the Lake of Parimas; on the south the dominions of Brazil; the boundaries between these and said Province of Guayana being unknown, as also what the latter contains in the interior.

This Province has for its Capital Santo Thomé de Guayana. Its climate is warm. It is situated on the margin of the Orinoco at the narrowest part of this river, whose width here is a quarter of a league, its depth being from 70 to 80 fathoms. The soil is not very fertile. It has several fortresses, namely, the Castle of San Diego and San Francisco, and a neighboring hill fort Padastro, and opposite that of San Fernando which is not yet finished. In this city and its fortifications the King maintains a Captain Commandant, a Lieutenant, 2 subaltern officers, a Chaplain and a Surgeon, and 77 soldiers; and the expense made by the King every year with these troops amounts to 13,994 *pesetas* which sum is remitted by the Royal Houses of Santa Fe. There is in addition a company of militia, consisting of 58 men, who receive no pay except when they are on active duty.

The population of this city, including the troops, is 540 souls. For their supply of victuals they have 20 plantations under cultivation which provides the requisite food.

The Rear Admiral Don Joseph Iturriaga, founded two cities further up than Guayana; of these one is called Real Corona and the other Cindad Real. He settled these cities with poor people from the Viceroyship of Santa Fe and Province of Caracas; and his Majesty endowed them with horned cattle, mares, horses and implements for tilling the field. Their condition is not known since the death of their founder.

The principal villages in this Province are those founded by the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers who are established in that part of Guayana entitled to have Missions, and they have 16 important villages with abundance of provisions, due to the fertility of the soil and the great number of streams that wash them.

There are 15 Friars who are assisted by the King with a yearly contribution of 150 *pesetas*, paid them through the Royal Houses of Caracas. These Missions own a ranch having from 15 to 16,000 head of cattle from which they supply the Friars and Indians every week with the meat required for their subsistence. The cattle in this part of the country are generally the largest in all the Orinoco, and their hides are as heavy and large as those of Buenos Ayres, and some of them even larger. The

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Indians raise cotton, sugar-cane and other products with which they supply some villages on the other side of the Orinoco.

* * * * * *

The way the Missionaries have for gathering the heathen, is to arm their lay brothers, who, led by the Captain of the squad and the Missionary, march to the place where the Cacique or Chief of the savages, is to be found. Upon meeting him, the Missionary has a parley with him, and offers to give him lands wherein to establish a village, together with implements for cultivating the soil, and also to teach them the use of hooks and fishing tackle, and to supply them with cattle for a ranch. As a rule the Indians are satisfied, and being brought to the villages already subdued, they are instructed in the Christian religion and how to take out from the earth everything that is necessary to support life.

In this manner all the large Provinces of America have been formed, and the Indians in care of these Friars are the best for cultivating the fields, the products of which command suitable prices.

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On these margins of the Orinoco there are four other Missions, namely, Encaramada, Vruana, Carichana and Raudal with from 1,400 to 1,500 souls. The King maintains there a Captain with a salary of 995 *pesetas*, and 48 soldiers each of whom receives the pay of 132 pesetas. Since this post was established the Carib Indians have been restrained, who formerly were wont to insult the villages situated on the banks of that River.

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No. 398.

Certificate by Andres de Oleaga, Royal Accountant in Guayana, of Seizures, 1767-1769, by Spanish Officials, January 28, 1769.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 3, pp. 205-207.]

Don Andres de Oleaga, Official Royal Accountant of this city of Guayana and its Province for His Majesty (whom God preserve), etc.

I certify in the best manner I can, for whatever purpose, and before the Señores that may see it, how, after the arrival of Señor Don Manuel Centurion, Captain of the Royal Corps of Artillery, and Commandant General of this said Province, pursuant to his great energy and zeal in the Royal service, the following confiscations and seizures were made: On the twenty-seventh of January of the past year of seventeen hundred and sixty-seven, in a closed port of the Presidio of old Guayana, a launch coming from Esquivo, Dutch Colony, with two slaves and cargo of *Taphia* rum and merchandise, from Don Vicente Franco. On the sixth of March of said year, at the same Presidio, various goods from Bernardo

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Montes, who was coming from the same Colony in a felucca. On the eleventh of April of the said year, on the land within the said Presidio, four mules loaded with different kinds of foreign clothing, without permit or license. On the twenty-second of said month and year, above the port of this city, different articles, without permit or license, from Lorenzo Yeguas. On June sixteenth of the said year, at the Presidio aforesaid of old Guayana, sixteen kegs of brandy, from Master Gaspar Vidal, who was introducing them clandestinely and left them buried on an islet in the Orinoco. On September twenty-eighth of the same year, at the port of Piacoa, below the aforesaid Presidio, a canoe laden with Dutch goods from Esquibo, from Pedro Sanchez.

And by the Sergeant of the Company of Pioneers, Ciprian Maiorga, with the pirogue he commanded, one of the Orinoco canoes from the aliens engaged in the clandestine extraction of mules, horses, cattle and other products, through the Guarapiche and Theresen rivers, which empty in the interior of the Golpho Triste de la Paria. An English sloop named the *Senillana;* a Spanish schooner, the *Esperanza;* two launches, also Spanish; an English boat with four lately-imported negroes, some animals, and different foreign articles, besides (in the same campaign and before returning to this city) a French schooner named *Maria Louisa*, with two newly-imported negroes; two barrels, one of claret and the other of *Taphia* rum, and ten *arrobas* (250 lbs.) of *chinchorro* thread; and, also, on the same occasion, in company with the cruiser armed at the Island of Trinidad, a French sloop and schooner with various goods and newly-imported negroes, of which, after deducting all expenses and the sixth part, which the officials retained, they delivered to him the half, which amounts to seventeen hundred and ninety-two *pesos*, twenty-four *maravedis*, which brought in this place two-thousand and eighty-five *pesos*, three *reals*, one and two-fourths *maravedis*. Which seizures were declared to be legal and belonging to His Majesty on March twenty-sixth, April thirtieth, and July twenty-ninth of last year—seventeen hundred and sixty-eight.

And besides the confiscations and seizures mentioned, I also declare that the Captain of the Company of Orinoco Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierto, with the two cruising launches of this river, sent by the said Señor Don Manuel Centurion, arrested the foreigners that were established on the Barima Channel, jurisdiction of the same Province, two boats and several tools and agricultural implements, which, in an edict issued on the nineteenth of April of the said last year, sixty-eight, were also declared confiscated, and all are recorded in this Royal Accountant's office in ten edicts, and therein the total value of seven thousand *pesos*, one *real*, five and two-fourths *maravedis*, of which, in the way of Royal duties, His Majesty received two thousand seven hundred and ninety-five *pesos*, seven *reals*, thirty-three *maravedis*. And, lastly, the

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said Captain, from the thirteenth day of October of last year to date, with the said cruising launches under his command, and sent by the aforesaid Commandant General of Orinoco, has seized on the said Guarapiche and Theresen rivers a Spanish launch with twelve heifers, an English sloop with eighty mules, six horses, and five negroes, two *columpos*, or large sloops, one English and the other French, three English schooners, one small Bermuda sloop, of the same nation, one Spanish launch, with seven horses, some goods and implements, against which proceedings are now pending.

And in order that it may go on record, at the verbal request of the said Commandant General, Don Manuel Centurion, I issue this for all the legal and necessary effects.

Done in this Royal Accountant's office of Guayana, on the twenty-eighth day of January, of the year seventeen hundred and sixty-nine.

No. 399.

Certificate of Capuchin Fathers as to a visit by them to the Moruca; February 28, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No 8, p. 163.]

WE, the Undersigned, certify, as by mandate of our Superior and permission of the Honourable Commandant-General of the River Oronoque, Don Manuel Centurion, that we have passed into Maruca in search of the Indians belonging to the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia, and by authority of the Fathers we give these presents the 28th day of February, 1769.

On behalf of the above-mentioned Fathers, we sign it.

BRO. F. DE CARRADIAC.
BRO. JPH A. DE CERVERA.

No. 400.

Extract from letter from Fray Benito de la Garriga, Prefect of the Capuchin Missions of the Lower Orinoco, to the King of Spain, exculpating himself for having sent Missionaries under his charge to take Indians from Point Barima and the Rivers Wayne and Moruca; July 6, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 117-118.]

Fray Benito de la Garriga, Prefect of the Missions of the Capuchins, of Catalonia, of the Province of Guayana, most humbly and reverently, and with profound respect, represents and makes known to your Majesty that some Aruaca and Guarauno Indians, having fled from our Missions of

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Piacoa and San Joaquin, I sent two missionaries of our religious to collect them; and they went with an escort of soldiers and a launch, together with some other assistance, which your Commandant-General, Don Manuel Centurion, gave me, as he is accustomed to do.

They entered from the Orinoco by the Barima to the savannah which extends between the Rivers Wayne and Moruca, and which, as I understand, is territory of the jurisdiction of this province.

The missionaries there collected 140 Indians, besides some wild men of the said villages, and other Gentiles. And they found in the power of the Dutchman, living in the post of Moruca, three Indians with their children, whom he had enslaved and taken from the mouths of the Orinoco, as they explained to us, and from the River Maseruni. These the religious took away, together with others above mentioned, without violence or causing any injury to the Dutch.

And now the Governor of Essequibo finds in this a motive for complaining of your Commandant-General, charging him with the infraction of Treaties, outrages, and offences, being indignant because the same Commandant-General should have dislodged the people which he had surreptitiously in Barima last year.

The Commandant has replied to him, and among other things has said that the religious did not go by his orders, but by those of their Prefect, as is quite true, although they (the religious) did not act well in mistakingly giving to the Dutchman of the post a certificate ("papelito"), in which they stated that they were sent by order of the abovenamed Commandant, when it was by my order.

I am sure that I would not have complied with my obligations and the duty of my office if I had not sent the said religious on that commission, and as to what they have done in bringing the Indians to the Mission, I consider it is very lawful in my judgment.

And if the said Governor, without any reason, complains, I declare, for the reasons that I here give, that during the twenty-two years of my missionary office I have seen, and long beforehand, and in all the three chapters of the prefecture I hold, that the Dutch always have compelled me to be very vigilant, like my predecessors, to prevent the injuries they cause to our Missions.

The practice of those foreigners is now, as always, to penetrate to the interior of this province in order to kidnap and enslave Indians, your Majesty's vassals, and take them to their colony; their practice is as common as it is authorized by the Governor of Essequibo, and thus I understand it from the licences and passports which the said Governor gives, under his own hand, to the persons leaving the Colony for this traffic of enslaving Indians, until, without respect, they enter our Missions.

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No. 401.

Complaint of Minister from Holland, referred to Manuel Centurion, Commandant of Guayana, for report, September 23, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 280–281.]

The Minister of Holland has presented a note complaining of the proceedings of the Spaniards established on the Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo, as stated in detail in the annexed paper. By order of the King I send you this document in order that, in view thereof, you may, with all possible despatch, and with all the necessary proofs, report what may have occurred in reference to the acts mentioned therein, and what may suggest itself to you on the subject for the information of His Majesty.

May God preserve you many years!

No. 402.

Indorsements on file of Papers relating to Complaints by Dutch Minister, showing action taken and reference to the Fiscal for report, October 25, 1769.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 314.]

FOR THE COUNCIL:

"Expediente" called for by the Dutch Minister, wishing to allege right and dominion in the Colony of Essequibo and fishery in that part of the River Orinoco, and that your Majesty's subjects trouble and unjustly disturb it.

The Señor Fiscal, in the inclosed answer of the 6th of the present month, August, requests that the whole affair may be handed over to some persons chosen by the Council to draw up a detailed report of it, and an abstract of all the previous papers, and whatever there may be thereto relating at the present day, and let the whole be returned to him for his opinion thereon.

Reply of the Fiscal of the 17th October, in which he says to deal with the "Expediente" in reference to the representation of the Dutch Minister, alleging the right of fishing in the Orinoco (upon which affair His Majesty has commanded to be informed), there are wanting documents, and requests that a search be made in the correspondence division (Secretaria) of New Spain, or, failing that, in the "Via Reservada."

NOTE.—Having made a search in the "Secretaria" referred to for the papers mentioned in the reply of the Fiscal, the only ones found are those relating to the [official] visit of the Province of Cumaná, drawn up by the Governor, Don Joseph Diguja, in 1761, the map which accompanied this Report being in the Council Chamber, by virtue of their command.

To the Fiscal for report.

Council, October 25, 1769.

No. 403.

Judicial Proceedings in 1770, resulting from the Complaints by the Minister from Holland.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 280.]

Year 1770. Judicial proceedings instituted in the Tribunal of the Commandant of Guayana concerning the affairs in the matter of the complaint made by the Minister of the Republic of Holland to the King our Sovereign in regard to the proceedings of the Spaniards of Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo.

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No. 404.

Order of Manuel Centurion, Commandant of Guiana, that Complaint by Holland be Judicially Investigated and Reported on; March 24, 1770.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 281.]

In the City of Guayana, on the 24th of March, 1770, I, Don Manuel Centurion, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry and Commandant General of Orinoco and of the Province of Guayana, together with judicial witnesses in default of a notary; declare that for the more exact and punctual fulfilment of the Royal Order, which, under date of the 23rd of September last, His Excellency Friar Don Julian de Ariaga, Knight of Malta, communicated to me, together with a copy of another, extracted from the Book of Resolutions of their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, presented by the Minister of Holland, complaining of the proceedings of the Spaniards established on the Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo, in respect whereof His Excellency directs me, by order of the King, to report with all possible despatch and with all necessary proofs what may have occurred in reference to the acts mentioned therein, and what may suggest itself to me on the subject for the information of His Majesty; therefore I must order, and do order, that, placing at the head of these papers the said Royal Order and the document sent with it, there be drawn up and made in this tribunal a judicial report of the acts which the annexed note of the States-General recites in detail: and that for this purpose the most creditable and truthful witnesses who may be found to have knowledge of the said acts in this city and its environs do make formal depositions upon oath. Thus I have decreed, ordered, and signed together with the undersigned witnesses, whereunto we certify.

No. 405.

Extracts from Deposition of Friar Benito de la Garriga, ex-Prefect of the Catalan Capuchin Mission of Guayana, as to the Complaint of the Minister from Holland; March 24, 1770.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 187–192.]

On the same day, month, and year [Mar. 24, 1770], in order to carry out the investigation to be instituted, in compliance with the above rule the Tribunal had before it the Reverend Father ex-Prefect of the Catalan Capuchin Mission of Guayana, Fr. Benito de la Garriga, to whom the Commander-General administered the oath in legal form, *tacto pectore in verbo sacerdotis*, and promised to tell the truth of everything that he knew and was interrogated, and having been examined by the tenor of the above paper, presented by the Minister of Holland and inserted in folios 1 to 6 of this proceeding, which was read to him literally, he said:

That the Hollanders are not nor have ever been in possession of the rivers or rivulets emptying into the sea, from Esquivo exclusive down to the mouth of Orinoco; that they had been only tolerated, on that side, to have a small guard of two Europeans and a few Indians at a Barrack called the Post, on the eastern margin of the Moruca river, called by the Hollanders Maroco; that this establisment is not of "an almost immemorial time," because none of the Colony is so, for we know that said Colony commenced to exist towards the year sixteen hundred and fifty-nine. That it is not true that the Hollanders had had, nor have now possession of the Cuyuni river (called by them Cayoeny), because when they established a guard and Barrack, like that of Maruca, in the year seventeen hundred and forty seven (1747), to facilitate the inhuman traffic and capture of Indians, whom they surreptitiously enslaved, within the dominions of the King our Lord, for the culture of the plantations and improvement of their Colony, as soon as it came to our knowledge, in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-seven (1757), they were dislodged from there, so that neither in the Cuyuni, Maserony, Apanony nor any other rivers emptying into the Esquivo, have the Hollanders any possession; nor could it be tolerated that they should have it, because those rivers embrace almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana in their course from their western termini, where their headwaters originate, down to the eastern limit emptying into the Esquivo river. From that fancied possession it should result that the Hollanders would be the owners of the extensive Province of Guayana and that we, the Spaniards, had no more part of it than the said margin of Orinoco which is an absurdity.

That they are merely tolerated on the banks of the Esquivo river, running from southeast to northwest, almost parallel with the ocean coast, the eastern terminus of this Province of Guayana, the interior of which is left free to the Spaniards, their lawful possessors.

That he does not know, nor ever heard that the Spaniards have built any stronghold on the Cuyuni river nor in its vicinity, with a few nor

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many troops, but he suspects that Mr. de Gravesand may have imagined to be so the two Missions or Indian settlements founded by the Catalan Capuchin Fathers in the years seventeen hundred and fifty-seven and seventeen hundred and sixty, one of them on the northern margin of the Yuruari river, a tributary of the Cuyuni, seventy leagues distant from the Dutch Barrack, which was destroyed.

That the reason he has to think so is because there is no other establishment in that vicinity and in that direction.

That although there are no more troops than one soldier in each one of said settlements as an escort to the Missionaries, the Caribs, whom Mr. Gravesand seems to believe, as he states in his report, may have deceived him with this story as well as several others which abound in his nonsensical report.

That it is true that in February of last year the witness, as Prefect and Superior of the Missions, allowed permission to the Reverend Fathers Fr. Josef Antonio Cervera and Fr. Felix de Tarraga to go down to the mouth of Orinoco and the Barima rivers to gather the fugitive and wild Aruaca and Guarauno Indian deserters from the Missions, under their charge; that these Reverend Fathers, with the launch and escort which carried them, found their dispersed Indians between Guayne and Moruca, and while gathering them they reached a Post where there was a Hollander who had three Indian women with their children whom he had enslaved and taken from the mouth of Orinoco, as said women reported to the Fathers, who delivered them to the Missions, without offering any violence nor harm whatever to the Hollanders.

That in regard to the Post and commercial house that Gravesand supposes to have been possessed by the Dutch Company, between Guayne and Powaron, the deponent does not know anything, nor has he heard of such an establishment.

That he has not heard of the death of the Corporal of the Arinda barrack towards the source of the Esquivo, nor even of the existence of the same.

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That the deponent has never seen nor heard that the Hollanders had any fisheries at the mouth of the Orinoco, nor that the Spaniards had to stop them; that he does not understand that the Hollanders want any such fisheries at the mouth of the Orinoco, because they have plenty of fish much nearer to Esquivo; that the Most Reverend Father is persuaded that now, under pretext of fisheries, they want to establish themselves freely with their vessels on the mouth of the Orinoco, to re-establish and facilitate the furtive shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guaruapo, and Barinas tobacco, hides, and other products of the Spanish Provinces, which improved considerably their colony when the Orinoco and its creeks were not guarded as they are now.

This novelty and the want of commerce is the true cause of the de-

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cadence of Esquivo and the resentment of Mr. de Gravesand, the first merchant, and always the most interested in the illicit commerce of the colony.

That the statement is equally false that said fisheries had been stopped likewise by the Spaniards on the territory of what Gravesand calls of his State, extending the same to the river Mareguine, down to this side of the Guayne, very near the mouth of the Orinoco; said supposition the deponent calls an intolerable error.

That in regard to the slaves, deserters from Esquivo, the deponent says that there are two kinds, one of negroes purchased in Africa, and the other of Indians taken by the Hollanders cruelly and unduly, by means of the Caribs their allies, from our dominions, through the rivers Moruca and Guayne, emptying their waters into the sea, and in communication with Orinoco, or else through the rivers Cuyuni, Maserony, Apanony, and others running through the innermost territory of this Province and emptying into the Esquivo; that in regard to the retention of the latter, the reason is plain, because being the vassals of the King and criminally enslaved by the Hollanders, who keep this inhuman commerce with the Caribs, against every law, we could not and we ought not to return them to slavery, whenever they are happy enough to elude it, and return to enjoy the protection of the ministers of their lawful Lord and Sovereign.

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That neither the Indians nor the fugitive negroes from Esquivo have ever been induced by the Spaniards to run away, so far as he knows, nor is it likely that they would attempt to do so.

That it is true that the Colony of Esquivo is being apparently ruined, from the time when the doors have been closed to it for the illicit trade they used to carry on with Orinoco, and the Poytos or Indian slaves have found the way to become free, when they escape from said Colony.

He finally deposes that it is absolutely false that the Spaniards may have killed the Dutch Guardman or Guardmen, or attacked any other Post than that of the Cuyuni, in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-eight, when only one man was killed, and that was a Spanish soldier; and he adds, that in twenty-three years, during which he has been an Apostolic Missionary in this Province, having been Prefect three times, his long experience has shown him that it is on account of the suggestions of the Esquivo Hollanders, and their detestable commerce in Poytos, that the whole of the Caribs have not been already settled in our Missions, as well as many other savage tribes, and that said Caribs, under the advice of the Hollanders, work continually in the destruction of the new settlements, through various means, burning them as they did in seventeen hundred and fifty, attacking them by open force, or making them revolt by using diabolical arts, so that during the time deponent has been kept working on these Missions, the Hollanders united with the Caribs have destroyed seven settlements already organized, as may be seen by the legal

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investigation instituted on the subject, without counting those settlements under the Jesuit Missionaries, which they burned and destroyed, when they killed many Reverend Fathers.

That the above statements are the truth under the oath that he has taken; and that he ratifies and affirms the same, and will do it again if necessary, and that he is fifty-eight years old.

Having read his deposition, he said that it is the same that he had stated, and that it is well and faithfully written, and has nothing to add or withdraw from the same, and signs it with the Commander General, and ourselves the witnesses of the act, certifying to the same.

DON MANUEL CENTURION—[here is a flourish].
FR. BENITO DE LA GARRIGA,
ex-Prefect—[here is a flourish].
DIEGO IGNACIO MARIÑO—[here is a flourish].
ESTEVAN MARTINEZ—[here is a flourish].

[To the same effect are the depositions of various other witnesses, which, to avoid repetition, are not printed.]

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Deposition made March 24, 1770, by Thomas de San Pedro, Capuchin monk, as to Complaints by the Dutch Minister.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 283-284.]

On the said day, month, and year [Mar. 24, 1770], in order to continue the report ordered to be drawn up in the foregoing papers, there appeared in this tribunal the Reverend Father Friar Thomas de San Pedro, Capuchin monk, and missionary in this Province of Guayana, whom the Señor Commandant-General admittted upon oath which his Reverence took according to law, by God our Lord, *tacto pectore in verbo sacerdotis*, and promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked: And being interrogated according to the tenor of said note presented by the Minister of Holland, which runs from leaves 1 to 6 of these papers, and, for his better understanding, it having been read to him word for word, he declared: That the Dutch are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers or creeks which drain into the sea from the Essequibo, exclusively, up to the mouth of the Orinoco: That they have only been permitted to have in that part, a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians in a barrack which they call the Post, on the eastern bank of the River Moruca which the Dutch call Moroco; and that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because the whole of the Colony is not so, and we know that it began in the year [1]659: That it is untrue that the Dutch have held or do hold possession of the River Cuyuni (called by them Cayoeny), for, having established

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thereon a guard and barrack like that of Moruca in the year [1]747, to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians, whom they enslave surreptitiously in the dominions of the King our Lord, for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the Colony, directly it came to our notice in the year [1]757, they were dislodged therefrom, and so neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, nor the other rivers which disembogue in Essequibo do the Dutch hold any possession, nor is it permissible that they should hold it, for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession that the Dutch were owners of all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity: That the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the River Essequibo, which runs from S. E. to N. E. [? N. W.] almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern extremity of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors: That the declarant does not know, nor has ever heard, that the Spaniards have built a fort on the Cuyuni or in its vicinity, with many or few troops; but that he is persuaded that Mr. de Gravesand has taken for such the two Missions or villages of Indians, which the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers founded in the years [1]757 and [1]761 on the northern bank of the River Yuruari, a tributary of the Cuyuni, and at the distance of 70 leagues from the demolished Dutch barrack, and that his reason for believing this to be the case is that we have no other establishments in that part, and that although in the said villages there are no more troops than one soldier in each, as escort for the missionary, the Caribs, to whom Mr. de Gravesand gives easy credence, as shown in his report, must have deceived him with this tale just as it appears from others with which he has filled his extravagant report: That it is a fact that in February of last year the Reverend Father Prefect of the Missions gave permission to the Reverend Fathers Friar Joseph Antonio de Zervera and Friar Felix de Tarraga to go down to the mouths of the Orinoco and River Barima to fetch back the Aruaca and Guarauno runaways or deserters from the Missions under our charge, and these Religious, with the boat and escort which conveyed them, finding their Indians scattered between Guayne and Moruca, took them and arrived at the post, where there was a Dutchman who had three Indian women with their children, whom he had enslaved and seized from the mouths of the Orinoco, as they declared to the Fathers, and the latter brought them to the Missions, but without violence or doing any damage to the Dutch. And that as regards the post and commercial establishment which Gravesand supposes the Dutch Company held between Guayne and Powaron, the declarant neither knows, nor has heard speak, of such establishment:

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That the declarant has never seen, or heard say, that the Dutch have conducted a fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, nor that the Spaniards have found it necessary to put a stop to it: neither does he perceive that the Dutch have any necessity for such fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, seeing that they have places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo; and that the most Reverend Father is persuaded that at the present time, under pretext of fishing, they wish to establish themselves freely with their boats in the mouths of the Orinoco, to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guaruapo, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their Colony considerably when the Orinoco, with its creeks, was not so well guarded as now; which new measure and want of commerce is the real cause of the decay of Essequibo and of the resentment of Mr. de Gravesand, the chief trader and always the most interested in the illicit commerce of the Colony: That it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards from carrying on the said fishing in the territory which Gravesand calls territory of the State itself, which, he says, extends from the River Mareguiñe up to this side of the River Guayne, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says, is an insufferable error: With respect to the slaves who have deserted from Essequibo, the declarant says that they are of two races, either negroes purchased from Africa or Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be seized, by the Caribs their allies, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne, which run into the sea and communicate with the Orinoco, or along the Rivers Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanony, and others which run through the further interior of this Province and discharge themselves into the Essequibo: That if there is any question about our retention of these, our reason for it is clear; for being subjects of the King criminally enslaved by the Dutch, who maintain this inhuman traffic with the Caribs contrary to all law, we cannot and must not restore them to slavery when they have the good fortune to escape it by again availing themselves of the protection of the officers of their legitimate Lord and Sovereign: If the negroes are in question, the declarant says that Señor Gravesand is wanting in truthfulness; for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, although their owners, Don Thomas Franquis and Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back and have not obtained any satisfaction; several times when Gravesand has here claimed deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana, and the money produced taken to Essequibo, excepting only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic Religion, for these have been declared free according to the King's command: and that the declarant

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does not know that either the Indians or negroes, fugitives from Essequibo, have been induced to escape by the Spaniards, nor does it seem to him likely that any one has engaged in such actions: That it is a fact that the Colony of Essequibo is going visibly to its ruin since the gate has been closed for the illicit traffic which it previously carried on in Orinoco, and the poitos or slaves have found that of their liberty open, so that they can escape thence; and, finally, he says that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs except that of the Cuyuni in 1758, in which action only one man died, and he was a soldier of the Spaniards; and he adds that he has been for 23 years Apostolic Missionary in this Province, with which experience he can and ought to say that the manœuvres of the Dutch of Essequibo, and their detestable traffic in poitos, is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not yet been settled, and why they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them as they did in 1650 [?1750]: at another attacking them by main force, and at another raising rebellion by diabolic craft and policy. In such wise that in the period alone in which the declarant has worked in these Missions, the Dutch, together with the Caribs, have destroyed, as may be seen in the "Autos" of the matter, seven of our established villages, without counting those which they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit Missionaries and to the Observants, likewise killing many Religious; and that what he has declared is the truth under obligation of the oath which he has taken. That he ratifies and affirms what is therein, and if necessary will repeat it; that he is 53 years of age: and having read this his Declaration he said that it is the same which he made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has signed it with the said Commandant-General and us the judicial witnesses whereof we certify.

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Deposition, made March 26, 1770, by Josef Antonio de Zervera, Capuchin monk, as to Complaints by the Dutch Minister.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 284–286.]

On the 26th day of the said month and year [Mar., 1770], in order to continue the report ordered to be drawn up in the foregoing "Auto," there appeared in this tribunal the Reverend Father Friar Josef Antonio de Zervera, Capuchin Monk and Missionary in the Province of Guayana, whom the Señor Commandant-General admitted upon oath which his Reverend Paternity took according to law, by God our Lord, *tacto pectore in verbo sacerdotis*, and promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked;

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and being interrogated according to the tenor of the said note presented by the Minister of Holland, which runs from folios 1 to 6 of these "Autos," and, for his better understanding, it having been read to him word for word, he declared: That the Dutch are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers or creeks which drain into the sea from the Essequibo exclusively up to the mouth of the Orinoco: That they have only been permitted to have in that part a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians in a barrack which they call the post on the eastern bank of the River Moruca, which the Dutch call Maroco; and that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because the whole of the Colony is not so, and we know that it began in the year [1]659: that it is untrue that the Dutch have held, or do hold, possession of the River Cuyuni (called by them Cayoeny), for, having established thereon a guard and barrack, like that of Moruco, in the year [1]747, to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians, whom they enslave surreptitiously in the dominions of the King our Lord, for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the Colony, directly it came to the notice of the Spaniards, in the year [1]757, they were dislodged therefrom, and so neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanony nor the other rivers which empty in Essequibo, do the Dutch hold any possession, nor is it permissible that they should hold it, for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana, running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession that the Dutch were owners of almost all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity: That the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the River Essequibo, which runs from S. E. to N. E. [? N. W.] almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern extremity of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors: That the declarant does not know, nor has he ever heard, that the Spaniards have built a fort in the Cuyuni nor in its neighbourhood, with many or few soldiers; but he is pursuaded that Mr. Gravesand has imagined as such the two Missions or villages of Indians that the Catalonian Capuchins founded, in [1]761, on the north bank of the River Yuruari, an affluent of the Cuyuni, and at a distance of 70 leagues from the destroyed Post of the Dutch and that the foundation which he has for thus believing is that we have no other establishments in that part, and that although in the said villages there are no more troops than one soldier in each as escort for the Missionary, the Caribs, to whom Mr. de Gravesand gives easy credence, as shown in his report, must have deceived him with this tale, just as it appears from others with which he has filled his extravagant report. That it is a fact that in February of last year the Reverend Father Prefect of the Missions gave permission to the Reverend Father Friar Felix de Tarraga and the declarant to go down to

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the mouths of the Orinoco and River Barima to fetch back the Aruaca and Guarauno runaways or deserters from the Missions under his charge, and that with the boat and escort which conveyed them, finding the said Indians scattered between Guayne and Moruca, they took them and arrived at the post, where there was a Dutchman who had three Indian women with their children whom he had enslaved and seized from the mouths of the Orinoco, as they stated, and they took them to the Missions without violence or doing any damage to the Dutch; but, on the other hand, to gratify the Dutchman, the Chief of the said post, who knelt down and, with tears, asked the declarant and the Monk his companion for love of God to give him a certificate for his exculpation, with which to satisfy the Governor of Essequibo; the declarant and his companion, without perceiving the craftiness of this pretension, took pity on him and gave him such a full certificate that they went too far in saying therein that they had a permit from the Señor Commandant General of Orinoco and Guayana to enter as far as that spot, which was not the case; for the passport held by the master of the boat which conveyed them was expressly for the mouths of the Orinoco, and beyond it they had no further permission nor other orders beyond those of their Prelate; and that as regards the Post and commercial establishment which Gravesand supposes the Dutch Company held between Guayne and Povaron the declarant neither knows nor has heard speak of such establishment.

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That the declarant has never seen, or heard say, that the Dutch have conducted a fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, nor that the Spaniards have found it necessary to put a stop to it, neither does he perceive that the Dutch have any necessity for such fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, seeing that they have places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo; and that the most Reverend Father is persuaded that at the present time, under pretext of fishing, they wish to establish themselves freely, with their boats, in the mouths of the Orinoco to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guaruapo, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their Colony considerably when the Orinoco, with its creeks, was not so well guarded as now; which new measure and want of commerce is the real cause of the decay of Essequibo and of the resentment of Mr. de Gravesand, the chief trader, and always the most interested in the illicit trade of the Colony: That it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards from carrying on the said fishing in the territory which Gravesand calls territory of the State itself, which, he says, extends from the River Mareguiñe up to this side of the Guaine, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says is an insufferable error: With respect to the slaves who have deserted from Essequibo, the declarant says they are of two races, either negroes purchased from Africa or

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Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be siezed, by the Caribs their allies, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne, which run into the sea and communicate with the Orinoco, and along the Rivers Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, and others which run through the further interior of this Province and disembogue in Essequibo: That if there is any question about our retention of these, our reason for it is clear; for being subjects of the King criminally enslaved by the Dutch, who maintain this inhuman traffic with the Caribs contrary to all law, we cannot and must not restore them to slavery when they have the good fortune to escape it by again availing themselves of the protection of the Ministers of their legitimate Lord and Sovereign: If the negroes are in question, the declarant says that Señor Gravesand is wanting in truthfulness, for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, although their owners, Don Thomas Franquis and Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back and have not obtained any satisfaction; several times when Gravesand has here claimed restitution of the deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana, and the money produced taken to Essequibo, excepting only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic Religion, for these have been declared free according to the King's command: and that the declarant does not know that either the Indians or negroes, fugitives from Essequibo, have been induced to escape by the Spaniards, nor does it seem to him likely that anyone has engaged in such actions: That it is a fact that the Colony of Essequibo is going visibly to its ruin since the door has been closed for the illicit traffic which it previously carried on in Orinoco, and the poitos or slaves have found that of their liberty open, so that they can escape thence: and, finally, he says that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs except that of the Cuyuni in 1758, in which action only one man died, and he was a soldier of the Spaniards: and he adds that he has been for nine years Apostolic Missionary in this Province, with which experience he can and ought to say that the manœuvres of the Dutch of Essequibo, and their detestable traffic in poitos, is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not yet been settled, and why they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them as they did in 1750: at another attacking them by main force, and at another carrying them off by diabolic craft and policy: in suchwise that in the period alone in which the Religious brethren of the declarant have worked in these Missions, the Dutch, together with the Caribs, have destroyed, as may be seen in the "Autos" of the matter, seven of our established villages, without counting those which they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit Missionaries and to the Observants, likewise killing many

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Religious. And what he has declared is from his own knowledge and from what he has heard from the Reverend Fathers and the senior Missionaries and other persons of the highest credit, and in this belief and assurance the declarant states it under obligation of the oath which he has taken: that he ratifies and affirms what is therein, and if necessary will repeat it; that he is 49 years of age, and this his declaration having been read to him, he said: That it is the same which he made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has signed it with the said Commandant-General and us the judicial witnesses whereof we certify.

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Deposition, made March 26, 1770, by Felix de Tarraga, Capuchin monk, as to Complaints by the Dutch Minister.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 286–288.]

On the said day, month, and year [Mar. 26, 1770], in order to continue the report ordered to be drawn up in the foregoing "Auto," there appeared in this tribunal the Reverend Father Friar Felix de Tarraga, Cupuchin Monk and Missionary in this Province of Guayana, whom the Señor Commandant-General admitted upon oath which his Reverence took according to law by God our Lord, *tacto pectore in verbo sacerdotis*, and promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked: And being asked according to the tenor of the said note presented by the Minister of Holland, which runs from folios 1 to 6 of these "Autos," and for his better understanding, it having been read to him word for word, he declared: That the Dutch are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers or rivulets which drain into the sea from the Essequibo, exclusively, up to the mouth of the Orinoco: That they have only been permitted to have in that part a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians, in a barrack which they call the Post, on the eastern bank of the River Moruca, which the Dutch call Moroco; and that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because the whole of the Colony is not so, and we know that it began in the year [1]659: That it is untrue that the Dutch have held, or do hold, possession of the River Cuyuni (called by them Cayoeny), for having established thereon a guard and barrack like that of Moruca in the year [1]747 to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians, whom they enslave surreptitiously in the dominions of the King our Lord, for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the Colony, directly it came to the notice of the Spaniards, in the year [1]757, they were dislodged therefrom; and so, neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanony, nor the other rivers which disembogue in Essequibo, do the Dutch hold any possession, nor is it permissible that they should hold it for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of

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Guayana, running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession that the Dutch were owners of almost all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity: That the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the River Essequibo, which runs from S.E. to N.W. almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern extremity of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors: That the declarant does not know, nor has he ever heard, that the Spaniards have built a fort in the Cuyuni nor in its neighbourhood with many or few troops; but he is persuaded that Mr. de Gravesand has imagined as such the two Missions or villages of Indians that the Catalonian Capuchins founded in [1]757 and [1]771, on the north bank of the River Yuruari, an affluent of the Cuyuni, and at a distance of 70 leagues from the destroyed post of the Dutch; and that the foundation he has for thus believing is that we have no other establishments in that part, and that although in the said villages there are no more troops than one soldier in each, as escort for the Missionary, the Caribs, to whom Mr. de Gravesand gives easy credence, as shown in his report, must have deceived him with this tale, just as it appears from others with which he has filled his absurd report: That it is a fact that in February of last year the Reverend Father Prefect of the Missions gave permission to the Reverend Father Friar Josef Antonio de Zervera and the declarant to go down to the mouths of the Orinoco and River Barima to fetch back the Aruaca and Guarauno, runaways or deserters from the Missions under his charge, and that with the boat and escort which conveyed them, finding the said Indians scattered between Guayne and Moruca, they took them and arrived at the post, where there was a Dutchman who had three Indian women with their children, whom he had enslaved and seized from the mouths of the Orinoco, as they stated, and they took them to the Missions without violence or doing any damage to the Dutch. But, on the other hand, to gratify the Dutchman, the Chief of the said Post, who knelt down and, with tears, asked the declarant and the monk, his companion, for love of God to give him a certificate for his exculpation, with which to satisfy the Governor of Essequibo, the declarant and his companion, without perceiving the craftiness of this pretension, took pity on him and gave him such a full certificate that they went too far in saying therein that they had a permit from the Governor and Commandant-General of Orinoco and Guayana to enter as far as that spot, which was not the case; for the passport held by the master of the boat which conveyed them was expressly for the mouths of the Orinoco, and beyond it they had no further permission nor other orders beyond those of their Prelate.

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That the declarant has never seen or heard say that the Dutch have conducted a fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, nor that the Spaniards have found it necessary to put a stop to it, neither does he perceive that the Dutch have any necessity for such fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, seeing that they have places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo; and that the most Reverend Father is persuaded that at the present time, under pretext of fishing, they wish to establish themselves freely, with their boats, in the mouth of the Orinoco, to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guárapiche and Guaruapo, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their Colony considerably when the Orinoco, with its creeks, was not so well guarded as now; which new measure and want of commerce is the real cause of the decay of Essequibo and of the resentment of Mr. de Gravesand, the chief trader, and always the most interested in the illicit trade of the Colony: That it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards from carrying on the said fishing in the territory of the State itself, which he says extends from the River Mareguina up to this side of the Guaine, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says, is an insufferable error: With respect to the slaves who have deserted from Essequibo, the declarant says they are of two races, either negroes purchased from Africa, or Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be seized, by the Caribs, their allies, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne, which run into the sea and communicate with the Orinoco, or along the Rivers Cuyuny, Maseroni, Aponony, and others which run through the further interior of this Province and disembogue in Essequibo; that if there is any question about our retention of these, our reason for it is clear, for being subjects of the King criminally enslaved by the Dutch, who maintain this inhuman traffic with the Caribs contrary to all law, we cannot and must not restore them to slavery when they have the good fortune to escape it by again availing themselves of the protection of the officers of their legitimate Lord and Sovereign: If the negroes are in question, the declarant says that Señor Gravesand is wanting in truthfulness; for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, their owners, Don Thomas Franquis and Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back and have not obtained any satisfaction; several times when Gravesand has here claimed restitution of the deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana, and the money produced taken to Essequibo, excepting only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic Religion, for these have been declared free according to the King's command; and that the declarant does not know that either the Indians or negroes, fugitives from Essequibo, have been induced to escape

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by the Spaniards, nor does it seem to him likely that any one has engaged in such actions; that it is a fact that the Colony of Essequibo is going visibly to its ruin since the door has been closed for the illicit traffic which it previously carried on in Orinoco, and the poitos or slaves have found that of their liberty open, so that they can escape thence; and, finally, he says that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs except that of the Cuyuni in 1758, in which action only one man died, and he was a soldier of the Spaniards; and he adds that he has been for five years Apostolic Missionary in this Province, with which experience he can and ought to say that the manœuvres of the Dutch of Essequibo and their detestable traffic in poitos is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not yet been settled, and why they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them as they did in 1750, at another attacking them by main force, and at another carrying them off by diabolic craft and policy; in such wise that in the period alone in which the Religious Brethren of the declarant have worked in these Missions, the Dutch, together with the Caribs, have destroyed, as may be seen in the "Autos" of the matter, seven of our established villages, without counting those which they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit Missionaries and to the Observants, likewise killing many Religious. And what he has declared is from his own knowledge and from what he has heard from the Reverend Fathers the Senior Missionaries and other persons of the highest credit, and in this belief and assurance the declarant states it under obligation of the oath which he has taken: that he ratifies and affirms what is therein, and if necessary will repeat it; that he is 34 years of age; and this declaration having been read to him, he said that it is the same which he made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or substract therein, and has signed it with the said Señor Commandant General and us the judicial witnesses whereof we certify.

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Deposition, made March 26, 1770, by Lieut. Felix Ferreras, as to Complaints by the Dutch Minister.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 288–290.]

In this said City of Guayana on the 26th day of the said month and year [Mar., 1770], in order to continue the report ordered to be drawn up in the preceding "auto," there appeared in this tribunal Don Felix Ferreras, Lieutenant of Infantry, of the garrison of this Province of Guayana, whom his Lordship, the Señor Commandant-General admitted upon oath, which he took according to law, by God our Lord, and promised upon his word of honour to tell the truth to the King in what he might know and might be asked: And being interrogated according to the tenor of the said note, presented by

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the Minister of Holland, which runs from folios 1 to 6 of these Autos, and, for [his] better understanding, it having been read to him word for word: He declared that the Dutch are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers or creeks which drain into the sea from Essequibo, exclusively up to the mouth of the Orinoco: That they have only been permitted to have in that part a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians in a barrack which they call the Post, on the eastern bank of the River Moruca, which the Dutch call Maroco: And that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because even the said Colony is not so, and we know that it began in the middle of the last century.

That it is untrue that the Dutch have held or do hold possession of the River Cuyuni (called by them Cayoeny) for, having established therein a guard and barrack like that of Moruca in the year 1747, to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians whom they enslaved surreptitiously in the dominions of our Lord the King, for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the Colony, directly it came to the notice of the Spaniards in the year 1757, the declarant being Deputy Commandant of Old Guayana, they were dislodged therefrom; and so neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, nor the other rivers which disembogue in Essequibo, do the Dutch hold any possessions, nor is it permissible for them to hold it, for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana, running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession, that the Dutch were owners of almost all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity: That the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the River Essequibo, from its mouth up to that of the Cuyuni, where they have a post which they call Old Castle. That the Essequibo runs from S.E. to N.W. almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern boundary of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors: That the declarant does not know, nor has ever heard, that Spaniards have built a fort on the Cuyuni or in its vicinity, with many or few troops; for in that part we have no other settlements than the two Missions or villages of Indians, Guazcipati and Cavallapi, which the Catalonian Capuchin Father, founded in the years [1]757 and [1]761, on the northern bank of the River Yurruari, an affluent of the Cuyuni, and at the distance of 70 leagues from the demolished Dutch barrack, and that in the said Missions there is no more than one soldier in each, for an escort to the Missionary; that concerning what happened in February of last year, at the Post of Moruca, the declarant knows nothing, seeing that at the said time he was on service in the Rio Negro.

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That the declarant has not seen nor heard say that the Dutch have conducted any fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, not that the Spaniards have found it necessary to put a stop to it, but only that in the year 1760 Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores seized a schooner and two boats from Essequibo in the River Orinoco and Barima its tributary, while going in pursuit of some Hollanders who were purchasing poitos from the Caribs along those channels, and that the said vessels were declared confiscate in the government of Cumaná to which Guayana was then subject; but that the pretence of this fishery by the Dutch in the mouth of the Orinoco appears suspicious to the declarant, for they have other places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo, and that he is persuaded that, under pretext of fishing the Dutch wish to establish themselves freely with their boats in the mouth of the Orinoco, to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guaruapo, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their Colony considerably when the Orinoco, with its creeks, was not so well guarded as now: which new measure and want of commerce is the true cause of the resentment of M. Gravesand, Director of Essequibo, and the most interested in the illicit trade of the colony: That it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards from carrying on the said fishing in the territory which Gravesand calls territory of the State itself, which, he says, extends from the River Mareguife up to this side of the Guayne, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says, is a serious error: As regards the slaves who desert from Essequibo, the declarant says that they are of two races, negroes bought in Africa, or Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be seized, by the Caribs their allies, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne, arms of the sea communicating with the Orinoco, or along the Rivers Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, and others which run through the further interior of this Province and empty themselves in Essequibo: That the latter have never been claimed back by the Dutch, who well know the guilt of their acquisition; for in this inhuman traffic they cause many innocent persons to be slain in order to enslave others contrary to the law of nations; and with respect to the negroes, the declarant says that Señor Gravesand is wanting in truthfulness, for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, although their owners, Don Thoms Franquis and Agustina Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back and have not obtained any satisfaction; several times when Gravesand has here claimed restitution of some of the negro slaves, deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana and the money produced taken to Essequibo, except only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic Religion;

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for those have been declared free according to the King's command; and that the declarant does not know that either the Indian or negro fugitives from Essequibo have been induced to escape by the Spaniards, nor does it seem to him likely that anyone has engaged in upon such actions, with the risk of being hung in Essequibo: that it is a fact that the Colony is going to its ruin since the door has been closed for the illicit traffic which they carried on previously in Orinoco, and the poitos or slaves have found the door of their liberty open, so that they can escape therefrom, and, finally, he says that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs except that of the Cuyuni in the year 1758, in which action only one man died, and he was a soldier of the Spaniards: and he adds that he has been resident for thirty-three years in this Province, and that with this experience he can and ought to say that the manœuvres of the Dutch of Essequibo, and their detestable traffic in poitos, is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not yet been settled; and they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them as they did in the year 1750, at another attacking them by main force, and at another carrying them off by diabolic craft and policy, in suchwise that during the period alone in which the declarant has been acquainted with the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Friars of this Province, the Dutch, together with the Caribs, have destroyed nine of their established villages, without counting those they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit Missionaries and to the Observants, likewise killing many Religious and soldiers, and that among almost all these savages Hollanders have been found naked and painted like Caribs, and that what he has declared is the truth, under obligation of the oath which he has taken. That he ratifies and affirms what is therein, and if necessary will repeat it: that he is fifty-seven years of age: And this his declaration, having been read to him, he said that it is the same that he had made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has signed it with the said Commandant-General and us the judicial witnesses, whereof we certify, &c.

No. 410.

Deposition, made March 28, 1770, by Santiago Bonalde, Citizen of the City of Guayana, as to Complaints by the Dutch Minister.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 290-291.]

On the 28th day of the said month and year [Mar., 1770], in order to continue the report ordered to be drawn up in the foregoing "Auto," there appeared in this tribunal Don Santiago Bonalde, citizen of this city, whom the Commandant-General admitted upon oath, which he took according to law,

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by God our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth to the King in what he might know and might be asked: and being interrogated according to the tenor of the said note presented by the Minister of Holland, which runs from folios one to six of these "Autos," and for his better understanding, it having been read to him word for word, he declared: that the Dutch are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers or rivulets which drain into the sea from Essequibo, exclusively, up to the mouth of the Orinoco; that they have only been permitted to have in that part a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians in a barrack which they call the Post on the eastern bank of the River Moruca, which the Dutch call Maroco, and that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because even the said colony has not either, and we know that it began in the middle of the last century; that it is untrue that the Dutch have held, or do hold, possession of the river Cuyuni (called by them, Cayoeni), for having established therein a guard and barrack, like that of Moruca, in the year [1]747, to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians whom they enslave surreptitiously in the dominions of our Lord the King for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the colony, directly it came to the notice of the Spaniards, in the year [1]757, they were dislodged therefrom by the declarant, who was despatched with some troops for this purpose by the Deputy Commandant of old Guayana, and so neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, nor on the other rivers which disembogue in Essequibo do the Dutch hold any possession, nor is it permissible that they should hold it, for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana, running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession that the Dutch were owners of almost all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity; that the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the river Essequibo, from its mouth up to that of the Cuyuni, where they have a post which they call Old Castle; that the Essequibo runs from S. E. to N. W. almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern boundary of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors; that the declarant does not know, nor has ever heard, that the Spaniards have built a fort on the Cuyuni or in its vicinity, with many or few troops, for in that part we have no other settlements than the two missions or villages of Indians, Guazcipatti and Cavallapi, which the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers founded in the years [1]757 and [1]761 on the northern bank of the River Yuruari, which falls into the Cuyuni, and at the distance of seventy leagues from the demolished Dutch barrack, and that in the said missions there is no more than one soldier in each for an escort to the missionary; that concerning what happened in February last

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at the post of Moruca, the declarant only knows that the Capuchin Fathers who made that incursion, brought the Indians fugitives from their villages, who had withdrawn to the channels and plains between Guaine and Moruca, and that having reached the barrack established by the Dutch and found therein, enslaved by the Dutch Chief, two or three Indians, natives of our dominions, they brought them to the Missions, without having committed any injury or act of hostility against the Dutch; and with regard to the post and commercial establishment which Gravesand supposes that the Company held between Guayne and Povaron, the declarant neither knows nor has heard speak of such establishment;

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that the declarant has not seen, or heard say, that the Dutch have conducted any fisheries in the mouth of the Orinoco nor that the Spaniards have had to prevent it, but only that in the year 1760, Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores seized a schooner and two boats from Essequibo in the river Orinoco and the Barima its tributary, while going in pursuit of some Hollanders who were purchasing Poitos from the Caribs along those channels, and that the said vessels were declared confiscate in the Government of Cumana, to which Guayana was then subject; but that the pretence of this fishery by the Dutch in the mouth of the Orinoco appears suspicious to the declarant, for they have places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo, and that he is persuaded that under pretext of fishing, the Dutch wish to establish themselves freely, with their boats, in the mouths of the Orinoco, to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guaruapo, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their colony considerably, when the Orinoco and its creeks were not so well guarded as now, which new measure and want of commerce is the true cause of the resentment of Monsieur de Gravesand, Director of Essequibo, and the most interested in the illicit trade of the Colony; that it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards in the territory of the state itself, which, he says, extends from the river Mareguiñe up to this side of the Guaynè, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says, is a serious error. As regards the runaway slaves from Essequibo, the declarant says that they are of two races, negroes bought in Africa, and Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be seized by the Caribs their allies, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne, running into the sea and communicating with the Orinoco, or along the rivers Cuyuni, Maseroni, and Apanoni, and others, which run through the further interior of this province and empty themselves in Essequibo; that the latter have never been claimed back by the Dutch who well know the guilt of their acquisition; for in this inhuman traffic they cause many innocent persons to be slain in order to enslave others contrary to the law of nations; and that with respect to the negroes, the declarant says that Señor Gravesand

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is wanting in truthfulness, for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, although their owners, Don Thomas Franquis and Augustina Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back and have not obtained any satisfaction, several times when Gravesand has here claimed restitution of the negro slaves, deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana and the money produced taken to Essequibo, except only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic religion, for these have been declared free as the King has commanded. And that neither the Indians nor the negroes, fugitives from Essequibo, have, to the knowledge of the declarant, been induced by the Spaniards to escape, nor does it seem to him likely that any one has engaged in upon such action with the risk of being hung in Essequibo; that it is a fact that the Colony is going to its ruin since the door has been shut for the illicit traffic which it carried on previously in Orinoco, and the Poitos or slaves have found the door of their liberty open so that they can escape from there; and finally, he says, that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs, except that of the Cuyuni in the year 1758, in which action only one man died and he was a soldier of the Spaniards; and he adds that he has been resident for twenty-seven years in this province, and that with this experience he can, and ought to say, that the instigations of the Dutch of Essequibo and their detestable traffic in Poitos is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not already been settled, and why they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them as they did in the year 1750, at another attacking them by main force, and at another carrying them off by diabolic craft and policy; in suchwise that during the period alone in which the declarant has been acquainted with the missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Friars of this Province, the Dutch together with the Caribs have destroyed nine of their established villages, without counting those they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit and Observant Missionaries of Orinoco, likewise killing many fathers and soldiers; and that among almost all these savages, Hollanders have been found painted like Caribs; and that what he has declared is the truth under obligation of the oath which he has taken, which is ratified and affirmed therein, and if necessary he will repeat it. That he is forty-six years of age; and this declaration having been read to him, he said that it is the same that he made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein; and being blind, has ordered his eldest son, Santiago, to sign for him as he did with the said Señor Commandant-General and us the witnesses, whereof we certify.

No. 411.

Cipriano Maiorga summoned to Testify as to Complaints by the Dutch Minister; March 29, 1770.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 291.]

The judicial witnesses summon before this tribunal Cipriano Maiorga in order that, by taking down his declaration, the requirements of the declarations of the Capuchin Fathers, Friar Joseph Antonio de Zervera and Friar Felix de Tarraga, Missionaries of this Province, may be completed. Thus Señor Don Manuel Centurion, Commandant-General of this Province, provided and ordered in this city of Guayana on the 29th of March, 1770, and signed it in the presence of us the aforesaid witnesses, whereof we certify.

No. 412.

Return of summons for witness Cipriano Maiorga, March 29, 1770.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 292.]

The same day [Mar. 29, 1770] we the judicial witnesses call upon Cipriano Maiorga, as Captain of the launch in which, during the month of February of last year, the two Capuchin Missionary Fathers, Friar Joseph Antonio de Zervera and Friar Felix de Tarraga, went to fetch Indians from the mouths of the Orinoco, and not having found him in the whole of this city we have ascertained that he is absent with the cruiser under his charge: which in fulfilment of the foregoing "Auto," we put for due form and certify.

No. 413.

Deposition made March 30, 1770, by Thomas Franquiz, as to Complaints by the Dutch Minister.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 292.]

In this aforesaid city on the 30th of the said month and year [Mar., 1770] in order to complete the requirements of the foregoing declarations in respect to Don Thomas Franquiz, he appeared before us the judicial witnesses in the tribunal of Government, and being admitted upon oath, which he duly made by God our Lord, and a sign of the cross; he promised the King to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked; and being interrogated by the Señor Commandant-General in the matter of the flight of one of the slaves of the declarant, who is said to be in the Colony of Essequibo, he declared: that it is true that about the end of last year 1776,[1] a negro slave of the declarant, called Ambrosio, fled from this

[1] An obvious error. It should be 1766; *see* deposition of de Arocha below.

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city to the Colony of Essequibo, accompanied by another named Francisco, belonging to Agustina de Arocha; and from various deserters who afterwards came from Essequibo to this city, the declarant has learned that his negro and the one belonging to Agustina de Arocha have been sold in Essequibo to a Lutheran schoolmaster, by the Government [Governor] of that colony, after having kept them at work in his own plantation, and that they escaped from him, and he had to come down to the mouths of the Orinoco to recapture them: that this is as much as he knows, and can say in this matter, under the oath which he has taken, wherein it is ratified and affirmed, and if necessary he will repeat it; that he is twenty-nine years of age, and this declaration having been read to him, he said that it is the same that he made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has signed it together with the said Señor Commandant-General and us the witnesses, whereof we certify.

No. 414.

Deposition made April 2, 1770, by Agustina de Arocha, Inhabitant of Guayana, as to Complaints by the Dutch Minister.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 292.]

In this said city, on the 2nd of April, 1770, there appeared in this tribunal before us the judicial witnesses Agustina de Arocha, inhabitant of Guayana, cited in the foregoing declarations, whom the Señor Commandant-General admitted upon oath which she took according to law, by God our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under obligation whereof she promised the King to tell the truth in what she might know and might be asked; and being interrogated in the matter of the slave of the declarant, who, it is stated, ran away from this city to the colony of Essequibo, where he now is, she said: that it is true that towards the end of the year 1766 a negro slave belonging to the declarant deserted from this city to the colony of Essequibo with another belonging to Don Thomas Franquiz, the former named Francisco, and the latter Ambrosio, and that from various deserters who afterwards came from Essequibo to this city, the declarant has learned that her negro and the one belonging to Franquiz have been sold in Essequibo to a Lutheran schoolmaster by the governor of that Colony after he had kept them at work in his own plantation, from which they escaped, and he came to recapture them in the mouth of the Orinoco; that this is as much as she knows and can say in the matter, under obligation of the oath which she has taken, wherein it is ratified and affirmed, and if necessary she will repeat it: That she is forty-three years of age, and this her declaration having been read to her, she said that it is the same that she made, that it is well and faithfully written, that she has nothing to add or sub-

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tract therein, and has not signed it because she said she did not know how to do so; at her request Don Francisco de Amantegui signed it with the said Señor Commandant-General and us the judicial witnesses, whereof we certify.

No. 415.

Order of Manuel Centurion, Commandant-General of Guiana, concluding investigation of Dutch Complaints, April 4, 1770.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 293.]

In the city of Guayana on the 4th of April, 1770, Señor Don Manuel Centurion, Commandant-General of this province, being in his tribunal with us the judicial witnesses, he declared that having seen the declarations and inquiries whereof these "Autos" consist, he approved them and considered them sufficient for the proofs which by order of the King he has been instructed to draw up respecting the complaints made to His Majesty by the Minister of Holland concerning the proceedings of the Spaniards of Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo, and therefore ordered that a complete copy of this report being taken by us the witnesses, the original should be sent to the King our Lord by the hand of the Excelentisimo Señor Bailio Friar Don Julian de Arriaga, and thus the said Señor Commandant-General decreed and signed it with us the aforesaid witnesses, in default of the notary, and on ordinary paper because stamped paper is not current in this Province, whereof we certify.

No. 416.

Extracts from Report of Manuel Centurion, Commander in Guayana, as to the Complaints of the Minister of Holland, April 5, 1770.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 172–179.]

DEAR SIR: The two judicial documents accompanied will show Your Excellency, duly proved, that the Director of the Esquivo Colony, Lorenzo Horm van Gravesand, has intended to alarm the States-General with the impostures on which the Republic of Holland has founded its complaints through its Minister in Madrid, on account of the conduct of the Spaniards of Orinoco against that Colony.

As it appears in part No. 1 of the proceedings, the Hollanders are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers nor rivulets emptying their waters into the sea from the Esquivo to the Orinoco, nor have they any other establishment than a Guard at a straw-roofed Barrack on the eastern bank of the Moruca (Maroco) river that has been tolerated for the last twenty years, so as to enable them to prevent the desertion of their slaves;

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this pretext has degenerated immediately afterwards into the most iniquitous commerce carried on by the barbarous and cruel Caribs, from whom they buy the Indians enslaved, by means of surprising and killing the other tribes living freely and peacefully within the King's our Lord's dominions.

At the Cuyuni river, called by the Hollanders Cayoeny, they have no other possessions than a plantation at its mouth in the Esquivo, as they were stopped when they intended an establishment fifteen or twenty leagues farther up said river in the year 1747, erecting a Barrack and Guard Post to enslave the Indians of our territory by means of the Caribs. As soon as our Missionaries were satisfied of the fact they submitted the case to the Commander of Guayana, and this officer had them dislodged from there on the following year of 1757, by means of a detachment, who set fire to the Barrack and brought as prisioners the two Hollanders, the negro, and the Caribs that he found there, with the instructions and original report showing the infamous commerce that by orders of the Directors of Esquivo, and for a vile consideration, was carried out by that Guard, such as it is done by all the other advanced Barracks from the Colony, bleeding to the heart the centre of the Province of Guayana. Part No. 2 shows the details of this journey, by which it is plain that there was no more blood shed than that of two of our soldiers, one of whom was killed and the other wounded.

Part No. 1 shows, likewise, that the Hollanders are not in possession of the Maserony nor of the other rivers emptying into the Esquivo on the southwestern bank; and it is important to remove this error, forming the basis of their unfounded complaint, for as the Esquivo runs in a direction about parallel with the coast of the ocean from the neighborhood of the Corentin until it reaches the seashore forty-five leagues to the east of the Orinoco, all the rivers having their sources in the interior of our Province of Guayana, and following their direction to the coast, between the mouth of the Corentin and Esquivo, meet precisely this last one, which runs across and takes their waters. So that if, as the Hollanders suppose, that territory embraced by the rivers emptying into the Esquivo, such as Cuyuni, Maserony, Mao, Apanony, Putara, and other minor rivers with their branches and rivulets, were territory of the Republic, the strangers would have a larger portion than the King our Lord in the Province of Guayana, as shown by the accompanying sketch that I have drawn with every possible accuracy, to go with this report, pointing out in yellow what part in my judgment may the Hollanders pretend by right of possession of any kind acquired until to-day.

The Spanish detachment that Gravesand claims having advanced last year from the Orinoco to the Post of Cuyuni and taken many Indians, threatening to return and go to the Maserony river, to arrest a party of Caribs, go down the river and there visit the Barrack of the Company, is undoubtedly a story of the agents in Poytos kept around there by the Hollanders, deeply regretting to see that some savage Indians, both Caribs and Guaicas, living in that neighborhood, come and settle in our Missions; as

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from here no detachment whatever has left for those rivers, and I know that the Catalan Capuchin Fathers have received in their settlements, during the last few years, several Indians from the mountains between Cuyuni and Maserony, at the solicitation of the same Caribs, of whom we have about five thousand in our settlements, not knowing for the last twenty years of our Missions until now that this numerous tribe belonged to the Dutch, as Gravesand says, nor that those mountains form a part of the territory of the Republic, because they have always been the site for the settlements under the Catalan Capuchin Father Missioners at Guayana.

The two houses guarded by many troops, Your Excellency will see by part No. 1, that consists of two Indian settlements founded by the Catalan Capuchin Fathers by the side of the Yuruari, united to the other Missions and without any other Garrison than one soldier to each one, for the escort of the Missioner; being likewise false, the supposed proximity to the Barrack of the Company, distant over seventy leagues of a bad road.

The seizure of the Indians from Moruca by the Spaniards, consists in the fact that two Catalan Capuchins, escorted as customary, entered with their launch from the Orinoco to the Barima river, its confluent, in quest of Indian deserters from the Mission in their charge, and having found them dispersed through those creeks, between the Guayne and Moruca (a contiguous territory to the Orinoco never occupied by the Hollanders) gathering Indians, they reached the Post or Barrack of Moruca, where they found a Dutch Guard who had enslaved three Indian women with their children, who had been taken away through the mouths of the Orinoco; that they so represented the case to the Reverend Fathers, who brought them back to the Missions without the least harm to the Hollanders. On the contrary, thinking that it was a favor to the man on duty at the Guard, who asked for a paper to satisfy the Director of Esquivo of the case, they gave him a certificate, being moved by pity, exceeding, indeed, the terms of my permission to enter that port, which was not true, as the passport I gave to the pilot of the launch was not extended any farther than the mouth of the Orinoco, as shown by Part No. 1.

The Post claimed by Gravesand to have been seized by the Spaniards near a rivulet to the south of the Guayne river, between the latter and the Povaron river, where he supposes that the company had been for an immemorial time in possession of a place of commerce and Post, depending likewise without any contradiction from the territory of the Republic, I think is the one abandoned by the intruding Dutchmen at the Barima river, in the year 1768, when they ascertained, through their friends, the Caribs, that our corsair launches were inspecting that river, as one of the most important flowing into the Orinoco, although in order to diminish its importance they call it a rivulet, and the Director of Esquivo does not dare to name it, so as not to declare himself a usurper; for that same reason he makes himself so poor in memory that he calls immemorial this

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establishment only two years old. See the evidence of this fact in Part No. 3.

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The Spaniards never have disputed the Hollanders' right to fish at the mouth of the Orinoco, because they never have attempted it before. During the past three years, in which I have built three corsair launches for this river, twenty-three foreign vessels have been seized, but none of them while fishing, certainly not to our knowledge. I have not heard that the Hollanders have had possession of such a right of fishing, as it is shown in part No. 1. I have found only one instance of a small schooner and two Dutch launches, fishing at the mouth of the Orinoco and the Barima rivers, which were seized by the Spaniards in the year 1760, as shown in Part No. 4.

I am of the opinion that the Hollanders must be refused and prevented from fishing, on account of the abuse liable to follow by turning the franchise into an illicit traffic, difficult to stop and most injurious to the Spanish Provinces.

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As His Majesty calls for my opinion on the subject, I shall have to state that the most precious possessions of any country are the sea coasts, and more especially so in their dominions across the sea, that might be worthless without the means of disposing of their inland products. In the vast Province of Guayana, so fertile and advantageously situated, all the coasts are occupied by strangers, and there is only left for the Spaniards, at one end of the same, the mouth of the Orinoco to reach the sea. The Hollanders are in possession of the handiest coasts of this extensive country, because they receive the waters of the navigable rivers reaching the innermost and most productive part of Guayana. Therefore our policy ought to aim at the destruction of the Dutch Colony, beginning by that of Esquivo and then following with Demerari, Berbis, Corentin, up to Surinam.

There are two efficient ways to attain that end.

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The second is to organize a fixed batallion of infantry, to build strongholds along the frontier and rivers emptying into the Esquivo.

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Among the fortresses that must be built one must be erected at Barima, to the windward of the mouth of Navios, fronting the north with a wooden lodging-house, very high, of the kind of the Balize at the Mississippi, as the land is low and marshy. From this establishment in effective possession we will keep a closer lookout for the Hollanders. We will stop them by all means, and we shall have a good watch on the sea, and a sentinel on the Barima river, the chief avenue of the Esquivo Colony to Orinoco. A Balize is necessary to enable our vessels to ascertain the

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location of the large mouth of Orinoco, concealed by the sea for want of proper marks, and the occasion for painful and difficult tackings, on account of the strong current of those waters to the leeward that cannot be ascertained by navigators unacquainted with said mouth always, for fear of the low ground and perils of that coast outside the channel of the river. Finally, such a Post will make useless the one held by the Hollanders at Moruca, for the purpose of preventing the escape of the Poytos or slaves, by arresting those coming after them in their escape, who sometimes reach as far as the Orinoco, under the impression that we are forty-nine leagues away from the mouth, as it is the case at present.

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Memorandum on Condition of the Missions of the Catalonia Capuchin Fathers in Guiana in 1770 by Friar Bruno de Barcelona, Prefect of Missions; September 12, 1770.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 263–269.]

State of the Missions of the Reverend Catalan Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Guayana, founded since the year seventeen hundred and twenty-four, with others of new foundation by the Commander General of this Province Don Manuel Centurion, shown by the actual Reverend Father Prefect Fr. Bruno de Barcelona, in compliance with the Cedule from the Buen Retiro in the year of seventeen hundred and one. To this end a visit was made in the present year of seventeen hundred and seventy. This state agrees with the matricula sent by the Most Reverand Fathers of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception from Caroni to their President, Father Manuel de Preixana and the Most Reverend Father Prefect.

1. The Indians of this Mission are Guayanos; they were transferred from the Mission of Suay (by order of the King), in which they had been founded in the year seventeen hundred and twenty-four. Baptized, 1,151; married by the Church, 301; deaths, 777; existing, 388.

2. Mission of our Father San Francisco de Alta-gracia; President, the Reverend Father Felix de Villanueva.

The Indians of this Mission are Guayanos, and all baptized. They were founded in the year seventeen hundred and thirty-four. Baptized; 1,552; married by the Church, 306; deaths, 620; existing, 540.

3. Mission of Saint Joseph of Cupapuy; its President, the Reverend Father Joachin Maria de Martortorel.

The Indians of this Mission are all baptized, and from the Guayanos tribes. It was founded in the year seventeen hundred and thirty-three. Baptized, 1,470; married by the Church, 366; deaths, 664; existing, 403.

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4. Mission of Santa Maria de los Angeles de Yucuari; its President, Father Raymundo de Olot; his companion, Fr. Carlos de Barcelona, who attends to the sick.

The Indians of this Mission are nearly all baptized; a few are Guayanos, others Caribs, and others Panacayos. These Indians were transferred from the Missions of Amaruca, founded in the year seventeen hundred and thirty, on account of the bad climate. Baptized, 799; married by the Church, 363; deaths, 690; existing, 259.

5. Mission of the Divine Shepherdess of Yuruari; its President, Father Antonio de Martorell.

The Indians of this Mission are all baptized, and of the Guayanos tribe. It was transferred from the site of the Yuruari, on account of better convenience for the cattle, in the year seventeen hundred and seventy. Baptized, 374; married by the Church, 92; deaths, 234; existing, 290.

6. Mission of Saint Joseph de Leonisa de Ayma; its President, Reverend Bernardino de Berdu.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Guaicas tribe and from the Camaragotos; most of them are baptized. It was founded in seventeen hundred and fifty-three, but in the year of seventeen hundred and sixty-seven they all took to the woods on account of the earthquakes, but afterwards most of them came out, and, with other arrivals, there are already three hundred and eighty-eight. Baptized, 599; married by the Church, 44; deaths, 198; existing, 388.

7. Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary of Guazipati; its President, the Reverend Father Benito de la Garriga.

The Indians of this Mission are of the Carib tribe. It was founded in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-seven; nearly all are baptized. Baptized, 316; married by the Church, 16; deaths, 104; existing, 370.

8. Mission of San Miguel del Carapo; its President, Father Thomas de Mataro.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Carib tribe; most of them are baptized. It was founded in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-two. Baptized, 606; married by the Church, 30; deaths, 204; existing, 410.

9. Mission of Our lady of La Soledad del Cavallaju; its President, Father Geronimo de Vallfogona.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Guaico tribe. It was founded in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-one. At the beginning of the year seventeen hundred and sixty-nine they took to the woods, on account the measles; about one hundred and twenty have been recovered since. Baptized, 208; married by the Church, 11; deaths, 70; existing, 120.

10. Mission of Our Lady of Monserrate del Miamo; its President, Father Buenaventura de Santa Coloma.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Carib tribe. Most of them are baptized. It was founded in the year seventeen hundred and forty-eight. Baptized, 733; married by the Church, 60; deaths, 312; existing, 501.

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11. Mission of Saint Michael of Palmar; its President, Father Francisco de San Julian.

The Indians of this Mission are Guayanos and Caribs. It was founded in the year seventeen hundred and forty-six. Baptized, 510; married by the Church, 108; deaths, 264; existing, 380.

12. Mission of San Antonio; its President, the Reverend Father Mariano de Savadell, accompanied by Father Domingo de Arbucies.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Guayanos tribe, all baptized; they were founded in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-five. Baptized, 287; married by the Church, 64; deaths, 47; existing, 248.

13. Mission of Saint Raymond de Carauaci; its President, Father Pedro de Fugarola.

The Indians of this Mission are Caribs and Cachigarotos. Founded in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-three. Baptized, 83; married by the Church, 1; deaths, 20; existing, 130.

14. Mission of Santa Eulalia de Murucuri; its President, Father Thomas de San Pedro.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Carib tribe, and most of them are baptized. It was founded in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-four. Baptized, 403; married by the Church, 40; deaths, 220; existing, 368.

15. Mission of the Calvary; its President, Father Joseph Antonio de Cervera.

The Indians of this Mission are from the tribes of Guaraunos and Salivas, most of them are baptized; they were founded in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-one. At present they have already two Missions, and the latter, by order of the King, is placed in the Cardonal. The Commander, General Don Manuel Centurion, in order to facilitate their translation, and in consideration of their poverty, supplied them, at his own expense, with many iron utensils and other alms for the purpose of planting new grounds, in seventeen hundred and sixty-eight. Baptized, 387; married by the Church, 15; deaths, 125; existing, 206.

16. Mission of Santa Ana; its President, Father Felix de Tarraga.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Aruaca and Guarauno tribes, most of them are baptized and united from two Missions of San Joaquin and San Felix. They commenced their transfer by order of the King our Lord at the beginning of the present year, seventeen hundred and seventy. The Commander General, Don Manuel Centurion, in order to facilitate their transportation, made a present to both tribes of a large amount of iron utensils, axes, machetes, and other articles. Baptized, 639; married by the Church, 18; deaths, 250; existing, 446.

17. Mission of Our Lady of Los Dolores de Puedpa; its President, Father Mariano de Zervera.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Aruacas and Chimas tribes; they were founded in the year seventeen hundred and forty-nine, most of them ran away the latter part of February of the present year of seventeen

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hundred and seventy, some have been recovered, and in a short time will be entered. Before they ran away they numbered in all one hundred and seventy, brought from Moruca, where two Reverend Fathers went after them, well escorted and provided with vessels and the necessary stores, supplied by the Commander General, Don Manuel Centurion. Baptized, 56; married by the Church, 0; deaths, 3; existing, 52.

18. Mission of Santa Rossa de Maruanta; its President, Father James de Puigcerda.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Guaraunos tribe. It was founded by the above-mentioned Commander General, Don Manuel Centurion, with Guaraunos Indians, whom he personally went after, and brought along with him to the lower Orinoco, as may be seen in his letter asking the Reverend Father Prefect to send one of the Fathers to attend to the spiritual wants of said Indians, a fact well known to all the inhabitants of this city; a few of said Indians are baptized. It was founded in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-nine, and is in our charge. Baptized, 30; married by the Church, 0; deaths, 9; existing, 286.

19. Mission of the Immaculate Conception of Pana-pana; its President, the above-named Father Fr. James de Puigcerda.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Carib tribe, and it was founded likewise by the same Commander General, Don Manuel Centurion, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-nine, as it appears by the letter addressed by his Honor to the Most Reverend Father Prefect, asking for a Missioner to attend the said Indians, and it is improving with new arrivals of Caribs with embarkations, troops, arms, and stores, and every other necessary thing at the expense of the Commander General and in company of the Reverend President. Baptized, 8; married by the Church, 0; deaths, 0; existing, 97.

20. Mission of Saint Felix de Topoquen, under Father Manuel de Preixana.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Carib tribe, a few are baptized, it commenced under Father Manuel de Preisana in the year seventeen sixty-seven. Baptized, 56; married by the Church, 0; deaths, 5; existing, 110.

21. Mission of the Cumamu, under Father Buena Ventura de Santa Coloma.

The Indians of this Mission are from the Carib tribe, a few are baptized; it was founded in the year seventeen seventy-seven. Baptized, 47; married by the Church, 0; deaths, 5; existing, 106.

22. Village of Upata and San Antonio—all Spaniards; its President, Father Pedro Martin de Ribas.

This village was commenced to be founded at the expense of the Reverend Community, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-two, with ten Spanish families. Baptized, 69; married by the Church, 23; deaths, 20; existing, 152.

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NOTE.—About the latter part of last year the fortress of Hipoqui was commenced with six officers and an officer Cadet of the troop, by allowance of the Commander General, Don Manuel Centurion, with six swivel-guns, balls, powder, and military armaments, said community paying for the provisions of beef and casave for the vessel. Two Reverend Fathers were sent to promote the success of said expedition, they planted the cross and began the Mission at the mouth of La Parana. Said Castle of Hipoqui remains as a constituted Spanish village by the pleasure of His Majesty, and the approval of the Commander General, with some expenses to the Reverend community. Said village is called Barceloneta. Now it consists of twelve Spanish families (with a few Indians) freely supplied with transportation and other expenses by the same Commander, showing his earnest desire to give ample population to these lands, and conquer souls for the Lord and vassals for our King.

At the same time three other Missions have been commenced under the names of Guri, Aripuana, on the banks of the Caroni river, and on the straight road to Nre Barceloneta; and the third, called Garumopati, on the bank of the Parana river.

The Reverend Missioners are no more nor less than twenty, besides the two above-mentioned in these places.

We are daily awaiting the arrival from our Province of the eleven Fathers and a nurse that we have requested for the past few years, with the approval of the Commander General of this Province.

Total--Baptized, 10,360; married, 1,754; deaths, 4,842; existing, 6,246.

The Indians from the tribes, whose reduction we are still wanting, and that we discover every day, are as follows:

Maceronis Caribs, Guaicas, Guapisanas, Paravaxanas, Arivas, Machuacanes, Tarumas, Gumaripas, Parauyanas, Tuyanas, Hipuragotos, Aturayas, Cumuxis, Papavenas, Camaragotos, Quiriquiripas, Hiñaus, Cucuipcotos, Arianas.

In testimony whereof, I give the present letters signed by me and sealed with the grand seal of our office, countersigned by our Secretary, in this Mission of the Immaculate Conception of Caroni, on the twelfth day of September, in the year of seventeen hundred and seventy.

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Extracts from Report of Manuel Centurion, Commandant in Guayana, dated April 20, 1771, as to the Province of Guayana, in answer to the second Command of the King of Spain.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 120–122.]

In your Lordship's letter of the 18th September last you informed me of an Order of Council that I should communicate to them the result of

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my observations with regard to the removal of the four villages of Piacoa, Vyacua, Tipurua, and Unaba. I was to report upon their tranquility, permanence, and progress, and on other points which I might think worthy of mention, so that this Council might have full information to enable them to deliberate properly. I, wishing to fulfill to the letter the superior orders of the Council, and in order to give them all due information, proceeded at once to inspect the two villages of Santa Ana and Monte Calvario, situated to the west of the River Carony, to which the people of the four villages mentioned above emigrated together. I found 715 inhabitants, in good health, cheerful, well nourished, and industrious, in place of the 350 souls, sick, sad, hungry, and idle, who made up the population of the four villages in question before their removal.

This increase of numbers, their good health, their pleasure in life, and the abundance of their harvests assure more than ever the tranquility and settlement of the population, and prove the wisdom of their removal, and even its advantage to the Guarauno and Aruaca Indians themselves.

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Notwithstanding these difficulties, I have been able, by incessant work and at some expense, to bring within the pale of civilized and Christian society 1,170 Guaraunos, whom I have settled in the outskirts of this capital in the villages of Orocopiche, Maruanta, and Buenavista, and the towns of Borbon and Carolina, where they are well contented with the good treatment they meet with and the education their children receive from the Spaniards. Thus, helping each other, all are benefited, the Indian by the material reward he receives from the industry and religion learned from the Spaniard, and the Spaniard by the labour of the Indian's hands, which he rescues from idleness and applies to labour and agriculture. This plan is most useful for the population of the desert country round this capital, and there are no wild Indians, except the Guaraunos, for more than 100 leagues. This district is the most important in the province, as being the healthiest and the best suited to trade with many other provinces of America and with the kingdoms of Spain.

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In order partly to avoid these grave disadvantages, I have thought it necessary, in those towns where there is an officer or soldier as escort to the missionary, and there cannot be a Royal official, with ability, talent, and good conduct, capable of governing the place by himself as regards political matters, it should be done by that officer or soldier, under the orders of the District Judge Commandant, acting in concert with the missionary, as is explained by the inclosed instructions. At the same time, I have arranged thirty-five marriages between Spaniards and the principal Indian women of the newly-converted tribes of Cariva, Guayea, and Guarauna. By this alliance we are being united to a wonderful degree with these and other tribes, so that even the Indians who formerly heard the name of Spaniard with the greatest horror, now come

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of their own free will out of the woods where they have, up till now, been kept as if buried by fear, and they have a kind of safeguard in the knowledge of my love for all of them, and are tempted by my liberality to come in troops more than thirty days' journey to see me, and ask me to give them implements to enable them to settle on their lands. Some have wished to remain in this neighbourhood to enjoy at closer quarters the advantages of trade and intercourse with the Spaniards.

By these efficacious methods, which are honest (though not much to the taste of all the missionaries), I have succeeded, during my tenure of office, in creating thirty-two new settlements of Indians and Spaniards in this province, with 8,271 inhabitants; 1,407 "fanejas" of land have been brought into cultivation, and there are 29,787 head of cattle more, as well as many houses and buildings of stone and mortar, which before had never been known in this country; indeed, the capital itself consisted but of fifty cabins or straw huts.

No. 419.

Extracts from letter from Manuel Centurion, Commandant-General in Guayana, to Julian de Arriaga, Complaining of conduct of Capuchin Missionaries; July 29, 1771.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 294–296.]

In reference to what I have already represented to your Excellency under date of the 20th June last, I must now add that the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia, Missionaries of this Province, always insisting that the Government, Civil and Financial, of the Indian villages which they instruct is their particular privilege, have continued their resistance and opposition to the establishment of the Territorial Judge, and a Military Chief, whom I commissioned for the purpose of governing the four villages of the Caroni, with the authority of Military Commandant and "Corregidor," as being the office most known, and employed among the Missionaries, and the most significant and intelligible, so that the Indians may recognize him as their Chief. But this measure, in itself, is odious to these Missionaries, who wish to command in everything. But although I have explained to them its importance for the defence of this Province, its safety and trade, they,—having observed that the Commission of that official is a warrant of the Military authority, and is not of the form which corresponds to the office of "Corregidor," as is shown in the copy, legalized No. 1,—have been so stirred up, and have raised frivolous objections to such an extent on this question of name, that not only have they imagined that my intent is to ruin those villages, as the Prefect states in his letters, marked Nos. 3 and 5, but also, as appears from the report, marked No. 13, have managed to excite the Indians to rise in rebellion, with this species of sedition, ordering them not to receive a "Corregidor," and not to obey any other orders than those of the Father Prefect, who by force wishes that I should prefer the

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imaginary privileges of the Missionaries to the better service of the King and the public weal. And they put forward certain Royal "Cedulas" which the Reverend Father alleges in their favour, but does not give, nor are they to be found in these Archives. And these Fathers understanding not the Royal Laws, which charge the Governors and Justices, of these Kingdoms with the conversion, settlement, instruction and government of the Indians, argue with me strongly that Governors are prohibited from providing "Corregimientos." But as the Viceroy and Audience to whom this matter belongs are more than five hundred leagues distant from here, too far for communicating with them, at this time, the case is urgent: I am Commandant-General of New Settlements, and not strictly and exclusively Governor of this Province, nor is the person I have appointed strictly a "Corregidor," but a simple Lieutenant or Judge of Commission, whose powers are limited according to what may be acquired, and who is recalled or placed there according to necessity. I do not consider well founded the reasons which these Fathers allege, in opposition to the municipal laws, which authorize me to command and direct the new settlements and villages of the Indians, and to the powerful and special motives I have for taking upon myself the political government of these four villages indicated, as set out in the justificative documents accompanying my said representation of the 20th June last.

Nor, still less, can I, in the present circumstances, concede to these Missionaries the permission they request of me in their letters, Nos. 6, 8 and 10, to send as Procurators to Spain the two Fathers, Fray Jaime de Puigcerda, and Fray Joaquin Maria de Martorel. For, besides the notable want of Religious from which these Missions actually suffer, as I told them in my letters Nos. 7, 9 and 11, the two named are wanting in all the requirements which the laws prescribe for such permission. For, from letter No. 12, your Excellency will see that the first-named is a froward, rebellious man, even from the point of view of his Ministry; the second is the same. Both are those very two famous fanatics, who in the time of my predecessor, Don Joaquin Moreno, were here as parish priests. They insulted him so much, and conspired so openly against [the Government of] this city for having, against their will, removed the Reverend Capuchin Community to Angostura on the Orinoco, that it is here believed that they were the authors of the great fire of twenty-two houses that were burned down one night in 1766, concerning which it appears that my predecessor drew up a judicial report for transmission to Your Excellency.

What is quite certain is that these Fathers proceed in all without obedience and humility, for they always oppose the orders of the Governor-General of this Province. They will not even submit to those of the Diocesan Ordinary, not even when they reside here as parish priests and chaplains, as appears from the document and letters No. 14, handed to me by the Ecclesiastical Vicar.

Although in the letters they write me they affect a great respect for the

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orders of the King, they have no such, except in so far as may suit them. For having sent them by Royal order of the 5th June, 1762, a command to remove the village of Suay to the neighbourhood of Angostura, when the city of Guayana was removed to this place, they resisted so much that they actually hindered the removal of that village, so necessary for the progress of Angostura, by alleging that the place was unhealthy; that there was no wood for building; and that in this neighbourhood there were no lands adapted for cultivation for an Indian village (and now there are four at a distance of one, two, and four leagues, without any detriment of Spanish inhabitants dwelling in this city; and two others before reaching Caroni).

In virtue of what was provided in the said Royal Order of instructions I exhorted them to remove the four villages of Unata, Uyacoa, Tiparua, and Piacoa, which in direct violation of the spirit of these instructions they had founded on the banks of the Orinoco, below this city and even of the fort, without license, nor knowledge of the Government: And, in like manner, they resisted, wishing to deceive the King by a diffuse representation full of imaginary statements and exaggeration which His Majesty in a Royal "Cedula" of the 16th May, 1769, rejected, commanding that the change I proposed should be carried out.

In the same manner these Fathers refused to serve the chaplaincy of the forts of Guayana, allotted to them in the military regulations of this province, approved by the King; and now, in order to have more stipends, they esteem it, and are content to remain with it, as there is no secular priest for the duty. They do not confess the men of the garrison, not being willing to subject themselves in any way to the Ordinary.

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Although we should charitably like to attribute all these vices to the effects of some iron wills, without malice, it cannot be the case, because we see that, notwithstanding that the prelate and all the community know the perverse spirit of those two Religious, whom he has appointed as his Procurators and Attorneys for Spain, yet he wishes to make use of such men for the purpose of surprising and embarrassing the best and most respectable Tribunals by the cunning and hypocritical aspect of these Capuchins, without taking into account that in the meanwhile they abandon many villages, leaving them without any instruction or spiritual food. Thus one is compelled to believe that they proceed deceitfully and in bad faith, and not, as they state, for the greater glory of God, service of the King, and the good of souls.

All this, Señor, arises from the absolute independence in which up to now the Reverend Community has lived on account of the deserted condition of the country; and the little appreciation it was held in when under the jurisdiction of the Government of Cumaná. At that time there was no other Royal official than a simple Governor of the Fort, whom the Capuchins of Catalonia made and unmade without any more trouble than writing a letter or making a visit to the Governor in order that he should

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sacrifice the poor Commandant, and leave them free to dispose, at their pleasure, of both the spiritual and temporal.

From that time to now no official had the courage to oppose them; and thus they consider themselves masters not only of all the villages which they instruct, for there are some that were founded in the last century, and even these they do not wish to see taken over [? by the Government], nor hand them over to the Ordinary, unless on the understanding that, as constituting an ecclesiastical administration, they are allowed to manage and freely apply to their own use the produce of the plantations and the Indian communities without the knowledge of the Government, nor giving any account to anybody of these properties.

They possess a cattle farm with more than 50,000 head of cattle, horses and mules, and nearly the entire property and wealth of the villages of the territory of their Missions, which is far greater than that of all the rest of this province. And finding themselves, by these means, so powerful, they do not wish that anyone should have any authority or jurisdiction over them, fearful, as the Royal Official says in his certificate No. 16, lest they should be obliged to make use of these goods in the conversion and settlementof the innumerable Indian heathens, who dwell in the forests of the interior of this province; and lest they may have to leave the villages situated in the vicinity of the Orinoco, where these Missionaries already do nothing else than carry on in them a traffic in the cattle and produce they possess, to the prejudice of the State.

The corporals and soldiers of the escort are those who really manage the conversion of the Indians, and work at their settlement, and until there exist therein produce, cattle, houses, church, and everything else necessary to live comfortably, the Missionaries scarcely allow themselves to be seen by the Indians; whom they afterwards claim to be theirs, and then they declare that they have converted them and settled them with their labour and the sweat of their brow.

They make use of the Indians without paying them just as if they were slaves. And they make it appear that they are the defenders of their liberty. And if the Commandant-General, in fulfilment of his duty, desires to be informed of anything for the purpose of correcting abuses, and do what he ought in the service of the King, these Capuchins rise up against him with contemptuous and fanatical declarations in order to make him appear odious to the public.

This is substantially what passes here, and which with the greatest respect, and proper proof, I bring to the knowledge and high consideration of Your Excellency, so that my reasons being weighed in the balance of justice with those of these Religious, Your Excellency may determine whatever may be of your best pleasure, understanding that they state that they will carry their clamours even to the throne.

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Extract from letter from Fidel de Santo, Procurator of the Capuchin Missions, in the Court of Spain, to the Provincial of the Catalan Capuchins, on the intention of Manuel Centurion to interfere in the government of the Capuchin Missions, August 8, 1771.

[Translated from Copy printed *in* STRICKLAND (*Rev.* Joseph, *s. J.*) The Boundary Question between British Guayana and Venezuela, fol. Rome, 1896, Appendix 1, pp. 22–23.]

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Wherefore he distorts and shuffles everything, with the view that no work of the Capuchin Missions, &c., should be reported in Court. It is not possible to give Your Reverence in writing an exact idea of these persecutions whereof we are every day the victims of this Minister, and there is yet more than a year to run of the five in which they usually remain in the Government. Add to this that he now wields absolute power, with no subordination to that of Caracas; what will he not do? And all this under the pretext of its being for the best service of the King; his sole object is to get great credit for himself at our cost and to our detriment.

I enclose the correct note of what the King used to give to the Missions in Cadiz (since I now find it among my papers) as it may serve to further your Reverence's ideas, as also a statement of the condition of the Missions when I was their Prefect; remarking that since then they have been increased with the following new villages: 1st, Caballapi; 2nd, Caranaxi; 3rd, Oratuyma; 4th, Tripurua; 5th, Casacoyma; 6th, Curumo; 7th, Cumamo; 8th, Tavaxi; 9th, Sant Antonio; 10th, Nuevo Tupuguen; besides two others that I cannot remember, and I think that the Rev. Father Benito de la Garriga wrote to me about it in a letter which I also handed Your Reverence on the occasion of your visit. We have also founded since then the Village of Spaniards called St. Antonio de Hupata at a great cost to the Missions, but said Commandant Centurion has endeavored to destroy it under various pretexts and to disquiet the residents thereof, in order to draw them to his simulated settlements.

Your Reverence may command my true obedience and affection which I pray * * *

No. 421.

Extract from letter of F. Felix de Villanueva to F. Jayme de Puigcerda as to Indian attack on two missionaries on the Parime, June 20, 1772.

[Translated from Copy printed *in* STRICKLAND (*Rev.* Jos., *s. J.*). The Boundary Question between British Guayana and Venezuela, fol. Rome, 1896, Appendix 1, p. 24.]

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The Rev. Father Benito de la Garriga with Father Thomas de Mataró are on an exploration of the Parime. While four days distant from there a great number of wild Indians came out upon them with firearms; at the first discharge a negro from Upata, who was with them took to his heels

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and said that he was sure all our people would be killed. Some Caribs from our Missions, who were also in the fight, have arrived and they say that some of our band are killed, but they are unable to give further particulars. The fact is, that there is no letter from the Fathers, and this a bad sign. * * *

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Extract from letter from Benito de la Garriga to P. Mariano de Sebadel, Prefect of the Capuchin Mission of Guayana, as to the Missions of Cura and the Dutch Colonies of Essequibo, October 29, 1782.

[Translated from Copy printed in STRICKLAND (*Rev.* Joseph, *s. J.*) The Boundary Question between British Guayana and Venezuela, fol. Rome, 1896, Appendix 1, p. 43.]

I received your esteemed letter, and in view of the papers sent by His Excellency the Governor, with regard to the Village of Cura I must say that the stream thereof does not afford a passage to Esquibo; said stream is in the Yeruario river and has other streams, although this river becomes dry during the summer time, it flows into the Cuyuni river, and the latter into the Esquibo; into the Cuyuni, according to reports, no deep river empties, and it is well that all this should be told to the Governor, as also that Don Santiago Bonaldes can best inform his Excellency, he having sailed over the Yeruario and Cuyuni, when he went out to take the Dutch outpost; and knows the days he employed in the navigation, and that from the place of said outpost to the Dutch Castle, of the Governor, there remained about three days. Pursuant to the order given us to push forward toward the South, for the purpose of preventing the French of Surinama from approaching us, I posted Indians at Cura, as it is impossible to make any progress toward the South without building Villages on the way, &c. This can be reported to the Governor so as to dispel his doubt about Esquivo; as also that it is necessary to stock the savannahs of Cura with 15 or 20 thousand cows in order to draw the wild cattle, as otherwise the herd cannot be formed, but must be taken away and removed to another place, according to the opinion of everybody. As to the number of residents, I beg to say that those who agreed to the Contract were only the ten families that first settled the place and those known as slaves were not yet there. Whenever they have come to the Missions and Indian settlements, food has been given to them free, and often on their return each has been presented with some calf or more; that their families, during their absence, I know, were given meat by the priests, who likewise gave them to eat whenever they asked for it, as also their *peons*, all gratuitously.

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No. 423.

Extract from Letter from Manuel Centurion, Commandant in Guayana, to His Excellency, Julian de Arriaga, November 11, 1773.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, p. 235.]

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And in compliance with the directions of the above Royal cedule I send your Excellency a copy of the report that I have sent to the Council, with the corresponding justification upon every particular. In doing so I have the pleasure to show to your Excellency, not only that I have succeeded in giving this Province the consistence and considerable increase of population of forty-three Spanish and Indian settlements, containing over two hundred families of the former, brought from the neighboring Provinces, and about eight thousand of the latter, brought from the forests and rescued from idolatry to civilized and Christian society, besides the construction of over seven hundred houses, about three thousand farms, and the breeding of over one hundred thousand head of cattle and horses, but likewise I have contributed, for that purpose, with the amount of over seven thousand dollars, out of fees and established dues, on account of my office, that I might have retained since my assumption of this general command, and that I have waived voluntarily in the service of the King and the population of this Province, as is shown by authenticated documents accompanying said report, and particularly the two certificates, Nos. 3 and 8, from the Collector of Revenues and the Royal Officer of this city.

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No. 424.

Extracts from Report of Manuel Centurion, Commander in Guayana, to Fray Julian de Arriaga, on the progress, population, etc., of Guayana; November 11, 1773.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 237-238, 240-241, 243].

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[Pp. 237-238].

And in compliance with the orders of His Highness I say that this Province of Guayana is the most eastern part of the dominions of the King in meridianal America, on the northern coast, and that the boundaries are, on the north, the lower Orinoco river, the meridianal boundary of the Provinces of Cumana and Caracas; on the east, the Atlantic Ocean; on the south, the great Amazon river; and on the west the Rio Negro and the Casiquiari creek and Upper Orinoco; the boundary of the eastern and unknown part of the Kingdom of Santa Fe.

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In the circumference and precinct of the vast continent of this Province, the Frenchmen and Hollanders occupy all the seacoast with their colonies; the former in Cayena, near the mouth of the Amazon river, and the latter in Surinam, Bervis, and Esquivo, fifty-five or seventy leagues from the large mouth of Orinoco.

On the margin of the Amazon river and on those of Rio Negro up to San Joseph of the Marivitanas (thirty-five leagues below the mouth of Casiquiari and thirty-two from our settlements and strongholds of San Carlos and San Felipe), the Portuguese are established, and our effective possessions are reduced to one part of Rio Negro, all the Casiquiari, the upper and lower Orinoco, and the new establishments that we are founding in the interior of the country by the rivers Caroni, Paragua, Aroy, Caura, Erevato, Padamo, Ventuari, and others, going from the unknown centers of Guayana to Orinoco. This river is divided in branches, forty-one leagues before reaching the sea, and receives its water through numberless mouths, in the space of seventy leagues of clusters of mangroves, all flooded from the point of Barima to Guarapiche.

The chief and most eastern of all is the one called large mouth or mouth of Navios. This one is eighteen miles broad and has a channel of two leagues, in the middle of the Barrack, with four fathoms of water down to the sea at high water; the bottom is muddy, the coast low, and the clusters of mangroves are all flooded; the sea is very quiet, especially in the months of February up to October; the tides are lively, of about one fathom deep of salt water, that stop and salt the waters of the Orinoco as far above as seventeen leagues from the mouth. The other mouths only permit the entrance of launches and piraguas, forming a labyrinth of inundated islands and creeks, emptying into the Triste Gulf, opposite the island of Trinidad; and among them those better known and practicable are the Manamo, Macaredo and Pedernales.

Through the large mouth, or the mouth of Navios, vessels can enter and navigate with fair weather in the Orinoco river and upwards, without any hindrance, and at all times frigates of forty-four guns can go up to the mouth of Caroni or the Fajardo Island in the months from May to October, when the river is full; and they can go farther up, but slowly, on account of the strong current and light winds of the season, to Angostura, where the capital city of the Province is situated at present, eighty-three leagues distance from the sea.

From Caroni to the mouth of the Orinoco there is a distance of fifty-eight leagues without any population on either side of the river (indeed, it is a pity to have it abandoned, as it is the best soil in the world for agriculture and commerce; though there is now and then a sickly place, being amongst them the old city of Guayana, nine leagues below the mouth of the Caroni, and eight above the place where the Orinoco is divided into several branches, as it has been stated.)

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[Pp. 240–241.]

As this country, from the last century, has been receiving population and requires the reduction of the Indians, the three Missions, one under the Catalan Capuchin Fathers from the Island of Trinidad, another under the Franciscan Fathers from Piritu, and the third under the Jesuits of Santa Fe, with the exception of the first, were inactive, until the year 1732, when the distribution amongst them of this vast territory, even before it was known or explored, except the banks of the lower Orinoco, was made in the following form:

The Catalan Capuchins, situated until then around the city of Guayana, took charge of the eighty-three leagues of territory between the mouth of the Orinoco and Angostura, and thence drawing a line up to the Marañon or Amazon rivers. The Franciscan Observant Fathers took the one hundred leagues from the Angostura to the mouth of the Cuchivero river, with their corresponding land between them and the Amazon river; and the rest, to the sources of the Orinoco (then unknown), was taken in charge by the Jesuits, but as it was discovered afterwards that the upper Orinoco, Rio Negro, and Casiquiari are in reciprocal communication, that territory was found to be too extensive for only one Mission, and leaving to the Jesuits the one hundred leagues which they had assigned as far as the rapids of the Ature and Maipure, and dividing this river into upper and lower Orinoco, His Majesty sent the Andalusian Capuchins to attend to the reduction and conversion of the Indians of the upper Orinoco and Rio Negro, and afterwards they took, likewise, provisional charge of catechising the settlements left by the Jesuits of Orinoco, and everything was afterwards abandoned, as I stated to your Highness on the 17th of September, 1771, by means of your Secretary, Don Pedro Garcia Mayoral.

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[P. 243.]

At the beginning of the following year of 1767, Don Josef de Iturriaga withdrew on account of sickness to the Island of Marguerita, leaving me in charge of the General command of the settlement of the Orinoco, with the same power granted to him by the King, as it is shown by the appointment or title of my commission, signed by him on the 28th of January, 1767, confirmed by the Royal cedule of the 5th of May of 1768 (Annex No. 2). Consequently, I tried to be posted in regard to the state and circumstances appertaining to my jurisdiction, for the discharge of my duties and to satisfy the Royal trust of my superiors.

I visited all the settlements of each Province, except three of the upper Orinoco and Rio Negro, beginning with the territory of the Catalan Capuchin Mission, the oldest, and established in the last century, and I found that all the population and consistence of the same was reduced to eighteen Indian settlements, with five thousand two hundred and seventy-

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three souls, the Spanish village at San Antonio de Upata, with one hundred and thirty-seven persons of all sexes andages; a cattle estate of over thirty thousand head of cattle, besides the breeding of horses and mares administered and possessed by the founders, the Catalan Capuchin Fathers in their territory, from the banks of the Orinoco thirty leagues inland to the east of the Caroni river. The Indians were mild, the climate healthy, and the soil fit for farming and breeding purposes, advantageously situated for population and commerce, but, unfortunately, all this property was in dead hands (manos muertas), forbidden to both natives and Spaniards, both miserable on that account.

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No. 425.

Note of the Secretariat on Report of the Contaduria, dated July 6, 1774, approving the Capuchins and disapproving Centurion.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 298–299.]

In consequence of what is stated by the Contaduria in this Report, the Secretariat points out that the "Expediente" which it quotes respecting the surrender of the villages of Indians which are under the care of the Catalonian Capuchin Missionaries, of the aforesaid Province of Guayana, and the placing in them of Magistrates and Parish Priests, it was resolved by the Council, and declared, that the said Religious acted well in retaining the said villages, and that the Governor went too far in imputing to them excesses which they did not commit; and by Royal "Cedula" of the 6th July of this year 1774, the Viceroy of Santa Fé was ordered to ascertain whether the said villages are in a condition to admit of Magistrates and Parish Priests without causing the flight of the Indians thereby, and having done so to render an account; advising him that by another "Cedula" of the same date, the Prefect of the said Missions had been ordered to meet him upon the matter, and inform him circumstantially of their condition, and of whatsoever else he might demand.

No. 426.

Extract from Report of the Contaduria, dated July 6, 1774, as to Complaints by Centurion and by the Capuchins.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 298.]

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What is certain is that, as concerning Missions, in regard to those of the Capuchins, the Council knows the complaints which it has had before it respecting the proceedings of Centurion, and that just recently this "Expediente" was drawn up to restrain him, and to correct the objectionable

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methods which he has employed. And treating in the present Report of this subject of Missions, and of the measures which he has taken for the administration of justice in the villages therein, and other regulations of his Government, it is necessary for the Council to bear in mind that preceding "Expediente" for the decision of the present one.

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Extracts from Proceedings instituted in response to Complaint by the Minister of Holland, as to rights of Domain on the Borders of the Colony of Essequibo, September 12, 1769, to September 1, 1774.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 74–75, 80, 90–96, 107–114, 116–123, 127–[135, 160–161.]

[Pp. 74–75.]

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Paragraph 1. Having sent to the Council, as a reserved matter, together with the Royal order of September 10, 1769, a despatch from the Minister of Holland, complaining of the conduct of the Spaniards established on the Orinoco, against the Dutch colony of Esquivo, in order to examine the same and consult His Majesty about the extension of those boundaries and the alleged right by the Republic to fish at the entrance of the Orinoco river; the Council ordered by decree of the 12th of said month and year to deliver the same to the translator, urging an immediate translation to be forwarded to the Attorney, with all the antecedents to be found on the subject. The translation was made, and the despatch, with the antecedents, delivered to the Attorney; and the Council, in conformity with this report, consulted his Majesty, on the 27th of September, 1769. That in order to act with sufficient knowledge of the case, of such an absorbing importance, it was necessary to examine the several documents quoted in the consultation, so that in case that there was no difficulty, and if it was the pleasure of His Majesty to request the Secretary of State to send to those Kingdoms the information desired, and by the same to send notice to the Council, with all the documents concerned.

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[P. 80.]

24. In due time the complaint made by the Minister of Holland on the subjects heretofore mentioned was submitted to the Council by order of the King, and under date of the 11th of May, 1768.

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[Pp. 90–96.]

All the above cases referred to and their antecedents still pending, about the proceedings in regard to the claim of the Minister of Holland,

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now before his Majesty, complaining of the conduct of the Spaniards established on the Orinoco river against the Esquivo Dutch Colony were forwarded and submitted to the Council by Royal Order of the 10th of September, 1769, in order to be examined and to consult his Majesty in regard to the extension of those boundaries and the alleged rights of the Republic to fish at the entrance of the Orinoco river.

31. Said claim by act of the Council, dated on the 12th instant, was sent to the translator, so as to be forwarded with his translation to the Attorney, with all the antecedents on the subject.

The translation shows that the claim is taken from the book of Resolutions of the High Powers of the States-General of the United Provinces, bearing the date of August 2d, 1769, the literal version of which is as follows:

(*Translation.*)

32. It has been read before the Assembly the representation of the Deputies of His Most Serene Highness the Lord Prince of Orange and Nassau and Directors of the allowed Company of the West Indies of the Presidial Chamber of Zeeland that this general Company, having the particular direction of the Esquivo Colony and the rivers dependent from the same, that in this case the petitioner had always considered, for a quasi immemorial time, in possession not only of the Esquivo river but of many other rivers and rivulets emptying into the sea along that part, as well as all the branches of rivers and rivulets emptying into the Esquivo, particularly the northern branch called Cayoeny; that for an immemorial time the bank of the Cayoeny river has been considered as dominion of the State, and that the wooden barrack or post with a guard had been kept there, besides many others of this Colony, on behalf of the company, furnished with a vessel and a few slaves and Indians.

33. That the petitioners, under such an understanding, and after what had taken place in the year 1759, were astonished at the receipt of the news conveyed by a letter from Lorenzo Horendes Gravesand, General Director of Esquivo, written under date of the *9th* of last February, stating that a Spanish detachment from the Orinoco had advanced to that Post and seized several Indians, threatening with their return on the next tide, to visit another ranch of the Esquivo river, called Maseroeny, situated between this one and the river Cayoeny, which, without any dispute, is a part of the territory of the republic, and to visit likewise and seize a party of Caribs, an Indian tribe allied to the Hollanders, and in some sort belonging to them, and then to go down the Maseroeny river, returning and going up the Cayoeny and visiting there the said Barrack of the Company; that the High Powers could see by a letter, marked letter A, what has been stated, a copy of which is annexed to this petition; that the same contains likewise a statement of the steps taken by the Director General, so as to prevent it; that the petitioners had con-

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sidered these threats as unmeaning, as many others made before, and notwithstanding said Director General had informed them by his letter of the 21st of February, 1769, a copy of which goes herewith, marked with the letter B; that the Spaniards had built two houses guarded by many troops, one of which was very near the Company's Barrack on the Cayoeny river, but apparently within their own territory, and the other farther and high up on the margin of a rivulet emptying in this same river; that in case of an attack from that quarter by the Spaniards, in time of peace, it was very likely to come from that quarter; that the Director General had sent a letter on the 3d of last March, a copy of which is accompanied and marked with the letter C, about said representation; that the petitioners had been with astonishment made acquainted with the contents of a letter which the Director General had addressed to his son-in-law, the Commander of Demerari, the original of which was forwarded and a copy of which, marked letter D, reported the Spaniards having seized the Indians of Maroco and the port of the Company situated near a rivulet, to the south of the Weyne river, between this one and the Possaron (Pumaron?), where the Company had likewise held for time immemorial a commercial place, said place under the dependency, without contradiction, of the territory of the Republic.

34. That the petitioners had received the confirmation of that news by the arrival of a triplicate of a letter from the Director General, under date of the 15th of March last, the original of which had been forwarded by way of the Island of Barbado, and the duplicate by the way of Surinam, and had not yet arrived; a triplicate in copy is produced, marked letter C, in which the High Powers might find the particulars of the proceedings of the Spaniards and the conduct of the guard of the surroundings of the measures taken by the Director General provisionally, and that every statement had been confirmed, as shown more particularly by the annexed copy, marked letters F and G, one of which was a copy of the copy of the report of the Warden of the Maroco's post (hut) sent to the Director General on the 7th of last March, and the other was a copy of a paper in writing given by the Capuchin Fathers who came along with this expedition to the Warden of the post, in the Spanish language, and had not been translated for want of an opportunity; said document His Most Serene Highness, the Lord Prince of Orange and Nassau, had kindly communicated to the petitioners, who, having seen that they had apparently been forwarded along with the original and duplicate of the same, found no reason why they had not received the latter.

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36. That the petitioners can not avoid stating to the High Powers on this occasion that the Orinoco parties had not only commenced to dispute, for some time past, the right of those from Esquivo to fish at the mouth of the Orinoco, but had, besides, effectually stopped it, notwithstanding that the Esquivo parties had been for a long time in pacific pos-

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session of the right of fishing, from which they derived a great benefit, on account of the abundance of fish found there; said Orinoco parties had commenced to stop by force the fishing on the territory of the same state, a territory extending from the river Maresigue up to the other side of the Weyne, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, as may be seen by the geographical chart of those countries, and particularly by that of Anville, one of the most esteemed on account of its accuracy.

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The petitioners beg that in consideration of the injury necessarily involved in this conduct and its progress, the High Powers send, on the ground of the one made before on the 31st of July, 1759, a copy of this representation and annexes to the Envoy Extraordinary, Mr. Doublet de Groenevelt, representing the High Powers before His Catholic Majesty, instructing said minister to make the necessary representations before the Spanish Court.

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39. And the Attorney, in his answer of the 17th of September of said year 1769, suggested that in order to forward these proceedings, on account of the despatch from the Ambassador from Holland, alleging the right of fishing in the Orinoco river (upon which His Majesty had directed to be consulted), he missed the following documents.

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[Pp. 107-114.]

54. And proceeding, in regard to the requirements of the above contents, I have to say that the judicial proceedings copied herewith show that the Director of the Colony of Esquivo, Lorenzo Hormoan (*sic*) Gravesand, had intended to alarm the States General with impositions, and that the Republic of Holland had heard the complaints sent by means of its Minister to our court in reference to the conduct of the Spaniards of the Orinoco against that Colony; that it appears from the first part of the proceedings, number 1, that the Hollanders were not, and never had been, in possession of the rivers nor rivulets emptying their waters into the sea on the coast extending from the Esquivo to the Orinoco rivers, nor had had around there any other establishment than a guard at a straw-roofed barrack, on the eastern side of the Moruca or Maroco river, that had been tolerated, during the last forty years to prevent the desertion of their slaves; that under this pretext they have carried the iniquitous trade with the barbarous Indians and cruel Caribs, buying from them Indians as slaves taken by surprise after killing other tribes that were peacefully and freely residing within the dominions of the King our Lord.

55. It was also shown by the above-mentioned part number 1 that the Hollanders were not in possession of the Mazerony (Mazaroni) nor of the other rivers emptying into the Esquivo, on the southwestern side, and that it was necessary to undeceive them, removing that error, from whence

were derived their unfounded complaints. That the Esquivo river runs parallel approximately to the coast of the ocean from the neighborhood of the Corentin until it reaches the sea, forty-five leagues east of the mouth of the Orinoco; all the rivers proceeding from the interior of the Province of Guayana and in the direction of the coast, between the mouth of the Corentin and the Esquivo, meet precisely at this last one, that runs across and receives their waters. So that if, as the Hollanders supposed, their land was to embrace the rivers and rivulets of the Esquivo, comprising Cayuni, Maserony, Mao, Apanoni, Putara, and other smaller rivers, with their branches and sources, as within the territory of the Republic, the strangers should hold a larger portion of lands than our King in the Province of Guayana, as is shown by the accompanying plan that he had drawn as part of his report, marking in yellow color what in his judgment could be pretended by the Hollanders by right of possession acquired in any way until to-day.

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59. That the seizure of the Moruca Indians by the Spaniards consisted in the visits of two Catalan Capuchin Fathers, escorted as customary, who went up to the headwaters of the Barima river, in quest of Indian deserters from the Missions in their charge, and having found them dispersed, around those creeks between the Guayne and Moruca (a territory contiguous to the Orinoco, never occupied by Hollanders); that while gathering the Indians at the Post or Barrack of Moruca, where there was a Dutch keeper, it was discovered that three Indian women with their children were enslaved after having been taken through the mouth of the Orinoco, and, as was reported by the Reverend Fathers, they were taken back to "the Missions without doing any other harm to the Hollanders;" on the contrary, they gave to the guard on duty, and at his request, as a favor, a certificate of the case, rather moved to compassion and exceeding themselves in saying that they had a permit of the deponent for entering that post, which was not true, as the passport given to the pilot of the launch was not extended to go any farther than the mouth of the Orinoco, as shown by part number I.

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62. Therefore in compliance with the same rule the following witnesses were examined: Fray Benito de la Garriga, ex-Prefect of the Catalan Capuchin Mission of Guayana, fifty-eight years old; Fray Tomas de San Pedro, Capuchin of the Guayana Missions, fifty-three years old; Fray Josef Antonio de Cerbera, Capuchin of the Guayana Missions, forty-nine years old; Fr. Felix de Tarraga, Capuchin Missioner of Guayana, thirty-four years old; Don Feliz Ferreras, Lieutenant of Infantry of the Guayana Fortress, fifty-seven years old; Don Santiago Bonalde, a resident of Guayana, forty-six years old.

63. All agreed in their corresponding affidavits, stating, without discrepancy, that the Hollanders were not and had never been in

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possession of the rivers nor rivulets, emptying their waters into the sea along the coast from the Esquivo exclusively to the mouth of the river Orinoco; that they had only been tolerated on that side, for the purpose of keeping a guard consisting of two Europeans and several Indians at a Barrack called the Post, on the eastern margin of the Moruca river, (called by the Hollanders Maroco,) and that this establishment has not been there for any quasi immemorial time, as the Colony itself, as it is well known, was only established in the year 1659.

That it was untrue that they have had or had any possession of the Cuyuni river (called by them Cayoeni), as having established there a guard and barrack similar to that of Moruca, in the year 1747, to facilitate the inhuman trade and conveyance of Indians whom they enslaved surreptitiously from the dominions of the King our Lord, for the cultivation of their plantations and improvement of the Colony; as soon as notice of the case was received in the year 1757, they were dislodged from there, so that neither on the Cuyuni, Maserony, Apanoni, nor in any of the other rivers emptying into the Esquivo have the Hollanders any possessions nor could be tolerated that they should, because said rivers embrace nearly all the territory of the province of Guayana, running from their occidental end, where their headwaters are found, down to the oriental limit, empty-into the Esquivo river, it should result from the supposed possession that the Hollanders would be the masters of all the extensive Province of Guayana, and that the Spaniards had no more than the said banks of the Orinoco, an evident absurdity; that the only place where they were tolerated and settled was on the margins of the Esquivo river, running southeast and northwest, almost parallel with the ocean coast, the eastern term of the Province of Guayana, and leaving free all the interior of this Province to the Spaniards, their lawful holders; that they did not know nor had ever heard that the Spaniards had built any stronghold on the Cuyuni nor in its surroundings with many or few troops, but they rather thought that Monsieur de Gravesand had imagined to be so, the two settlements of Indian Missions established under the Catalan Capuchin Fathers' rule, founded in the year 1757 and 1761 on the western margin of the Yuruari river, a tributary of the Cuyuni, at a distance of seventy leagues from the Dutch barrack destroyed; that the reason they had to believe it is that we had no other establishment in that direction.

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That the witnesses 1, 2, 3, and 4, said that in February of 1769, the Prefect of the Missions of the Capuchins (who is the witness 1) gave a permit to Father Josef Cerbera and Father Felix Taraga (who are witnesses 3 and 4) to go down to the mouth of the Orinoco and Barima rivers, to gather the Aruacas, the Guaraunos, wild and the deserters from the Missions under their charge, and that said Fathers, with the launch and escort leading them, found two dispersed Indians among the Guayne and Moruca, and after gathering them they reached a port, where there was a Hollander

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who had three Indian women with their children enslaved, brought out from the mouth of the Orinoco, according to their statements to the Fathers, that they brought them back to the Missions, but without using any violence, doing any harm to the Hollanders. Witnesses 3 and 4 added that they were the Commissioners, and with the view of favoring the Hollander, corporal, in charge of the said Post, who asked on his knees and crying for something to show the nature of the case, they gave him a certificate to satisfy the Governor of Esquivo; and that without knowing the malice of his pretensions, and in pity for the man, amplified the certificate, saying that they had a permit of the Commander-General of Orinoco at Guayana, to enter as far as that place, when it was not so, as the passport given to the pilot of the launch, carrying them, was definitely limited to the mouth of the Orinoco; and that for the rest they had no permit for more nor any further order from their Superior. Witness 5, in reference to this particular subject of what happened on last February, said that he did not know anything, as he was in Rio Negro at the time. And the sixth witness said that he knew only that the Capuchin Fathers had made that trip and had taken away the fugitive Indians from their settlement found there; that on their return, through the creeks and plains between the Guayne and Moruca, they had reached a Barrack Post of the Hollanders and found two or three Indians, natives of our dominions, by the Dutch corporal enslaved and brought them back to their Missions, without having done any harm or hostility to said Hollanders. Continuing, all the six witnesses united stated that in regard to the Post and commercial house that Gravesand supposed to have been kept by the Dutch Company, between Guayne and Poveron (Pumaron), they did not know nor had heard anything of such an establishment.

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That they had never seen or heard that the Hollanders kept on fishing at the mouth of the Orinoco, nor that the Spaniards had had to stop it; that they did not understand that there was any necessity for the Hollanders to fish at the mouth of the Orinoco, as they could provide themselves with fish much nearer to the Esquivo, and thought that under pretext of fishing they wanted to have the free access of their vessels to the mouth of the Orinoco, in order to facilitate and re-establish the furtive shipment of mules from the Guarapiche and Guarapo rivers, as well as Barimas tobacco, hides, and other products of the Spanish Provinces, in order to materially benefit their colonies at the time when the Orinoco and its creeks were not as well guarded as now; that this circumstance and want of commerce was the true cause of the decadence of Esquivo and of the resentment of Gravesand, the first merchant, and always the most interested in the illicit trade of the Colony. Witnesses 5 and 6 adding that only in the year 1760 the Lieutenant, Don Juan de Flores, seized a schooner and two launches from Esquivo at the Orinoco river and the Barima, its confluent, while giving chase to some

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Hollanders, who were around those creeks buying Poytos from the Caribs; that said vessels were confiscated by the Government of Cumana, from where Guayana was at that time a dependence. Following in their affidavits, the six witnesses assured that the proposition was likewise false, that they had been prevented by the Spaniards of the territory from fishing, observing that Gravesand claims as belonging to the State the territory extending from the Mareguiñe river down to this side of the Guayne very near the mouth of the Orinoco; that said statement is an intolerable error.

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[Pp. 116-123.]

All six witnesses testified that neither the Indians nor the fugitive negroes from Esquibo, as far as they knew, had been induced by the Spaniards to run away, and it was not likely to be so, as any one found guilty of such an offence might have been hung at Esquivo; that it was true that said Colony of Esquivo was undergoing visible ruin, after the doors had been shut up against their illicit commerce with the Orinoco, and the Poytos knew the way to keep free, when they could escape from it; that, finally, it was not true that the Spaniards had killed any Dutch guard or guards or had attacked any other Post, than the one at Cuyuni in the year of 1758, at the time when one Spanish soldier was killed during the attack, and that was the only death on that occasion. And finally, all the witnesses added that they knew by experience, the Missioners after twenty-three years' residence, others nine and five, and others as residents of Guayana, twenty-three to thirty-three years, that the suggestions of the Esquivo Hollanders and their detestable commerce in Poytos was the cause of the delay of the population of the Caribs and their settlement in our Missions, as well as many other savage tribes, as the Hollanders were continually making them work in the way of destroying the other settlements by different means, such as burning them, as it was done in the year 1750, or attacking them by force or making them rebel through their artful and diabolical policy; that during the time the deponents had been established in Guayana, the Hollanders, in company with the Caribs (as can be seen by the corresponding proceedings), had destroyed seven settlements by fire, without counting those which they destroyed belonging to the Jesuit Ministers, and killing likewise many of the Reverend Fathers; that in all these attacks, witnesses 5 and 6 added, Hollanders were found naked and dyed red like the Caribs.

66. And having nothing else in reference to testimony No. 1, the exposition of the Governor of Guayana, in his representations continues, showing that at the Cuyuni river, called by the Hollanders Cayoeny, they had no other possession than a farm at the mouth of the Esquivo; that they had intended in 1747 to establish, at a distance of fifteen or twenty leagues above, a Barrack and Guard to enslave Indians from our territory, through the Caribs, but as soon as our Missioners ascertained the fact they notified

the Commander of Guayana, who had them dislodged in the following year of 1757 by a detachment, who set fire to the Barrack and brought as prisoners the Hollanders, one negro, and the Caribs found in the place, together with the original instructions and papers showing the infamous commerce carried by said Guard, as well as the other advanced Barrack of the Colony by order of the Director of Esquivo and in his interest, thus bleeding to the heart the center of our Province of Guayana. Part No. 2 justifies the details of this march, and shows that there was no other blood shed than that of two of our soldiers, one who was killed and the other wounded.

67. This part 2 shows that on receipt of the report by the Prefect of the Catalan Capuchin Missions of Guayana, Fr. Benito de la Garriga to the Commander *ad interim*, stating that the Hollanders were keeping an establishment in the Island of Caramucuro, in the Cuyuni river, where they had a corporal with people making the inhuman commerce in Indians, whom they enslaved and purchased from the Caribs in exchange for dry goods, hatchets, knives, munitions of war and other articles, to the great detriment of our Missions and settlements for the advancement of our holy faith, it was ordered by said Commander *ad interim*, who was at the time Don Felix Ferreras, an Ensign of Infantry, on the date of the 27th of July, 1758, that under the written instructions of what was to be done in order to ascertain the facts, an expedition should go, under the command of Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, furnishing them with the necessary vessels, stores, ammunitions and men.

68. And after having acted as directed by said instructions, a formal investigation was instituted before the Commander of Guayana, Don Juan Valdes, during the months of September and October of the said year, 1758, and the affidavits received then show, that the heads and soldiers who served in the expedition reached said island of Caramucuru and found there only one hut with one Hollander and a negro, whom they apprehended, and another Hollander whom they took on the road; that at the time when they advanced on the hut they heard four or five shots, without knowing who fired them; that a soldier was killed and another was wounded; that there was no other establishment in that place; that the Hollander said that he was there placed by the Governor of Esquivo, but did not say for what purpose; that some papers were taken from him; that they found one musket, two pistols unloaded, and no more arms; that said Hollander denied firing, saying that perhaps it was the negro; that the other articles found were twelve dozen knives, seven hatchets, three short broad swords, five muskets, three pistols, several remnants of dry goods, all of which were distributed among the Caribs who had accompanied and guided them.

69. And from the corresponding confessions taken from the two Hollanders imprisoned, it appears that after giving their names and professions, they stated that said hut was a Guard established there during the

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last few years by the Governor of Esquivo, so as to prevent the desertion of the Esquivo colony slaves and avoid any assault from the Caribs against the Esquivos or neighboring Spanish friends, that they had no other purpose, as it was shown by chapter five of the instructions they had; that the knives and other articles found with them were intended for the purchase of victuals; that the Spaniards killed and wounded might have been shot by the Spaniards themselves, as they could not shoot; that the Guard where they were found is called Cuiba, near the banks of the Cuyuni river; that they had made no purchase of Poytos for merchandise; that the distance from that Guard to Esquivo is short; that he did not know whether that place was within the jurisdiction of Esquivo, but that said Post had been kept there for a few years; that the land was not fit for farms, as it was marshy.

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That the Post that Gravesand said to have been seized by the Spaniards near a rivulet towards the south of the Guayne river, between this and Povaron, where it was supposed that the Company had had from time immemorial a place of commerce and a Post depending without contradiction from the territory of the republic, the exponent supposes that it may be the one that the intruded Hollanders abandoned at the Barima river in the year 1768, when they ascertained through the Caribs, their friends, that our launches as corsairs were searching said river, as one of the most important emptying into the Orinoco, although he (Gravesande) tries to diminish its importance, calling it a rivulet; and that he did not dare call said river by its name, fearing to appear as an usurper, and to that end he feigned so poor a memory as to call immemorial an establishment hardly two years old, as it is shown in part No. 3.

72. From this part it appears that the Commander of Guayana was informed that several Dutch families had settled at the Barima creek within our jurisdiction near the large mouth of the Orinoco; that he sent a Captain with a launch and the corresponding crew, with directions to notify said families once, twice, and three times to remove their settlements from there, as that place did not belong to nor was within the territory of the States General, but was under Spain; that the Captain, in compliance with his commission, went and came back from that place, bringing several articles from the houses left by the families; that said articles were enumerated in a regular list and appraised and sold at auction after being proclaimed, and the proceeds distributed according to the Royal regulations; that said Captain and three of the persons of the crew made their affidavits, showing that after the receipt by the Commander General of Guayana of a report that at the aforesaid creek of Barima close to the large mouth of the Orinoco river, where it empties, some Dutch families had settled, they had been sent, said Captain and crew, with instructions to notify them one, two and three times to leave that territory that was

annexed to the Province of Guayana; that the exponents left for their destination, at the creek, and having reached its mouth saw there several Indians of the Carib tribe, and that these spread the news of their approach before reaching the establishments and farms of said strangers, who ran away, allowing no time for any notification; that the houses were found abandoned, and the effects, iron implements, and utensils found in them were taken under an inventory and shipped on board of their two vessels; that they afterwards set fire to the houses so as to prevent their re-establishment, and destroyed as far as possible the farms around.

73. Continuing his representations, said Commander of Guayana showed that the Spaniards had never disputed then or at any time with the Dutch about fishing at the mouths of the Orinoco, because they (the Dutch) had never claimed the right to fish there; that during the three years elapsed since the time when he commenced to employ armed launches as corsairs in this river twenty-three foreign vessels had been seized, but none of them were employed in fishing; that they had not seen or even heard any report of the possession by the Hollanders of the fishing rights as it appeared by the part No. 1, as already mentioned; that he had found only an instance of a seizure by Spaniards in the year 1760 of a small schooner and two Dutch fishing launches at the mouth of the Orinoco and Barima river, as it appears by the part No. 4; that he was of the opinion that they ought to be prevented from fishing there, as said fishing might degenerate into an illicit trade, difficult to stop and too injurious to the Spanish Provinces.

74. It appears by said part No. 4 that the Commander of Guayana, after having received intelligence that a few Hollanders near Barima were carrying on the inhuman and illicit commerce of purchasing Indians in trade for merchandise from the Caribs, issued his order of the 7th of September, 1760, instructing the Lieutenant of Infantry, Don Juan de Dios y Flores, to prevent said traffic; that said lieutenant left, but did not reach the place of his destination, on account of having seized, on his way, a schooner and two Dutch launches that came to Orinoco for the purpose of fishing; that he brought said vessels to the port of Santo Thome of Guayana, where they were visited as prizes and an inventory made; that a local investigation was instituted, by which it appears that said lieutenant and his crew seized the above-mentioned vessels, on account of their being employed in fishing at the Orinoco; that their crews fled with the exception of a mustee and a few Arauca Indians; that the reason for not having reached the place of destination was on account of being short of hands, and that it was natural to suppose that the Hollanders whom they were after, had received news of their approach and left; that it was shown by the confessions of the persons arrested in the vessels seized; that the vessels were Dutch, on their way to fish in the Orinoco; that there were several Hollanders at Barima purchasing Poytos; that the Commander ordered the arrest of the mustee, and the other

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Indians to be sent to the Missions; that, by direction of the Commander General of Cumana, the other parties were apprized with their appurtenances and sold at public auction, distributing all the proceeds, according to the Royal regulations.

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[Pp. 127–135.]

The Commander of Guayana further stated:

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85. That in the Royal order his report was wanted on the matter, for the notice of his Majesty, and he had to observe that in all countries the sea coasts were most precious, as without them the productions inland were useless for the countries beyond the sea; that in the vast Province of Guayana, so fertile and advantageously situated, all the coasts were occupied by strangers, remaining only to the Spaniards, on one extremity, the mouth of the Orinoco as a sea port; that the Hollanders possessed those parts of the coast of most importance to that vast country, having many navigable rivers running from the innermost and most profitable part of Guayana; that it was therefore advisable to destroy the Dutch Colonies, beginning at Esquivo and following to Demerari, Berbis, Corentin up to Surinam; that the exponent thought of two proper ways, * * * that the second way to accomplish such an end was to keep in said Province a standing battalion of Infantry to watch and verify the frontiers and rivers emptying into the Esquivo, the building of strongholds that even when projected had frightened the Hollanders.

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That among the fortresses above mentioned, one ought to be at the point of Barima, at the windward of the mouth of Navios, in a northerly direction, with a high wooden house of the same kind of the balize at the entrance of the Mississippi, as the land is swampy and low; that from said establishment we would be enabled to keep a close watch on the Hollanders and stop them in their illicit trade, keeping a constant lookout at the Barima river, the chief avenue of communication between the Esequivo Colony and the Orinoco; * * * by holding a Post at Barima Point, that of the Hollanders at Moruca would become useless, for the purpose of preventing the escape of their Indian Poytos or other slaves arresting their pursuers, who sometimes were bound to come as far as the Orinoco, when they knew that the Spaniards were at 49 leagues from the mouth.

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87. This part, No. 8, is confined to a certificate given at the city of San Thomé, of Guayana, on the 20th of September, 1769, by Don Juan

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Josef Canales, an Ecclesiastical Rector, Vicar, and Judge of that city; Don Andres Oleaga, Royal Accomptant of the same; Don Josef Bosse, Captain of Infantry and Sergeant Major of the Orinoco troops; Don Juan Antonio Bonalde, Captain of Infantry of the same troop; Don Nicolas Martinez, Lieutenant Commander of Artillery; Don Antonio Barreto, Lieutenant of Infantry and Chief Adjutant of the same; and the resident officers and civilians, Captain Don Vicente Franco, Captain Don Diego Ignacio Mariño, Lieutenant Don Juan de Jesus Miers, Don Joaquin de Mieres, Don Cayetano Filgueyra y Barcia, and Captain Calixto de Lesama. It appears by the certificates of all the above persons that Don Manuel Centurion Guerrero de Torres, Royal Captain of the Artillery Corps, and General Commander of Guayana and all the settlements of the upper and lower Orinoco and Rio Negro, had endeavored and was endeavoring, with the utmost diligence and constance, to secure the advancement and welfare of that Province and their neighbors, and * * * that he dislodged, likewise, from the Barima river the usurping Hollanders, who had settled on its margins, in alliance with over eight thousand Carib Indians.

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That he had erected a small fort furnished with artillery, served by eight soldiers, for the defence of a new Indian settlement at the Caura river, the theatre of the inhuman war kept up by the Caribs in order to carry out their infamous traffic in Poyto Indian slaves, whom they sold to the Esquivo Hollanders; that he had likewise explored the large cocoa fields of the upper Orinoco, and that in order to improve the culture and commerce of said products he had undertaken the civilization and settlement of the savage Indians of those territories, supporting and keeping there a Captain settler and some Andalusian Capuchin Missionaries, with an officer and military escort, taking them to Rio Negro, where they had settled new towns and the Missions of La Esmeralda, San Philipe, San Francisco Solano, and Santa Barbara, and supported those of San Carlos and Maypures, founded by the boundary expedition; that he had likewise trained, disciplined, and dressed in uniforms all the troops of that Province, which had been found in a wretched condition of neglect and nudity for want of economy on the part of the Directors; that he had gathered and brought to the settlement of Pan de Azucar, the dispersed Indians, fugitives from the Mission of Cabruta, and those of the Province of Barcelona in the new settlements of Tapaquire, and Cerro del Mono; that he had founded the three new Missions of Panapana, and Mamanta, and Orocopiche, in the neighborhood of Guayana, at a distance of two or three leagues from its commerce and support; that he had commenced and was carrying on with the greatest activity the erection of a magnificent church in Guayana, on a model architecture such as few could be found in America.

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That he had founded a town, under the name of Bourbon, with Spanish families, from the Province of New Barcelona, without taxing the King for rations for their maintenance during the first year, nor any other expenses, as it has been the case with other populations in former times; that he erected in the interior of that Province, at the Paragua river, a small fort furnished with artillery and troops for the defence of the place, and to prevent the Hollanders from taking away the Poytos they used to seize on the margin of the Orinoco, for the service of their Colonies on the Atlantic coast of that continent; that he had increased and improved that city with over sixty houses with tiled roofs and common walls, and the corresponding families brought from the neighboring Provinces to inhabit them, and enjoying conveniences which they did not possess at home or found among the inhabitants of Guayana; that the settlement of cattle ranches and towns settled by Spaniards on the upper Orinoco by order of His Majesty, and in all the new establishments and communities of Missionaries supported by the Commander General, the true zeal of the same was manifested, as well as the economical conduct of his government, and the generous disinterestedness he showed in his endeavors for the advancement of that Province, as well as the benefits to be derived by the Spanish Crown from the population, advancement, and safety of that extensive Province, so advantageousiy situated, as being the nearest from America to Spain, the constant trade that could be kept with those countries even in time of war, without any fear of the interception of their vessels by cruisers or corsairs of the enemy, as there was no obstacle or any fixed place to wait for them from the large mouth of the Orinoco to the Spanish shores.

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89. That, in compliance, he reported that the only facts that he had ascertained to exist took place before the separation of the Province of Guayana from the Government of Cumana, and were brought about by the same Hollanders of the Esquivo Colony, close to the Missions of the Catalan Capuchins in said Province; that in the year 1758, the Governor *ad interim*, Don Nicolas de Castro, received a letter from the Prefect of said Missions informing the Commander of that fortress of the serious injury and the loss of lives at the hands of the Caribs of the desert, influenced by the Esquivo Hollanders, who had invaded the region of Hauchica, where the Guaica Indian Mission was established; that fearing greater evils to the surrounding settlements, he applied for a prompt remedy, giving as the chief cause of these troubles the constant suggestions of the Hollanders in persuading the Caribs not to belong or make part of the Spanish settlements, thus fostering their dislike and opposition to their holy work, so as to continue the abominable trade they kept with the Caribs, giving them dry goods and iron implements in exchange for Indian Poytos (which means slaves among them), the same Poytos were taken by the Caribs as prisoners in their wars, so as to sell them to the above men-

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tioned Esquivo Colony, thus retarding the progress of the Gospel and the religious instructions of the gentiles.

That said Hollanders trespassing the limits of their Colony were taking more lands for the purpose of their commerce in the dominions of His Majesty and the neighborhood of the farthest Missions fronting to them, as it was shown by the fact of the establishment at that place, with a permit from Governor Lorenzo Storem Gravesand, of a house and Guard in the island called Caramacuru in the Cuyuni river, of the territory of the Missions, (that the Hollanders call in said papers Cayoeny river); because this place had never been considered a part of the Esquivo Colony, as it is shown by the despatch of the above mentioned Prefect; that aware of all these circumstances, the Commander of Guayana sent an expedition of troops to said Cuyuni river, with the necessary instructions, so as to dislodge the Hollanders from that place and seize the Indian slaves or Poytos and everything else they kept; that it was so carried out, notwithstanding the resistance of the Hollander who commanded in that Post and the death of one of the Spaniards and serious wound of another of that expedition; that on this subject a suitable investigation was instituted by the Commander of all the facts and circumstances of the occasion, and were forwarded, with the two Dutch prisoners arrested in the act of resistence, to the Govenor *ad interim*, Don Nicolas de Castro, who took the advice of a learned assessor and reported the case accordingly, referring the proceedings to His Majesty, but there is no evidence of what became of the said Hollanders and the said proceedings.

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[Pp. 160–161.]

143. And having placed these proceedings and annexes in the hands of the Attorney General, as directed, said attorney, in his answer of the 6th of August, 1774, said: That, in the proceedings instituted, in consequence of the pretensions of the Minister of Holland assuming his right or dominion on his part to fish in that portion of Orinoco river, and that he was disturbed and unjustly ejected by the subjects of His Majesty, he recalls the fact that, in order to carry out the Royal order of September 10, 1769, he requested from the Secretary of the Universal Department of Indies, as well as from the Council, all the documents and antecedents to be found in connection with the subject.

144. That it was done and that he received a large amount of papers, letters and documents, and that having taken them all into mature consideration, he found that it was a protracted matter, wanting close attention and considerable time, that he needed for the discharge of his duties, and in order to avoid this inconvenience he suggested that the whole affair should be submitted to a Relator of the pleasure of the Council, so as to

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take special notes and an abstract of all the antecedents and facts up to the present time, and when that had been done, to send it back to him (the Attorney General) so as to submit his further views and report to His Majesty.

145. And the Council having accepted this suggestion by decree of the 1st of September, 1774, all the proceedings were delivered to me for the purpose already explained by the answer of the Attorney-General. That was the result.

No. 428.

Report of the Fiscal, dated October 1, 1774, as to Complaints by the Dutch Minister.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 314.]

The Fiscal, for the "Expediente" necessitated by the Dutch Minister, wishing to allege full right and dominion in the Colony of Essequibo and fishery in that part of the River Orinoco, and that your Majesty's subjects trouble and disturb it unjustly, states that, in order to comply with the orders expressed in His Majesty's Royal Order of the 10th September, 1769, concerning this affair, he requested that all documents and data that might serve to elucidate this matter, and had any connection whatever therewith, should be sought for in the Department of the Council of the Indies, as well as in that of the Secretary of State, and be added to the file.

This was effectively complied with by the transmission of a mountain ("crecido cumulo") of papers, despatches, letters, and documents; and the Fiscal having devoted himself to their examination, finds that the proper study and discernment of all these is a very long affair, in which a great part of his time, that he requires for the due transaction of other and very important affairs of his office, would be uselessly consumed. Consequently, he is of opinion that to avoid this inconvenience, and that the greatest exactness may be attained, the whole affair should be placed in the hands of a competent person chosen by the Council, so that a circumstantial commentary and abstract of all the documents, and whatever else there may be therewith connected at the present time, be drawn up, and on its conclusion the whole returned to the Fiscal for his opinion and judgment, and whatever else may be necessary to inform His Majesty.

Council, October 1, 1774.

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Table of distances, etc., between Missions and Villages, by Mariano de Sebadel, Prefect, March 9, 1776.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 805.]

	Leagues.
From the village of Purisima Conception of Caroni to that of our Most Holy Father Saint Francis Altagracia	9
From the village of Altagracia to that of the town of San Antonio de Upata	2½
From the town of Upata to that of San Joseph Cupapuy	2
From the village of Cupopuy to that of Santa Maria of Yacuario	4
From the village of Santa Maria to that of Saint Michael of the Palmar	9
From the village of Palmar to that of St. Paul of Cumamo	9½
From the village of Cumamo to that of Nuestra Señora de Monserrate of Miamo	3
From the village of Miamo to that of San Fidel of Carapo	3
From the village of Carapo to that of San Felix of Tupuquen	5½
From the village of Tupuquen to that of Our Lady of the Rosary of Guacipati	5
From the village of Guacipati to that of Divina Pastora of the Cattle-farm	4½
From the village of the Cattle-farm to that of San Joseph de Leonisa de Ayma	4
From the village of Ayma to that of Our Lady of Sorrows at Puedpa	10
From the village of Puedpa to that of San Pedro of the Mouths of the Paragua	25½
From the village of the mouths to that of the town of Saint Isidore of Barceloneta there is no road open by land, and one has to sail a day and a-half by the Paragua, and that the distance will be about	15
From the town of Barceloneta to that of Saint Bonaventure of Guri (Aguri in copy)	25
From the village of Guri to that of San Antonio of Huiesátana	8
From the village of Huiesátana to that of Saint Raymond of Caruachi	9
From the village of Caruachi to that of Our Mother Saint Eulalie of Morucurri	3
From the village of Morucurri to that of Our Lady Saint Anne	9
From the village of Saint Anne to that of the Holy Cross of Mount Calvary	9
From the village of Calvario to that of the Caroni, with the passage of the river	1½
Total number of leagues	175½

No. 430.

Extracts from Report of Council of February 16 and April 20, 1776, as to the Missions.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 299, 304.]

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Afterwards, in a letter of the 20th March, 1773, the said Governor rendered an account of the increase of that Province, from the year 1766, in which he took possession of his command; and as shown by the statement and return, which he annexed, the said increase consisted in 43 settlements of Spaniards and Indians; and of 8,558 inhabitants; 712 houses; 2,899 farms, and 131,963 head of cattle and horses; crediting also, by a certificate, which he enclosed, countersigned by the Royal Officer of that Treasury, the receipt therein of 38,803 dollars; which progress he brought before Your Majesty's notice to show his eagerness that in that vast dominion the favourable resolutions which its natives deserved from Your Majesty's Royal Grace might become effectual, and hoping that it would earn your Royal approbation.

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Respecting this "Expediente" [the Council] again reported to the Contaduria on the 6th July, 1774, that not only did the Governor of Guayana, in his circumstantial report, fully inform the Council of all matters required of him, but that if they were to rely on what was represented therein, he appears worthy of distinguished approbation for the signal merit and good services in which for the advantage of the State and of Your Majesty he had devotedly employed himself, with continual labours, and all his conduct in objects so worthy of being regarded with the first attention on account of their value and importance; but that although they had before them various replies from the former Viceroys of Santa Fé, Don Pedro Mesia de la Cerda and Don Manuel de Guirior, and from the Governor of Carácas, which approved and extolled the zeal and proceedings of the said Centurion in these matters; nevertheless, the Contaduria is doubtful whether they were able to completely justify the management of all this vast matter, for being limited to replying to him only upon the reports which they received concerning the advancement and progress of those settlements, and the other points relating to them, it seemed that, not having entered into the examination and justification in detail of all parts of his conduct, there was some fear lest it might not turn out to be so laudable and distinguished as it now appeared; it being certain that in the matter of Missions, as regards those of the Capuchins, the Council was aware of the complaints which had been made respecting Centurion's proceedings, and quite recently they had definitely resolved to restrain him and correct the objectionable manner in which he had acted; and treating in the day's proceedings of this matter and of the measures which he had taken for the administration of justice in the villages thereof, and other regulations of his Government, it would be necessary for the Council to have before them

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that previous report for their decision. That the matter of the Jesuit Missions, which it seems were almost abandoned, would also require all the attention of the Council on account of the important religious character of the affair.

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No. 431.

Extracts from Plan of Defense for Guayana proposed by Augustin Crame and Joseph Linares, March 15, 1777.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 1, pp. 132, 133.]

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1. Guayana, the extent of which is larger than Spain, possesses on all sides excellent land for agriculture, and rich pastures for cattle breeding. It is also believed with some foundation, that mines exist, for in past times various explorations were made and trials carried on, which gave great hopes. And even at the present time the hopes of discovering the province of "Dorado" have not been dissipated from what little our men did, in that respect, who were most unjustly seized by the Portuguese, and are now prisoners in Pará.

2. The number of inhabitants of this province is very reduced. There are scarcely 4,000, taking Spaniards, creoles and negroes, in the whole extent of it, but the number of reduced Indians is considerable, and will not be less than 18,000.

3. There are about 200,000 head of cattle, 170,000 belonging to the Missions, the remainder to private individuals, &c.

4. The plantations give sufficient for the interior consumption, and so far as agriculture is carried it gives good results and returns, &c.

5. The trade of this province is very limited, and tobacco from the Province of Barinas is the chief article of produce, and will be for some time. With this, and what Guayana produces, a trade amounting to about 60,000 or 70,000 pesos (about 10,000*l.*) might be carried on with Spain.

6. The income of the province reaches 15,000 pesos (about 2,500*l.*) a-year, but as the expenses of the Government are 50,000 pesos (about 8,000*l.*) a-year, it is necessary to transmit from the Treasury of Santa Fé 35,000 pesos (about 5,500*l.*) annually.

7. These notes are given to form an idea of the province, the garrison of which consists of four veteran companies, three of infantry, consisting of seventy-two men in each, and one of artillery of sixty. Both are distributed among the forts, fortress and Missions; the men are not bad, but under such a distribution there can be no discipline.

8. Besides the garrison there are four companies of militia: two of whites, one of creoles, and another of mulattos, &c.

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9. This province is bounded on the east by the Dutch Colony of Essequibo, and French Guayana.

The proximity of the Dutch does not by any means give any ground for alarm. In no way whatever do they belie their peaceful system, nor manifest any ambition to extend their possessions in the interior. Nevertheless, their explorations have reached to Parime; and, on the other hand, the liberty we grant to their fugitive slaves make them chary about having us as neighbours.

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12. Returning now to the principal mouth of the Orinoco, one navigates for 45 leagues up river without seeing anything more than deserts, which, on the north, extend for a great distance, marshy; and on the south inclosed by forests inhabited by a multitude of Indians, and the lands are admirable for all kinds of cultivation. At 45 leagues' distance from the Grand Mouth, the port of San Francisco de Assis is reached, and from there up the country is open, with immense savannahs on both sides of the river.

13. This fort is situated upon a hill on the south bank of the river, and at a distance of a quarter of a league from the place where Santo Thomé de la Guayana was, the capital of this province, and owing to its unhealthiness was transplanted to Angostura, &c.

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16. Going up stream from San Francisco, the Island of Fajardo is reached, at a distance of 8 leagues; an excellent and dominant position, where there is a small battery with four small cannon, &c.

17. From Fajardo to Guayana there are 22 leagues; it is situated also on the south bank of the river, at a point formerly known by the name of "San Phelipe," close to the town, and this is an immense rocky hill, looking out on the Orinoco, &c.

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No. 432.

Letter from Julian de Arriaga, dated Sept. 22, 1779, transmitting to the Council Papers relating to Complaints of Dutch Minister.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 315.]

In consequence of what was set forth by the Council of the Indies, in a "Consulta" of the 27th October of the past year, in regard to reporting upon the complaints made by the Dutch Minister on account of the proceedings of the Spaniards of the Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo, it is necessary that the documents referring thereto be examined, and it is requested they be sent to him; in this Department, under my charge, there have been found the documents mentioned in the inclosed index, from Nos.

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1 to 5, inclusive, and a despatch was sent to the Department of State requesting that, if those wanting exist there, and be found, they be sent to your Excellency.

In this supposition, and the information included in Nos. 6 and 7 having been received, conformably to the Reports requested from the Commandant of Guayana and Governor of Cumaná, and the representation of the Prefect of the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchins, No. 8, having been added thereto, I herewith transmit to your Excellency, by command of the King, the said documents, as contained in the index, so that the Council, when they have considered the same, may report to His Majesty whatever may appear necessary and convenient, returning at the same time those marked from Nos. 1 to 5, and also the plan of the Province of Guayana, contained in No. 6.

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Report of José Felipe de Inclarte, to José de Abalos, Governor-General of Venezuela, as to Surveying the Lower Orinoco, November 27, 1779.

[Reprinted from Seijas, Ven. International Law, pp. 84–89.]

In fulfilment of the commission you were pleased to entrust to me for the populating of the eastern part of the lower Orinoco, I reached the city of Santo Tomás de la Guayana on the 7th of May last, and having taken the measures of which I advised Your Excellency in my dispatches of 4th of June, 27th of July and 5th August last, I commenced the exploration of the country, leaving the aforesaid city on the 6th of the same month of August.

Having reached the mouth of the branch (caño) Barima on the 13th of the same month at noon, I went on surveying the branch on both sides in a distance of thirty leagues, and found nothing but marshy and swampy lands covered with groves of mangle and *timil*, with talc, and trees called *zapateros* and *puruas*, excepting in the branch (caño) of Aruco. This branch, going up the aforesaid Barima in a distance of sixteen leagues, has its mouth on the right bank, and entering it to a distance of one league, one finds that all the lands lying on its right side are composed of handsome hills and meadows with several rivulets of spring water, proper for all kinds of agriculture in a distance of seven leagues, where the branch (caño) of Garuabo is reached. Entering the aforesaid branch of Aruco, one meets at a distance of one league, the first hill, which was inhabited a few years ago by a Dutchman from Essequibo called Mener Nelch and by several indians of the Caribbean tribe. At the foot of this hill, in a small creek, I found the hulls of a large pirogue and of a boat, which an indian assured me had belonged to the aforesaid Dutchman. On the hill we found por-

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tions of coffee, anonce and orange trees: I omit further details having entered them in a diary which I have commenced and to which I refer.

Having left the branch Aruco and descended the Barima, I entered the one called Mura. This one, going up the Barima in a distance of fifteen leagues, has its mouth on the left shore, its length being three leagues, with many turns as far as the branch (caño) Guaina, and all the lands on both sides of it are marshy and swampy, covered with various kinds of trees, the majority being mangles.

Having reached the aforesaid branch Guaina, I went on surveying the lands on both sides of it in a distance of twenty five leagues, finding nothing but marshes, excepting at a distance of nineteen leagues up this branch, where on the left side, within pistol shot, and in front of the branch (caño) called Barama, I saw a hill somewhat high, and full of stones, to all appearance minerals, of which I send several pieces to Your Excellency. From this hill towards the south west others are to be found which go as far as those which commence at branch (caño) Azacate, details of which I omit they being entered in the diary above mentioned.

Having descended the aforesaid branch Guaina, I entered the one called Paramaná. This branch, going up the said Guaina, a distance of sixteen leagues has its mouth on the left shore; having surveyed it, together with those called Viara, Azacate (this one has profitable lands which join the hills of Guaina, details of which are entered the dairy) Itabo and the one that runs through the *sabana* (plain) which leads to the post held by the Dutch at Moruca, I found nothing but marshes, as is mentioned with full particulars in the diary. The distance from the commencement of the aforesaid branch Paramana, to the end of the aforesaid *sabana* is of about twelve leagues.

Immediately upon leaving this *sabana* one enters the rivulet of Moruca to the right side of which commence the lands called Cumaco which crossing at the back of the aforesaid Dutch post, reach as far as branch (caño) Moracabura.

Said post is situated at a distance of two leagues from the commencement of the Cumaco lands to the South West Quarter South, and from the aforesaid post to said branch Moracabura where the Cumaco lands end, the distance is from two and a half to three leagues towards the North east quarter east.

These lands are all flat, without any hills (but in certain parts they are high, so that they can command the surroundings) good for all kinds of agriculture, full of trees proper for making boards and poles, with good creeks of spring water, but not one stone was to be found in all its surroundings. The aforesaid rivulet of Moruca follows its course towards the sea and passes with pistol-shot to the north of the aforesaid lands. At a quarter of a league before reaching the aforesaid Dutch port, the rivulet forms a small bay so that any barge can lie there alongside of the lands and this bay could serve as a port, as the vessels which may lie in it will

not be in the way of those wishing to pass the river, the width of which is from ten to twelve fathoms and the depth of from nine to twelve palms, the bottom being white sand.

It would be convenient in my opinion to found a town close to this bay or port, as besides the advantages offered by the produce of the land, the communication which the Dutch have with the Orinoco by means of the inside branches could be prevented; there being no other pass, they would be compelled to enter through the North of the Guaina into the sea; and although it would be easy for them to go to the Orinoco through the Guiana, as they would sail before the wind, the return to Essequibo in barges and pirogues (which are generally used for unlawful trade with the Orinoco) would be very difficult and almost impossible when there is any breeze, especially from the North east, as, on account of the shallowness on that coast, a very choppy surf rises, which besides preventing them from advancing by means of oars, would expose them (these vessels not being covered) to lose their cargo, if this consists of tobacco, on account of the water which necessarily and continually enters the vessel, and if the cargo consists of mules or cattle, on account of having to reach the Orinoco as quickly as possible, for, although they can get plenty of water from the Guaina, they cannot get grass, there being no plains in those regions.

The passage of the river Moruca could easily be prevented by erecting a fort with four or six guns in the aforesaid small bay; as no other vessels but flat boats can enter this river, and they are forcibly compelled to navigate by oar, they cannot present themselves before a four pound gun without the unavoidable risk of being sunk at the first or the second shot, which will necessarily happen, as, before the vessel discovers the fort (in case she should wish to force her way) the latter will perceive her prow at a distance of pistol-shot.

As for protecting the town against the attacks of the Dutch or any other enemy, this can be obtained by erecting a fort on one of the small heights formed by the ground, for although this is almost all flat, there are still some points higher than others that can command the surroundings, without at the same time the spot where the town would lie being commanded, and although the fort be not very strong it would be impossible to force it, firstly, because the Dutch could not arm large numbers of people at Essequibo, even if they wished to do so, and, secondly, on account of the difficulties they would meet with for the transportation of their cannons as at each step they would fall upon marshy lands which would prevent them from advancing.

The want of stones in those regions for the construction of the forts, is easy to remedy, as these can be made of wood, there being an abundance of trees the core of which is sufficiently hard for any purpose for which they may be applied.

Communication with the Capital of the Orinoco can be held throughout the year, through the branches, and without going out into the sea,

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by means of pirogues, and, during a great part of the year, even with barges.

The aforesaid Post held by the Dutch on the Moruca advances from Essequibo towards the Orinoco in a distance of about eighteen leagues, in an almost Northwesterly Southeasterly direction the one from the other, and although it is at present but an insignificant house with only two dismounted guns and a few swivel-guns, as it could however receive assistance from Essequibo within less than twenty four hours, it would be very convenient, for the safety of the new towns that may be founded, to dislodge the Dutch from the aforesaid port, from which the distance to the sea and through the aforesaid Moruca, is of about five leagues. Going up this river towards the sea one finds within two pistol-shots the mouth of Branch (caño) Bauruma, which lies to the South-west quarter-south in a distance of three quarters of a league; having reached this branch and sailed on it a distance of about one league, I discovered Branch Guacapou, where, having surveyed it, I discovered some beautiful lands, suitable for all kinds of work, and two farms of aruaca indians, all of which is mentioned with full particulars in my diary.

The distance from the aforesaid branch Guacapou to the Tapacuma, sailing through the Bauruma, is of about eight leagues, and the greater part of the lands on the left shore are swampy.

From the Tapacuma, following the Bauruma as far as Branch Visorun, the distance is of about five and one half leagues, and all the lands on both shores, which are mostly flat and covered with trees, are suitable for all kinds of cultivation. Within the five and one half leagues there are two hills, of which the first, going upwards, is on the right side, is not very large and is at a distance of about two and one half leagues from the Tapacuma. It lies on the bank of the branch, and, if fortified, can command the neighbouring lands and defend the entrance to said branch.

The second hill which is on the left going up the Bauruma, is at about one and one half leagues from this branch; this hill is high and rugged (a few years ago it was inhabited by Caribean indians); there is sufficient room on its summit for a medium sized town after having properly fortified it, for which reason it seems to me that the first town which it is intended to found under the name of San Carlos de la Frontera should lie on this spot, as being distant from Essequibo by land only twelve or thirteen leagues, it commands, on account of its advantageous position, not only the surrounding lands but also the aforesaid branch Bauruma. Although having water enough to carry frigates, this branch, at the mouth where it empties into the sea, has only enough to carry sloops; and should the Dutch or other enemies attempt anything by water with this kind of vessels, besides having to use oars in going up this branch, on account of the contrary winds, they would have to wait for the tide to rise in order to be able to navigate, for which reason it would be impossible for them to take the inhabitants by

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surprise, and, besides giving them time to arm and put themselves in a state of defence, this hill has the advantage that any ship that may attack it will suffer many discharges from the artillery without being able to return them with more than one bow-chase; as the branch measures in width only one pistol shot and the ship as I have already stated is compelled to row up the current of the tide which is very strong and rapid; it would be very difficult for any sloop to break the current by stress of oars in order to place herself in a perpendicular position, and even if she succeeds, she could never place her side in a convenient angle to fire into the fort that may be erected on said hill, unless she rode on four anchors; and even if she succeeded in placing her side to the fort it would be almost impossible for her to resist two discharges with grape shot from the latter as, on account of the height, all her crew would be unprotected.

In case of an attack by land the enemy will meet with almost the same difficulties, there being no heights from which they can command it, all the surrounding lands and valleys being full of very thick groves.

The whole of the aforesaid Bauruma is inhabited by indians of the Aruaca tribe who have most beautiful farms of yucca, corn and other fruits; they are very friendly to the Spanish nation and expressed great pleasure out our going there; they showed me a cocoa plantation, close to the branch Tapacuma (of which I send Your Excellency an ear and a small bag of the fruit, to serve as seed for the new populators). The water of this branch is very good and clear and the bottom is of white sand.

Besides the advantages which may be expected from founding a town upon the hill of Bauruma, the distance from it to Essequibo being only as I have said before from twelve to thirteen leagues, we can reach the shores of the river Essequibo by means of four or five towns; and this being obtained, the Dutch are deprived of all communication, not only with the various indian tribes south of the Essequibo and all the branches of the Orinoco, but also with the whole of the Parime as there being no other passage for them but said river, if it is intercepted, all correspondence with it becomes impossible for them, which they can only hold with their countrymen at Surinam and the French at Cayenne, who are at the east of said Essequibo.

I have not found in any of the lands surveyed any plain or *sabana* which can be used for pasture, and according to information received none are to be met with in the neighborhood of the river Essequibo as far as Verviche.

Herewith I send to Your Excellency *a plan of all the lands* I have visited, remarking that, of all that said plan contains, only the branch Macuro, part of the Tapacuma, the part of the branch from Visororun and the river Essequibo have been drawn according to information of the Indians, while all the rest has been drawn with the distances and demarcations which I have personally taken in surveying the lands during the expedition.

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I also send to Your Excellency the diary which contains all the incidents of the aforesaid expedition, so that Your Excellency can become acquainted with all the particulars thereof.

Awaiting further commands I am Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

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Extract from Royal Order as to Surveying the Lower Orinoco, October 1, 1780.

[Reprinted from Seijas, Ven. International Law, pp. 89-90.]

Although the dispatches were lost, which were being brought by the brig called "Nuestra Señora del Rosario" and the other two ships which sailed with her under convoy from La Guayra for Spain, the captain of the aforesaid brig, Don José Felipe de Inciarte, was able to save the letter of 12th of April last which Your Excellency gave him that he might present himself before me and inform me of the success of the mission which he was charged with for the surveyal and occupation of the lands of the eastern part of the lower Orinoco; which he has done verbally, also presenting to me the originals which he likewise saved of the diary, plan and report which he presented to Your Excellency on the 27th of November last. And having reported to the King all that these documents contain, he has been pleased to command that the aforesaid Inciarte return to Your Excellency so that you may, at once, or when you may see fit, charge him once more with the same mission of occupying and populating the lands which he described in his aforesaid report of 27th November last, and to erect the two small provisional forts which he has judged necessary, the one to protect against the attacks of the Dutch of Essequibo the town which may be founded, as he suggested in said report, close to the bay formed by the small river or creek Moruca, at a distance of a quarter of a league from the post or guard house held by the Dutch, which stands at about eighteen leagues from Essequibo towards the Orinoco, erecting said fort on the highest point commanding the point that may be occupied by the town and its surroundings; and the second fort with four or six guns in the bay itself of the aforesaid river Moruca, to prevent the entrance thereto of any unfriendly vessel; dislodging the Dutch from the aforesaid post or guard house which they have constructed there; it being understood that if the Director General or Governor of Essequibo should complain, answer shall be given that these proceedings are taken in conformity with the general laws and instructions given for the better government of our Indies, which do not allow of such intrusions of

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foreigners in the Spanish dominions, such as those are; which same answer shall be given here if the States General of Holland make any complaint or claim.

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No. 435.

Extract from Report of Jose Felipe Inciarte, Officer in Charge, as to the Lower Orinoco; December 5, 1783.

[Reprinted from Seijas, Ven. International Law, pp. 92, 94.]

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The lands lying between the rivers Caroni and Caura, which rivers are distant from each other from forty five to fifty leagues, abound in pastures, water and resting places, and are free from insects; they are therefore most suitable for cattle breeding, with the advantage that the capital is at an equal distance from both rivers, and there are now in them eight or ten cattle farms belonging to inhabitants of the capital, with from forty to fifty thousand heads of cattle. Those farms could be greatly increased in number, and in time become an important branch of commerce with Europe, by allowing several families of this province of Caracas and Barinas to transfer their cattle; Don Manuel Feran, an inhabitant of the city of Guiana, doing business with Cadiz, has informed me that several wealthy people of both provinces are anxious to establish themselves, and some of them have given him their procuration; they would bring considerable numbers of cattle to those places, without this emigration being in any way prejudicial to the progress of said provinces.

* * * * * * *

As regards the populating of the eastern part of the aforesaid lower Orinoco and of the frontiers of the colony of Essequibo, for which I have been commissioned, I beg to refer Your Excellency to what I have stated both to Your predecessor and to His Excellency Don Jos de Galvez in my report of 27 November one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine; but hearing that the French have taken possession of the aforesaid colony of Essequibo during the war, for which reason the Dutch have abandoned the advanced post which they held on the banks of the river Moruca, which post it is most important to occupy before any new event takes place, I am of opinion that it would be very convenient and necessary to provisionally fortify it, and to establish there a town with the native Indians who inhabit the neighborhood, appointing for this object two missionaries with a detachment to serve as escort; in this manner the inhabitants of said colony will be prevented from entering the lands which lie between them and the Orinoco; as this cannot be of great expense to the king, it will be of use when it is intended to populate the other points of my mission

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with Spaniards, as they will more easily find there the necessaries of life with the exception of meat.

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No. 436.

Extracts from Report of the Attorney on Proceedings instituted on the Complaint of the Minister from Holland (no date).

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, pp. 292–293.]

The attorney has examined the proceedings instituted by this superior authority, on account of a certain memorial presented to His Majesty by the Minister of Holland, complaining of the conduct of the Spaniards established in Orinoco against the Dutch colony of Esquivo. It was forwarded, through the reserved way, with the Royal order of September 10, 1769, so as to be examined by the Council, as soon as possible, and consult His Majesty in regard to the extension of those boundaries, and the right alleged by the Republic for fishing at the entry of the Orinoco river; to this memorial it was added by way of antecedent, another proceedings instituted and already consulted with His Majesty on the 9th of May of the year of 1768, in consequence of a despatch of the Government of England, in relation to the restitution of the negroes, who from their islands come over to ours in America, and after the accumulation of several representations, justifying testimonies from the Governors of Cumana, Guayana, and others that were addressed through the reserved way, in virtue of a consultation made by the Council on the 27th of October, of said year of 1769. In that state, and according to the advice of the attorney, it was decided, on the 6th of August, 1774, that everything should be submitted to a Relator in order to form a circumstantial abstract, as it has been done.

Under this understanding it is observed by the exponent that to-day no resolution is required or any further step taken after the long lapse of over fifteen years, without any further mention of the subject by the Minister of Holland, leading to the belief that, after having been better informed, the Republic realizes the want of justice for the claim made and has already desisted.

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It is true that the united papers with the above-mentioned memorial, and particularly the representation of the Governor of Guayana, Don Manuel Centurion, not only show the want of foundation for the complaint of the vassals of Holland, but likewise that it should be very desirable to increase, on our part, the precautions that he contemplated in those countries, as very important to the State; but as there is already such a long time past, circumstances must have changed, and we can not enter in the examination of the same, without more reason and new reports of the present situation of things in those countries.

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Action taken by the Council, May 27, 1785, as to the Complaint by the Minister from Holland.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 2, p. 293.]

Messieurs Casafonda—Areche—Huerta.

Taking all things into consideration, it seems that what we must do now is, to await the suggestive development of circumstances, showing the course to be adopted; in that case the Attorney should be consulted, to report what he may find proper. The Council may agree and adopt this report.

Madrid, May the 27, 1785—[here is a flourish]. Council of June the 4th, 1785—Chamber 1st.—As reported by the Attorney—[here is a flourish].

No. 438.

Extracts from the Diary of Matheo Beltran, Commander of the Revenue Boat in the Orinoco, 1785.

Diary, 23d day. [June, 1785.] Having left this capital by order of the Governor and Commander-General Don Miguel Marmion, steering in a straight course to the great mouth of the Orinoco, from thence passing into the Barima creek, on the same day, at ten o'clock at night, we arrived at the Port of San Miguel.

Diary, 24th day. At dawn we took on board the cassave, and at that same hour we left the said port, and at twelve o'clock we arrived at Presidio, and I began to put the (launch) or barge in order.

Diary, 25th day. At daybreak we put our arms in order and made the cartridges for the cannon and for the swivel gun; and, on the same day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we set forth on the way to our destination, with four Indians, three being mine and one being given to me by the Commander, Don Antonio de Perello, because those whom I brought from the capital went away, and although the Commander wrote to the "father" he would not send them back.

Diary, 26th day. Daybreak found us at the Portuguese Islands, and at eight o'clock in the morning we found two "curiaras" (boats) belonging to the Guarauno Indians, who informed me that there was a schooner fishing on the mouth of Guiama (Waini), and I steered straight ahead; the same date, at eleven o'clock at night, we slept at the Vuelta del Diablo.

Diary, 27th day. At three o'clock in the morning I weighed anchor, and at eight o'clock we found four "curiaras" of Carib Indians, be-

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longing to the mission of Morocure at the mouth of the Arature, with the gunner, Josef Maria, by order of the Commander; the said gunner, with two Guaranno Indians, as guides for said creek; they were from a hut on the mouth, and they informed me that there were three negroes inside living with some Indians, for which reason I forbade them to enter the place until my return from the trip, and I took the two Indians from them to accompany me. The same day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we met three Carib Indians from the village of Cumaco of the mission of the Catalan Capuchin Fathers and they informed me that they had come down from the river head of the Barima creek in bark canoes, and no permit was found on them, and having asked them for news of the Barima creek they told me they had seen nothing, and nothing was found in the curiara but nine hatchets and one *Mapire de totumo* (water gourd) and that same night we slept at Cangrejos Point.

Diary, 28th day. At ten o'clock in the morning I weighed anchor, and at two o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the mouth of the Macuro, where I waited for the tide to go on my way; meanwhile I sent for the three chieftains, one of whom lived at Amacuro in the dwellings that belonged to the Caribs in the past time, and the other two lived at the mouth of the sea, between Barima creek and Amacuro, and I ordered them to ask whether there were any negroes living at Amacuro with Carib Indians and they said there were none, nor even any Carib Indians there.

Diary, 29th day. I weighed anchor at eleven o'clock at night, and at two o'clock in the morning I anchored at the mouth of the Barima, and at daybreak I sent the coxswain in a "curiara," with eight scouts, up the creek, and at five o'clock in the afternoon he returned, saying that all he had seen was one dug-out and two "curiaras" concealed in the bushes, where some Guaruano Indians had a hut inland; and a short time after that some Guaruano Indians appeared in two "curiaras" and we made them come on board, and they told me that they were Indians from Sacaupana fleeing from the Carib Indians, and that on Barima creek and Amacuro there were about 3,000 Indians fleeing from the severity (the floods?) of the Orinoco, and being asked by the Indian interpreter of the same nation, named Afortunado, as to whether there were any vessels of any nation on the river Barima or any negroes living with Indians in the woods, he replied that there were none, and that only in Guayna did any schooners enter from Demerara and Essequibo for fishing purposes and to cut *timite* to cover and build their dwellings.

Diary, 30th day. We slept in the mouth of the Mura.

Diary, 1st day of July. At five o'clock in the morning we crossed to the mouth of the Guayma, and after visiting every part of it nothing was found but the places where the Dutch were fishing and salting fish

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(and this agreed with the information given by the Indians), and that the last day of the month there were two schooners loading "timite" and one fishing, and that they had gone; and I asked Silvestre Rodriguez whether he might know of any other place where we might fulfill the commission entrusted to us, and he answered that he did not, for the chieftains of Amacuro had said that there were no negroes there, neither Caribs; that those that were in this capital were ordered to be taken away, and since then there had been none, and on that same day I returned to the capital.

Diary, 2d day. I left Guayma[1] and came to the Barima creek.

Diary, 3d day. At five o'clock in the afternoon I sailed from the mouth of the Barima, and on the same day in the afternoon there came some Guaraunos in four "curiaras," who were returning from crabbing, and they said that their chiefs were making ready to come to this capital. I enquired once again whether they knew of any negroes dwelling in Amacuro, or whether they knew if there were any in the neighboring creeks, and they said no, that only some days previous some Hollanders had come down with a few Poytos to the head waters of the Barima, and that they had taken them to Esquivo; that same day, at seven o'clock in the evening, I sailed away from said mouth.

Diary, 4th day. At daybreak I was at the mouth of the Aratures, and I dispatched the coxswain up the creek in a curiara, manned with some sailors, to a hut of Guaraunos, that was inland, with orders to bring the chief to me, and they returned with him at eleven o'clock in the day, and when he came on board I had him interrogated as to whether he knew of any negroes living with Carib Indians either at Arature or Amacuro, or other nearby creeks, and he answered that he had neither seen nor heard of any; and at the same hour I went on my way and slept in the "Pasa de Juncos."

Diary, 5th day. At four o'clock in the morning I weighed anchor and slept that night in the Loran creek, as there was no wind.

Diary, 6th day. At four o'clock in the morning I weighed anchor and slept at the mouth of the Sacopana.

Diary, 7th day. In the morning I sent off the coxswain to an Indian hut, which was up the creek, to get information. He found them empty, and came back on board, and then I set sail for the capital, and that same night I slept off the Portuguesa, because the wind died out.

Diary, 8th day. I weighed anchor at five o'clock in the morning and arrived at Presidio at eight at night.

Diary, 9th day. I awaited the letters from the Commandant.

Diary, 10th day.

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[1] Variously spelled Guayna, Guima, Wayni, Weyne, and Waini.

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Diary, 11th day. We left Presidio and arrived at daybreak at the mouth of the Caroni.

Diary, 12th day. We went up to San *Joaquin* for some tobacco, which was at the port for the "Administration." The same day we slept in said mouth.

Diary, 13th day. I weighed anchor at daybreak, bound for the capital.

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No. 439.

Extract from letter from Fray Thomas de Mataro to Governor Miguel Marmion, dated July 6, 1787, as to the Founding of Tumeremo.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 327.]

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In regard to the particular points to which you call my attention, I say: That the site or place where they are going to found the cattle-farm or village is called Tumeremo and Cantuario, the Savannahs marching with others called Suama, and only divided by some bits of open wood, through which the cattle can easily pass. From the said site of Tumeremo to the said Savannahs there is a distance of 6 leagues, and the before-mentioned Savannahs extend to the Cuyuni, which one may reach in a day's journey; and from Tumeremo to the great forest, from where there was a road to Essequibo, six hours.

From the site where the new cattle-farm is going to be placed (Tumeremo) to the village of Cura it is 7 leagues, and from that port, which is on the River Yuruary, until reaching the Cuyuni, one employs a full day in the rainy season going down the Yuruary, and there are no other mountains higher than those in front of the village of Cura.

On the banks of the Yuruary there are difficult mountains on both sides between the Yuruary and the mouth of the Cuyuni. Where the Cuyuni and Yuruan join there is a convenient site to build a strong house or post to stop the passage of the Indians so that they may not go to Essequibo, and to prevent the entry of the Dutch to these Missions and Savannahs.

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No. 440.

Extract from letter from F. Mariano de Cervera, to F. Jayme (de Puygcerda,) dated December 9, 1787, as to the Mission of Cura and an excursion to the Cuyuni.

Between British Guayana and Venezuela. fol. Rome, 1896, Appendix 1, p. 46.]
[Translated from Copy printed *in* STRICKLAND, (*Rev.* Joseph, *s. J.*) The Boundary Question

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LAST year I went to the mouths of the Orinoco at a settlement of Guaraunos. I had with me only two soldiers and some Guayanos from Caroni. The excursion was brief and lucky, for within a few days I had made the catch, and came back with 140 souls, all of whom arrived here, excepting eight, who escaped at San Antonio, although they were afterwards caught. In the early part of this year I went on another excursion to the river Cuyuni, accompanied by Father Antonio de Martorel, with his Caribs of Cumamu, and we only succeeded in catching eighty-one Guaycas, for on the same day we started out, a Guayca of the Mission of Cura made his escape and warned those living in the woods, so that we found everything in confusion.

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No. 441.

List of Missions of the Catalonian Capuchins in Guayana, dated August 31, 1788 and sent by Father Hermenegildo de Vich to Father Cervera.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 324.]

Table of the Missions of the Reverend Father Capuchins of Catalonia of the Province of Guiana. The Rev. Father Hermenegildo de Vich sent it to Father Cervera. Dated the 31st August, 1788.

Villages.	Presidents.	Nations.	Indians there living.
Caroni	Serafin de Arenas	Guayanos y Guycas	764
Unata	P. Hermenegildo de Vich	Aruaca y Guacas	324
Sta. Ana	P. Pascual de Barcelona	Aruaca y Guarauno	457
Calvario	P. Luis de Casteltersos	Salibas y Guaraunos	444
Marocure	P. Buenava. de Sabadel	Caribes	550
Caruani	P. Buenava. de Coloma	Caribes	398
Sn. Antonio	P. Buenava. de Verdie	Guayanos	589
Guri	P. Franco. de Darnius	Caribes	285
Puetpa	P. Marano de Cervera	Guayacas y Guaraunos	278
Sta. Clara	P. Hermendo. de Premiá	Guaycas	191
Sn. Seraphin	P. Nolohay	Guaycas	242
Bocas	P. Feliz de Vich	Guaycas	618
Sta. Magdalena	P. Bernardino de Sn. Felice	Guaycas	138
Barceloneta	P. Bautista de Olot	Barinagotas	254
Ayma	P. Joaqn. de Barcelona	Guaycas	728
Avechica	P. Domo. de Sn. Hipolito	Guaycas	177
Divina Pastora	P. Juan de Liria	Guayanos	431
Guaceypati	P. Pedro de Bibas	Caribes	706
Topoquen	P. Leopoldo de Barcelona	Caribes	435
Angel Custodio	P. Mariano de Perefita	Guayanos	232
Cura	P. Manl. de Casteltersos	Guaycas	582
Carapo	P. Manl. de Preirana	Caribes	761
Miámo	P. Jph. Ma. de Matarò	Caribes	762
Cumamo	P. Raymdo. de Olot	Caribes	712
Palmar	P. Antonio de Martorel	Caribes y Guayanos	589
Sta. Maria	P. Agn. de Barcelona	Guayanos y Panacáyos	401
Cupapuy	P. Feliz de Tarrega	Guayanos	715
Upata	P. Henrique de Pulrretro	Spaniards	477
Alta Gracia	P. Thomas de Olot	Guayanos	837
		Total	14,012

It is a copy of that which the Rev. Father Fray Joseph Cervera sent me, and which I received in Turbaco the 27th March, 1789.

No. 442.

Letter from Governor Miguel Marmion to Buenaventura de San Celonis, Perfect of Missions, dated February 16, 1788, as to Founding the Village of Tumeremo.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 328-329.]

To comply with the duties of the office I hold, and in order not to retard the measures that may conduce to the establishing of the village and cattle farm of which your Reverence and Assistants inform me in a communication of the 8th instant, I have decided to commission the Adjutant of the forces here, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, for this ser-

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vice. He will, on his arrival, present and make known to your Reverence the instructions with which he has been furnished. It will be well that your Reverence appoint a religious acquainted with the place to accompany this official for the purpose of examining and becoming acquainted with the site of Tumeremo, and an advantageous and proper place on the Cuyuni, where a village or post may be established, with the object of protecting the rear of the Missions, and rendering help to the new reductions, which the venerable community under your Reverence's charge are continuing to found. In this view, I remember to have conferred with your predecessor and other religious, who inform me that the junction of the rivers Yuruary and Cuyuni is very well adapted for that purpose. But, nevertheless, I have instructed the official not to omit to examine carefully all parts of that neighborhood for the purpose of seeing whether there may not be another more advantageous position better suited for the purpose, as this is an affair as important to His Majesty's service as beneficial and useful to the preservation and increase of these Missions, and I trust your Reverence will supply the said Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente with all that may be necessary to enable him the better to fulfil the commission with which he is charged. If you will also send a Circular letter to the Religious under your charge in the villages through which he may pass to see that the same orders be duly observed, I shall feel obliged.

It is understood that any expense he may incur while on his mission will be immediately paid on presenting an account signed by him.

In informing you of this in full confidence, thoroughly assured of your love and zeal for His Majesty's service, I pray God may preserve you, &c.

No. 443.

Report of Antonio Lopez de la Puente upon his Exploration of the Cuyuni River in 1788; dated April 13, 1788.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3 pp. 329-332.]

February 26th of the present year (1788), at 10 o'clock at night, Adjutant-Major Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente departed from this capital of Guayana, provided with the passport and instructions from the Governor of this province, Don Miguel Marmion, in order to carefully explore the River Cuyuni and its neighbourhood.

Having embarked in the cargo boat of Miguel Castellaños, in company with Corporal Antonio Mora, we arrived at the port of San Joaquin (?) on the 28th of the present month (February) at 3 P. M., and at the same hour I wrote to the reverend Father Prefect, who was at the

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village of Caroni, forwarding him at the same time the official letter of the Governor, asking him to send me animals for my journey.

As it was now night, and no news having arrived, I took some riding animals from a team of mules which were then in this port as necessary for my journey, which took place on the 29th, the day that I arrived at the Mission of Caroni, being a journey of two leagues.

At 7 in the morning I went to see the Prefect, who having been already informed of the commission with which I was charged from the official note and instructions I showed him, I requested some animals to continue my journey the same day for the town of Upata. To which he replied that all would be furnished me, for he rejoiced much that some remedy would be applied to those parts of Cuyuni, for already, long before, they had represented the great danger the Missions were in from the Dutch on that part. But he said that I could not yet go forward, for it was necessary to consult with the assistants in order to select a Religious to accompany me, and in awaiting this choice I was detained until the 2nd.

On the 2nd March I left Caroni at 4 in the afternoon, the Father Prefect having told me that the Father selected to accompany me was Father Mariano de Perafuta, that he was writing to Father Manuel Prejania [*sic*], so that as soon as I arrived at the village of Carapo he might accompany me to Tupuquen, and the Father of Tupuquen to Angel Custodio. In like manner he gave me a Circular letter, so that the Fathers in the places through which I might pass should furnish all the assistance I might require, with which I took my leave, and after having marched 5 leagues we arrived at the watch-house and resting-place of Guacayma at 7 o'clock at night.

On the third day I continued my journey at 6 o'clock in the morning; and having gone 7 leagues, we reached the village of Altagracia at 4 in the afternoon, where we remained with the Father of the village until I should arrange with the one of the town of Upata to send me animals and whatever else I should request, so that we remained until the following day.

Fourth day: I continued my journey at 7 in the morning for the town of Upata, having arrived there at 10 o'clock, after a march of 2 leagues.

On this same day I delivered the order of the Governor to Lieutenant Don Diego Morales, who, as the residents of this town were then engaged at their labours, had to send for them. And of three whom I had to take with me there was wanting Patrick Rivas, who did not put in an appearance until five days later, on account of which I was obliged to wait until the 9th for the animals I had requested the Father of the village of Altagracia to send.

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Tenth day: I continued my journey to the village of Santa Maria, in company with three inhabitants of the town of Upata, and a militiaman of the escort, for, by an order of the Governor, sent to the Sergeant in command of the escort, he was directed to give me three militiamen. These men being at the time in the villages of Angel Custodio and Agua Chica, orders were sent to them to join my company. Having arrived at the said village of Santa Maria, 4 leagues distant from the town, I requested animals from the Father of this village, which he provided the following day.

Eleventh day: I pursued my journey at 3 in the afternoon, and after a march of 5 leagues we arrived at the River Cume (Cuniri?) at 7 at night.

Twelfth day: I continued my journey at 10 o'clock in the morning on account of two horses having disappeared, and in the best way we could we went forward until we reached the Savannahs of Carapo, where it was necessary to encamp, after having marched, with a great want of water, during a half day, only 4 leagues, and we remained in a "morichal" until the following day.

Thirteenth day: At 7 in the morning we set out on our journey, and having marched 4 leagues we arrived at the village of Carapo, and on this day animals were provided for the next day's journey.

Fourteenth day: I continued the journey in company with the Father Manuel Preciana [*sic*], who was ordered by the Prefect to accompany me as far as Tupuquen. And after a 5 leagues march we arrived at the said village after 12 midday, from where the said Father returned to his village, leaving the same order of the Father Prefect with Father Leopold of this village. On this day I sent for the militiaman, Migel Zuñiga, interpreter of the Carib language, and one of the three appointed to accompany me, so that I might inform myself concerning the Indians that were to be taken. From this village, and on this same day, Father Leopold sent for Father Mariano, appointed to accompany me, and he was at the village of Angel Custodio, and arrived in like manner with the before-mentioned Zuñiga at 7 at night. I was then informed by the said Zuñiga of the most suitable means for best fulfilling my commission.

Fifteenth day: We conferred with the two Fathers, Leopold and Mariano, Zuñiga being present, on the arrangements that were to be made in regard to experienced Indians and rowers, boats and supplies. On this same day we sent to ask Father Peter, of Guacipata, for ten Caribs as being the most experienced, just as those of this village of Tupuquen were the best in regard to the Cuyuni, with the permission of Father Leopold. Only four were found useful, and they were appointed.

On this same day a notice was sent to the Father of Cura that he should have dried meat prepared, and advise us of what quantity of Cassava bread could be furnished. This notice was sent by Father

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Mariano; and in awaiting the Indians and this news from Cura we remained until the following day.

Sixteenth day: The said Father Mariano returned to his village of Angel Custodio to arrange for his journey and await our arrival, on the understanding that the rowers that might be wanting should be completed from among those there might be in Angel Custodio and Cura; and in case there should not be all the Cassava bread necessary at Cura, it was to be provided from Tupuquen, where it was in abundance; and in waiting for the Indians the day was passed, though we had the necessary animals to continue the journey.

Seventeenth day: The Caribs arrived from the village of Guacipata. I left with Father Leopold for Angel Custodio with two militiamen of those appointed, fourteen Caribs, and those who already accompanied me, for, although an order was sent to me that I should be accompanied by one who is in Agua Chica (Avechica), the Father missionary of the said village opposed it; and although Father Leopold urged that this militiaman was necessary to the expedition, the Father had his way in not allowing him to come; and notwithstanding that it was necessary to arrange military measures, I started on this day; and having gone more than 2 leagues we arrived at the village of Angel Custodio, where I found news from the Father of Cura, who was preparing the meat that I might require, and in regard to the Cassava bread, he only offered five loads, upon which six more loads were required from Father Leopold. With them we went on to Cura, having dispatched this day a boat with six Indians to the said Cura, on account of the want of canoes in those places; and having provided the animals necessary we remained here until the following day.

Eighteenth day: We started for Cura, and after a journey of 5 leagues we arrived at the said village, where we met Father Fray Manuel de Castel-Feriol, and conferred with him and Father Mariano (who now accompanied me, as was arranged, on this journey) about the boats. He offered those he had, which we went to see, and we really found in a creek two large, roomy canoes, which, with what we brought from Angel Custodio, was sufficient to continue the voyage. Notwithstanding this service and all the rest which he had furnished in supplies of provisions, the said Father offered whatever else might be necessary in the service of the King. But, on his asking how we had intended to continue the voyage, I answered by water; on this he observed that, not to put any difficulty in the way, he offered everything; but that it was impossible for us to continue the voyage, as the river was totally dry, more so than he had ever seen it before. To this I replied that, nevertheless, the best manner of proceeding on our way would be considered. After receiving this information from the Father, I determined to learn the truth from

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the Carib pilots of Guascipata and Tupuquen. Notwithstanding that they gave the same account, I asked if we could not go, although with much labour, by hauling the canoes. They answered that we could, but that before two days were at an end we would have no boats, and for six or eight that we would have to pass before entering the River Supamo, where navigation would be possible, it would be necessary to build new canoes. This was because the Yuruari, where we had to go, was all stony in the summer, and was impassable, as well as the Supamo, at this season.

Notwithstanding these reasons, I told them to come the following day to see it; the two above-mentioned Fathers were also invited, and at once offered to accompany me, as was verified on the following day.

Nineteenth day: At 8 in the morning we went to the port of Cura, on the River Yuruary, the two Fathers, Fray Mariano and Fray Manuel, and I, accompanied by the corporal, Antonio Mora, five Spaniards, and the Caribs of Tupuquen and Guascipati; and at a distance of a quarter of a league I undeceived myself, it being impossible to proceed, for in various parts we crossed it without taking off our boots, upon which I determined to return to the village until the following day.

Twentieth day: I ordered Corporal Antonio Mora, accompanied by two of the militiamen, three inhabitants of the town, and the Carib Indians, to go and examine during the whole day that part of the river, in order to find out whether there was water lower down. He returned with those who accompanied him, telling me that on account of the river being more rocky a less quantity of water was found.

Then after questioning the Carib Indians, asking the interpreter Zuñiga and one of the militiamen of the company as to whether on passing overland to the Supamo, and then making bark canoes, we might be able to proceed, they replied that it was very difficult, for, as the Indians used this river, there were no more bark boats to be found there, nor trees from which to get the bark from.

And in view of these reasons, and wishing to open a way to the mouth of the Yuruary, and make bark canoes, the same difficulty arose, as they say, that in all this mountain very little bark is to be found. In regard to opening the way, they said it would require at least forty days, no Savannahs existing in that distance until reaching the place where the Yuruary flows into the River Supamo [?]; so that, in view of all these difficulties, I resolved on suspending all attempt until the river should rise, as the winter season was approaching. On my stating this, in agreement with the Father of this village of Cura, another difficulty arose. They said that when the River Yuruary is in flood the going down is easy; but on our return, at the time we should be coming, the river would be in full flood, and as the greater part of the region about there is inundated, we should perish of hunger; and that from experi-

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ence they knew that the time the Indians navigated it was from August to February, which was the season when the Indians made their voyages to Essequibo; and that those who went from February and later were obliged to remain until the beginning of the winter season, as happened at the present with these from Tupuquen, who had not yet returned.

Notwithstanding these reasons, it was my own experience and practice that convinced me, and as it appeared to me useless to remain, I resolved to return and make a report to the Governor of all that happened, and inform him of the proper season, and thereby save greater expense, which would be occasioned by remaining.

Twenty-first day: I informed Father Mariano, my companion, of my determination of returning to the capital and reporting. In regard to the supplies furnished for the voyage, Father Mariano and the Father of Cura said that the Cassava bread would be sent to the new cattle-farm of Tumeremo, and the meat would remain at Cura for the use of the village.

This new cattle-farm of Tumeremo is established, according to what they say, at a distance of 6 or 7 leagues from Cura, on the east side, and from that cattle-farm towards the east there is a river named Curumo, which flows south (like the Yuruary), seeking its outlet in the Cuyuni, and although not so large as the Yuruary, it is navigable at the same time, and is nearer to the mouth of the Masuruni, where the first habitations of the Dutch are. They say too that, according to the best information of the Carib Indians, from the mouth of this Corumo downwards there are no rapids or any impediment to hinder the transit of any boat at all seasons, and without the difficulties in the shape of rapids which they say exist by way of the Yuruary and Cuyuni down to the mouth of the Corumo, where I thought of returning to come out at Tumeremo.

Twenty-second day: I dispatched the Caribs and rowers to their respective villages, and the Father and I remained with the Spaniards until the following day, to return by Angel Custodio, leaving here the boat which had been rowed from Angel Custodio, not being able to take it.

Twenty-third day: Father Mariano and I with the other Spaniards left Cura for Angel Custodio, having previously taken care to warn the Father at Cura that until such time as the said voyage should take place to the Cuyuni, it would be very important that no permission should be given to the Indians to go to the Dutch, on account of the bad consequences that might follow if it became known to the Dutch that an exploration of the Cuyuni and its neighborhood was projected. We said it might bring upon the Father, for example, the misfortunes of the expedition of the Parime, and advised him that he should also warn Father Leopold of Tupuquen and Father Peter of Guascipati.

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Twenty-fourth day: I left Angel Custodio for Tupuquen, and having given this said precaution and warning of circumspection to Father Leopold, I then remained until the following day with the animals that were furnished me.

Twenty-fifth day: I departed from Tupuquen for Guascipati, and warned Father Peter Martin in like manner as those of Cura and Tupuquen, namely, that I knew that as soon as the river was high the Indians of this village would go down to Essequibo; for this purpose I remarked they had a great quantity of hammocks made, and on my asking for whom they were, they replied to take to the Dutch of Essequibo, and that for each hammock they received a piece of calico and six flasks of spirits or a Trenquera (?).

Twenty-sixth day: I left Guascipati for Carapo, and with the intention of changing animals I passed all the rest of the day there in Carapo.

Twenty-seventh day: I left Carapo and arrived at the village of Santa Maria the following day, 28th, and having reached on this day the town of Upata I remained there until Monday, the 7th April (on account of being ill), leaving in charge of the Sergeant in command of the escort the two militiamen who had accompanied me, and likewise delivering over to the Lieutenant of the said town the three residents. Then, with the animals which they provided for me from Altagracia, I continued to Caroni.

On the eighth day I arrived at Caroni, where I was furnished, by order of the Father Prefect, with a sailing-boat and six Indian rowers from the village of Puga, and I departed for this capital on the tenth, leaving with the Father Prefect an account of the animals and men which had been given me for my journey in each village as I was going and returning.

On the twelfth day I arrived at this capital with Corporal Antonio Mora, having intact and complete the 200 cartridges and 5 lbs. of powder which were delivered to me, and of the 100 lbs. of tobacco I took from the town of Upata for the Indians, having only consumed 50 lbs., the rest remaining in my possession until further orders of the Governor.

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Certificate of Election of Officers of the Capuchin Missions, 1787.

[Reprinted from Blue Book No. 3, pp. 333–334.]

The undersigned certify in the most formal manner that, on the 25th day of the month of April of the present year, we celebrated our triennial Chapter in the Mission of San Joseph de Cupupuy, in which the Reverend Father Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio was elected Prefect of our Missions, and for Assistants the Reverend Fathers Fray Buenaventura de Sevadel and Fray Buenaventura de Santa Coloma, and in accordance with our Institutes the same reverend Fathers elected for their offices [stations] and Presidencies the reverend Father missionaries as follows:—

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Carony : The Very Reverend Father Prefect; and for President, Father Fray Serafin de Arens; Procurator and Secretary, Fray Ilario de Tarragona, Lay Infirmarian.
Monte Calvario: President, the Reverend Father Fray Pascual de Barcelona.

San Miguel:	"	"	"	Hermenegilde de Vich.
Santo Ana:	"	"	"	Buenaventura de Santa Coloma, Assistant.
Altagracia:	"	"	"	Thomas de Olod and Fray Justo de Barcelona.
Cupupuy:	"	"	"	Felix de Tarraga, ex-Assist., and Thomas de Mataro, ex-Assist.
Santa Maria:	"	"	"	Augustin de Barcelona.
Cumamu:	"	"	"	Raymundo de Olat.
Miamo:	"	"	"	Joseph Maria Mataro.
Carapo:	"	"	"	Manuel Preysana.
Tupuquen:	"	"	"	Leopoldo de Barcelona.
Hato de Tumeremo:	"	"	"	Mariano de Perafuta.
Cura:	"	"	"	Manuel de Castell Feriol.
Gucupati:	"	"	"	Pedro Martin de Rivas.
Divina Pastora:	"	"	"	Juan de Lura.
Palmar:	"	"	"	Antonio Martorel.
Ayma:	"	"	"	Joaquin de Barcelona.
Avechica:	"	"	"	Domingo de San Hipolito, Infirmarian.
Santa Clara:	"	"	"	Ermenegildo de Prémia.
San Serafin:	"	"	"	Juan Bautista de Olod.
San Pedro de las Bocas:	"	"	"	Felix Vich.
Santa Magdalena de Curucay:	"	"	"	Bernardino de San Felix.
Puedpa:	"	"	"	Mariano de Servera.
Guri:	"	"	"	Francisco Barnica.
San Antonio:	"	"	"	Bernardino de Verdu.
Morucura and Caruache:	"	"	"	Buenaventura de Sevadel, Assist.
Villa de San Antonio de Upata:	"	"	"	Henrique de Puigretto.
Villa de San Isidro de la Barcelonita:	"	"	"	Luis de Castel Ferriol.

In testimony whereof we give the present, signed with our hand and sealed with the seal of the Mission, and countersigned by the Secretary of the Mission in the Mission of the Most Pure Conception of Caroni, on this 30th day of April, 1787.

(Signed) FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SAN CELONIO, *Prefect*
FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SEVADEL, *Assistant.*
FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SANTA COLOMA, *ditto.*

(Signed) FRAY SERAFIN DE ARENS,
Secretary of the Mission.

To Don Miguel Marmion,
Governor and Commandant-General.

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List of Catalonian Capuchin Missions existing in 1788, made by Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio, May 20, 1788.

[Reprinted (with corrections) from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 3, pp. 221-222.]

Detailed statement of all the settlements existing which the Reverend Catalonian Capuchin Missionary Fathers have founded in this Province of Guayana, pursuant to the authority thereunto granted them by the King our Master (whom God preserve) in several Royal decrees issued for that purpose, under whose executive Government they are by virtue of the authority they have from His Majesty; setting forth the year of the founding of each settlement, which statement I, the Prefect of

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Guayana, send to the Governor of the said Province, he having so requested me, in a letter dated May twentieth, of the year seventeen hundred and eighty-eight, as follows:

When founded—

1724. Mission of the Purísima Concepcion de Caroni.
1730. Mission of Santa Maria de los Angeles de Iacuaru.
1733. Mission of San Joseph de Cupapui.
1734. Mission of Nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco de Altagracia.
1734. Mission of San Miguel del Palmar.
1737. Mission of the Divina Pastora de Yarivario.
1748. Mission of Nuestra Señora de Monserrate del Miamo.
1752. Mission of San Miguel de Carapo.
1754. Mission of Santa Eulalia de Murucury.
1755. Mission of San Joseph de Lionicia de Ayma.
1757. Mission of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Gucuirati.
1760. Mission of Nuestra Señora Santa Ana de Paracaicura.
1761. Mission of Santa Cruz de Monte Calvario.
1763. Mission of San Raymundo de Caravache.
1765. Mission of San Antonio de Huiesatono.
1767. Mission of the conversion of San Pablo del Cumamo.
1769. Mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Puedpa.
1770. Mission of San Felis de Topuquen.
1770. Mission of San Pedro de las Bocas.
1771. Mission of San Buenaventura de Guri.
1779. Mission of San Miguel de Hunata.
1779. Mission of Santa Clara de Tavarapana.
1779. Mission of San Serafin Arahuataima.
1782. Mission of Santa Rosa de Vitermo de Cura.
1783. Mission of Santa Magdalena de Currucay.
1783. Mission of San Juan Bautista del Abechica.
1785. Mission of Santo Angel Custodio.
1788. Mission of Nuestra Señora de Velen.
1762. Village of San Antonio de Upata.
1770. Village of San Isidro de la Barceloneta.

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Certificate, dated August 20, 1788, of Buenaventura de San Celonio, Prefect of Missions, as to the Founding of Tumeremo.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 335.]

To the Governor and Captain-General, from Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio, Preacher, Missionary Apostolic, and Prefect of the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Guiana.

I respectfully beg to inform you that a Mission of Guiana Indians has been founded this year, 1788, in conformity with the rules laid down by His Catholic Majesty, under the title of Maria Santissima de Belen de Tumeremo.

I therefore humbly request your Excellency will be pleased to supply the ornaments, books, sacred vessels, bells, and other articles necessary for the celebration of divine worship and the administration of the Holy Sacraments, required for the service of the church of the said village.

And in testimony of its foundation and actual existence I hereby affix my signature and great seal of our office, and countersigned by the Secretary of this Mission of the "Purissima Concepcion of Caroni," this 20th day of August, 1788.

No. 447.

Letter from Governor Miguel Marmion, to Juan Guillelmi, Captain-General of Caracas, dated August 4,[1] 1788, as to the founding of Tumeremo.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 335–336.]

I address the inclosed Memorial to you, which the very Reverend Father Prefect of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia, of the Missions of Guayana, has presented to me, in which he solicits that there be provided ornaments, missals, sacred vessels, bells, and other necessary church furniture for divine worship in the church of the village, newly founded under the name or title of Nuestra Señora de Belen de Tumeremo, and in view of the fact that your predecessor told me in a despatch of April 1786 that in similar cases I should transmit my report very confidentially, setting forth the time at which the foundation was made, the number of the individuals forming it, the hope of its permanency, &c., I now do so in the following form:—

From the copy of the letter No. 1, you will perceive that the reverend Father Prefect and Assistants applied to this Government on the 8th February last, reporting that they had determined to make a new foundation. From that of No. 2 is seen the answer I gave, and from No. 3 the measures I took to fulfil this obligation, and finally they wrote to me on the 31st May last past copy No. 4, in a style that was very displeasing

[1] An obvious error; possibly August 24.

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to me, disputing my powers, and making objections, which the wise penetration of your Excellency will estimate at their right value.

In the *nomina* which they presented on the 30th April of the past year, [17]87, at the chapter which took place for the election of the Prefect and Assistants, which accompanied No. 5, the existence of Tumeremo appears, under the name of a cattle-farm, and its President, Father Fray Mariano de Perafita [*sic*,]. In the report which I requested, and which the Prefect forwarded to me, on the 31st May of the present year, of the number of Missions, and foundation of each, there appears Tumeremo under the title of Nuestra Señora de Belen, as your Excellency will find in the copy No. 6.

As to its beginnings not even now has there been sent any account of the number of souls it has, nor still less does there appear any such village in the Registers which have been delivered to me, up to the present date. But I am fully aware that for this foundation Indians were taken from other villages as happened in the case of Angel Custodio, and from which in my last journey to the town of Upata various families, fugitives, had come to the Missions of Cupapuy and Alta Gracia, from where they had been taken.

In the said *nomina* No. 5 the village of Angel Custodio was suppressed, and in the statement No. 6 it again revives ; and according to the register of the President, Father Fray Mariano de Perafita [*sic.*], the same is the case with Tumeremo without my being able to comprehend in what these mistakes consist. I only know that from them originated the dissensions of these Religious of which your Excellency is fully informed, having given an account to the King thereof.

I cannot know what hope there may be of the permanency of this village. As to the information I have of that part and its local situation, the copy of the Confidential letter No. 7 will explain it to you, and the other documents which accompanied this when the King was informed, and which I addressed under cover to your Excellency, and the Intendant, your predecessor, lately.

And although with a view to this and other objects of greater importance to the service of the King I dispatched in commission the Adjutant-Major of the force of this garrison, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente; this official was unable, in conformity with the instructions I gave him, to fulfil it, for the reasons he gives in his journal, of which I transmit to you a copy, No. 8.

In consequence of all which your Excellency will determine whatever may appear to you most convenient, forwarding to me your commands to punctually obey them.

God preserve you, &c.

(Signed)

MIGUEL MARMION.

No. 448.

Letter from Buenaventura de San Celonio, Prefect of Missions, to Governor Miguel Marmion, dated May 31, 1788, relating to selection of Sites for Missions.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 332–333.]

In reply to your Excellency's communication of the 20th instant, I have to state as follows: By virtue of an Ordinance approved by the King, our Sovereign (whom God preserve), we have received commands that, among other things, the Prefect and Assistants are to assemble for the purpose of deliberating upon the sites for new reductions. This has always been done whenever it has been considered necessary to found any village of Indians. Precisely as ordered, and in the manner proscribed, those sites have been sought which would most conduce to the well-being of the Indians and the service of our Sovereign. And this appears to us to be quite in conformity with the laws relating to the foundation of village of Indians. From which it will clearly be seen that, once we comply with the foregoing, we adequately fulfil the obligations of founders of Indian villages, which we enjoy through His Majesty the King.

Not, however, on this account does it follow that we deem it superfluous to request the approbation of your Excellency of any village that is being founded.

First, because, granting that we should through inadvertence not select a proper site, your Excellency has always the liberty of informing us that such a site is not adapted for settling.

Secondly, because to obtain the grant, which the piety of His Majesty, our Catholic Monarch, has assigned for the establishing of any such village, it is always necessary that the approbation of the Chief of the province be first obtained. Otherwise, we cannot see how we could demand the grant from the Treasurer at Carácas without first producing the approbation of your Excellency.

Thirdly, it is clear that we do not act superfluously in requesting your approvol, for by this means, when it becomes necessary to apply to the Court for Religious your Excellency is aware of the increase of villages, and in proportion to that increase a greater or less number of Religious is applied for.

Fourthly, it is not superfluous to request the approval of new foundations, for it concerns their stability and permanency and affects both the founder and him who approves, for, once duly approved, there is no power or liberty to destroy or change it. And if, for slight reasons, it may be possible to destroy it when not approved, there must be grave reasons for so doing when it is duly approved.

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Lastly, although it may be true that in the choosing of any site, we may make a mistake, experience has shown that the same has happened to others. This, of course, arises from the fact that in the circumstances of the moment a site appeared to them very convenient, which afterwards, on account of other new circumstances having arisen, has turned out less suitable than it had seemed at first.

What is quite certain is that we do all in our power to carry out and fulfil the laws and "Cedulas" laid down for us by His Majesty (whom God preserve), and nobody can with just reason say the contrary.

We are not ignorant of the rumors that some person or persons have spread abroad. But, in truth, we well know they proceed solely from the effect of malice. They have no true foundation, but are false and destitute of all justification, as we can fully prove whenever it shall be necessary, not only to your Excellency but to anyone else in the world.

From all that has been said, it appears to us that by this communication we have clearly shown your Excellency how advantageous it is that you should, without scruple, be assured, whenever occasion requires, of our upright proceeding in the matter of the foundation of villages, and that in that respect we work in conformity with the laws, so as to be able to grant the necessary approbation when right.

Nevertheless, although it be our practice to settle Religious (if there are any), when once we are sure of the site being fit and suitable and possessing all other necessary conditions and being profitable to the Indians as well as the King, our Sovereign, you have still the liberty of proving the site unsuitable, if it be so, for the Indians, or disadvantageous, it might be, for the King, our Sovereign. It appears to us that we work very uprightly, for your Excellency must presume that we are not so inconsiderate as to wish to carry out the matter without carefully weighing it, and without prudence. Nor are we so rash that we carry out matters of such consequence boldly and arbitrarily. It is certain that nobody more than we ought to reflect, and we do reflect long, and we even endeavor to procure the profit, advantage, and convenience as well of the Indians as of the King, our Sovereign, in the matter of the foundations and reductions of the Indians, on account of the very special manner our pious and Catholic Monarch has charged us in this respect.

I do, indeed, confess to your Excellency that I have not been able to understand the object with which you put these difficulties in the way, when none of your predecessors ever had any difficulties in this matter, as they knew the sound method and practice which the reverend Fathers, Capuchin missionaries of Catalonia, had employed from the beginning in regard to the foundations of Indian villages; if any difficulty has now presented itself to your Excellency on account of our having formed the cattle ranch in the Savannahs of Tumeremo, owing to the Savannahs of the old cattle farm having become nearly all exhausted of pasture, it

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appears to us to be a very poor motive for your Excellency's objection; for that site being so distant from the River Cuyuni, as is notorious to all, the occasion of all difficulty arising therefrom is at once set aside. It is quite certain that your Excellency's predecessor made no difficulty in allowing the site of Cura to be settled, although it be much less distant from the River Cuyuni than that of Tumeremo. Also the site of Curumo was less distant, and, nevertheless, there was no difficulty made by one of your predecessors in allowing it to be founded, although, on account of the Caribs having risen, who were dwelling in that place, it has not been again founded. Finally, your Excellency does not carefully reflect, in putting before us all the observations which the Adjutant-Major Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente had made, that we are ready to give a full account, as we do not make any concealment of our mode of working, which is quite public; we have nothing to fear on that account, for our conscience accuses us of nothing.

I shall say no more at present on this matter, so as not to trouble your Excellency. And as you request me to furnish a circumstantial account of all the villages, stating the year of the foundation of each of them, I send it to your Excellency, herewith, for whatever purpose you may wish to use it.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(Signed) FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SAN CELONIO,
Prefect.

No. 449.

Extract from the Order, dated January 30, 1789, of the Prefect and Council of the Capuchin Missions, as to the establishment of a new Mission in the Plains of Cura.

[Translated from Copy printed *in* STRICKLAND (*Rev.* Joseph *s. J.*), the Boundary Question between British Guayana and Venezuela, fol. Rome, 1896, Appendix 1, p. 44.]

On the tenth of August of the present year 1784, in session held by the Reverend Fathers the Prefect and Assistant Judges, for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the Ato and the increase thereof, and at the same time as Father Bernardino de Verdu, in his letter of June 22nd of same year, has asked to be discharged of the Presidency and relieved of the care of said village, and said Father Bernardino having requested, in his letter of July 18th, to be allowed to dwell in said village of Ato, the Reverend Fathers decided as follows: That in view of the age and infirmities of said Father, and that he may enjoy some rest, hereafter the majordomo (steward) shall report to Father Juan de Livia, and Father Benardino shall only have charge of the Indians left him, and

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take care of the plains of the territory appertaining to the village of Ato Viejo, and he shall maintain the dairy there, and see that no more than three or four bullocks are killed every week. 2nd. That the establishment of Ato Nuevo, called Angel Custodio, be continued and finished. 3rd. That twenty families shall be taken from Ato Viejo for the settlement of the new plantation, with fifteen from Altagracia and ten from Cupapuy. 4th. That it shall be the duty of Father Juan de Livia to go out with the majordomo to look after the works of the plain, and every year he shall submit a statement, signed by both, of the cattle gelded and branded. 5th. That the Reverend Fathers Presidents of the villages of Altagracia, Cupapuy, Sta. Maria and Sn. Antonio shall furnish (upon notification of the majordomo) all the Indians they can afford, with their horses, to go out to the plain to hock bulls. Signed in this village of Caroni, on this day *ut supra*, Fr. Hermenegildo de Vich, Prefect; Fr. Buenaventura de S. Celonio, Assistant Judge; Fr. Thomas de Mataró, Assistant Judge.

* * * * * *

No. 450.

Journal kept by Antonio Lopez de la Puente on a Journey from Santo Thomé to and down the Cuyuni River and back again, November 7, 1788—February 5, 1789.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 337-339.]

On the 7th November, 1788, I left the capital with Corporal Antonio Mora, and I arrived at the town of Upata, from where I set out for the village Topuquen on the 15th with four militiamen, and the meat, cassava bread, rowers, and boats that could be found in Cura and Topuquen having been got ready with despatch, I departed for Cura with seven militiamen, where we arrived on the 28th.

And as the boats were not sufficient, I dispatched two of the militiamen to the town, and proceeded on my voyage the following day.

On the 29th I left the port of Cura with four boats and five militiamen, having formed at Topuquen the beginning of the map ("plano"), on which it will be noted that the day's voyages down stream are marked with two strokes from one side of the river to the other, and in respect to the return up stream with four strokes, the rapids with the letter R, the creeks with C, the islands with I, and the dotted lines (. . . .) are roads.

On the 30th we left the rapid of Aguaraya and encamped at the Rapid Curigua. On the 31st we left Curigua, and at 8 in the morning reached the River Yuruan, and at 11 forenoon we entered the River

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Cuyuni, all this voyage, from Topuquen to the Cuyuni, taking up three days. The Yuruary is very much impeded with rocks, and consequently, it is difficult to navigate, unless the river be more than half in flood.

On this day we rode five hours on the Cuyuni and three on the Yuruary and Yuruan, and during all this day's journey the river was in a good state, its width about 200 yards, with depth enough for any kind of launch. We encamped at 4 in the afternoon on the Island of Chimiri.

On the 1st December we left the Island of Chimiri, and proceeded in good water to the rapid of Marapi, and we encamped at the mouth of the Lost Creek ("Caño Perdido"), having this day travelled eight hours.

On the 2nd we departed from the Lost Creek, and at a short distance came to the rapid Mara, where there are some 2 leagues of rapids; it is a bad way all through until the rapid Aguarari be passed, then the river continues good to the mouth of the Curumo, where we encamped this day, having rowed for ten hours.

On the 3rd we left the mouth of the Curumo at 8 in the morning, on account of having left in this place six arrobas (about 150 lbs. weight) of cassava bread and four of meat (100 lbs. weight) to await our return, and in front of this mouth, and all along the creek, there is high mountainous land to the bank of the Cuyuni, and in the lower part suitable for a village and tillage of the land, flat but high. During all this day we proceeded in good water to the Island of Maiparipati, where we encamped, having travelled this day eight hours.

On the 4th we departed from Maiparipati, and we proceeded all this day in good water for eight hours, encamping on the Island of Acayo.

On the 5th we left Acayo, and at a short distance we came to the rapid of Canayma, where the Cuyuni divides itself into two branches as far as the Island of Araripira, where we remained, having only gone during this day four hours, on account of having met some Indians who were complaining against the Indian Manuyari, who had taken them prisoners and carried them to the Dutch, who kept them two months working, and after that sent them to their village, the said Manuyari bidding them tell the Father of their village that he would kill him and burn the village, for which purpose he would ask the Dutch for help. On account of which, and in view of the complaint which they made me of this Indian, knowing at the same time that he had already killed the daughter of the Indian Cuayari, of the same village of Topuquen, I resolved (as he was living, as they told me, actually on the Cuyuni as a spy and sentinel of the Dutch) to take two experienced Indians of those whom I met for the purpose of apprehending this Indian on account of his insupportable audacity. Besides what I have just mentioned, these

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Indians also informed me that he had also carried away an Indian woman named Josefa from the Indians of Panapana about three years ago, and that he had her with him, and that this same Manuyari was the very one who was continually inciting the Dutch to come and burn and destroy the villages of the Capuchins. Considering, therefore, that if he were not apprehended, and if warned might go and inform the Dutch, and, consequently, I should not be able to carry out my commission, or might be surprised, for all these reasons I thought it well that he should be seized, and on this understanding I dispatched the Indians above referred to to the village of Topuquen, having now informed myself of all that might assist me on my voyage. And in regard to the fact that there had remained in the port of Cura forty Carib Indians of Guascipati and Cumano, who were going down with cargoes of hammocks and deerskins to sell to the Dutch, without mentioning those who would go from Morucuri, Caraguachi, Miamo, Carapo, and all the others who annually descend by the Yuruari and Curumo carrying hammocks, for since the planting of tobacco has been prohibited they do not take any, I warned these Indians to tell those who were going down what had happened to them, so that they might return to their villages, as it was imperative to seize this Indian, so that, on this ground, they might excuse themselves from going to the Dutch from fear of what might happen to themselves.

We passed the rest of the day here, and stayed until the following, when the Indians went up stream to Topuquen, and we went on down stream.

On the 6th we left the said Island Araripira, and went on during the whole day through bad water, the greater part rapids and falls; and having proceeded for nine hours, we reached the rapid of Giromirispo, which is a muddy place, although short. We remained here until the following day.

On the seventh day we left Giromirispo, and we proceeded during the whole eight hours through bad water as far as the mule pass, which they call Notupicay, and from there it continues good, without rapids, to Tapujumo, where we encamped.

On the eighth day we left Tapujumo; we only passed one rapid, and the rest of the river is navigable, and on account of it raining very much we only rowed during seven hours, and we encamped on the Island of Acayuiri.

On the ninth day we left Acayuiri, and we rowed the whole day (nine hours) in good water, passing only one rapid, and we passed the night at Point Capachi.

On the tenth day we departed from Capachi, and after passing some rapids, not of the largest, we passed the night at the mouth of the Creek Tupuro, having rowed ten hours' journey to the head of the Rapid Camaria, which is 2 leagues long, and ends at the mouth of the Cuyuni,

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a short distance, about a quarter of a league. before the Cuyuni flows into the Masuruni, in the fork of which a Dutchman lives, named Daniel, with four companions, very many negroes and Indian slaves, all his.

From the mouth of this Creek Tupuro there is a road to the foot of the rapid where the Carib Manuyari has his house, and he it is who keeps up this road opposite Daniel's house. The tide reaches above this rapid. From this to the fortress of Essequibo there are only two floods on the southern part of the River Cuyuni. There is a road which comes out at the Masuruni, where there are some Dutchmen with a Carib village. We arrived at the said mouth of the Tupuro at daybreak.

On the eleventh day I dispatched the corporal, three of the militiamen, and fifteen Caribs to apprehend the Indian Manuyari, and we, with the others, remained to guard the canoes; and at 12 o'clock at night they returned with the said Manuyari, whom they found in his plantation 3 leagues distant from the port, having taken the Indian woman from Panapana, named Josefa, and ten others.

On the twelfth day we departed from the mouth of the said Creek Tupuro on our return, not being able to delay longer in this place on account of having seized this Indian, and because the Dutch, Aruacas, and Caribs being very constantly engaged in fishing in the River Cuyuni, our voyage might have been discovered. We passed the night at the rapid of Tosqueñe.

On the thirteenth day we left Tosqueñe, and in twelve days and the day at Tupuro, which makes thirteen, we arrived at the mouth of the Curumo on the 24th December, where we remained two days roving about, hunting, and resting ourselves.

On the 27th I went up the Curumo with the Spaniards who accompanied me and nine Caribs, leaving the remainder at the mouth of the Curumo awaiting the canoes, for the pilots told us that we could only continue the river journey two days more. We only rowed seven hours this day.

On the 28th we continued our voyage, always in good water and deep enough for any small sailing-boat, but not for launches. We rowed for this day eight hours.

On the 29th we continued our journey, and only rowed for four hours, as hunger did not permit us to do any more; and having passed the Creek Guaramo, half a league distant, we reached the port where the Indians say that it is the custom to leave the canoes, and presuming that the river might be difficult, or that it was an old open way, I fell into the mistake which I afterwards discovered.

On the 30th I sent the canoes away to Cura, and continued the journey by land with six Caribs and the Spaniards, and we walked in this day during six hours, as we were obliged to look for something to eat.

On the 31st we left, and having walked during this day for eight

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hours we passed the night, as on the other days, on the bank of the Curumo, which wherever we came to the river was found to be good for navigation and without any rapid, on account of which I repented very much of having sent away the canoes.

On the 1st January we continued the journey, and on this day we walked for nine hours with great labour, for during the whole day and night it never ceased raining. But hunger obliged us, and with suffering we passed this day.

On the 2nd we continued the journey. We marched for nine hours, and it also rained nearly the whole day.

On the 3rd we set forward the journey, and marched for six hours, for, apart from the rain, it was necessary to look for something to eat.

On the 4th we continued our journey, and after two hours' walking we entered upon a Savannah which there is just before coming out to the Creek Mutanambo, (?) which we crossed, and after a league of mountain, we entered upon the Savannahs of the Curumo, and we continued through various Savannahs and bits of wood to the bank of the Curumo, where we passed the night, having walked during the whole of this day ten hours, and through the Savannahs, the way which leads to Tumeremo. But it was not known whether it was far or near, and as we were obliged to look for something to eat, we remained the day following fishing, and I sent off a letter to Tumeremo with two Indians that they might send us supplies.

On the 6th we left Curumo, and two hours after we met with supplies which Father Mariano sent us, and after having satisfied our hunger, we started off and arrived at Tumeremo, having walked during the entire day four hours through good Savannahs, both before and after Curumo, which is quite navigable, without rapids, unless the fierce summer dries it up, as they say, but only for a short time. It is a river abundant in game and fish with fertile woodlands on one side of the river, and another which has been much inhabited by Caribs, for there are still found in various parts of the valley groves of lemon trees; it runs north and south.

On the 8th we set out for Topuquen, after having rested ourselves for a day, and we arrived after six leagues' walking, where the canoes which I dispatched from the mouth of the Curomo were to await us. Up to the 11th, seeing that they were retarded, I wrote to the Governor announcing my arrival and the cause of detention.

On the 22nd I reached the town of Upata sick with fever, having left Corporal Mora in Topuquen until the arrival of the canoes.

On the 27th the Corporal of the town arrived with the militiamen, and having by my order left the Indian prisoners, male and female, in the villages of Topuquen and Carapo, except the Indian Manuyari and the Indian woman Josefa, of Panapana, who were to be brought to the

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capital and placed at the disposal of the Governor, having learned that the said Josefa had been left by her brother, who is in Panapana, to become the wife of the said Manuyari on the condition and contract that he should make him a plantation for the time when he might fly from the village of Panapana to go to live with this Manuyari.

On the 29th I left the said town with three militiamen and the corporal, and having arrived on the 30th at San Miguel, I went to the fort of Guayana in search of a vessel, leaving Corporal Mora, the militiamen, and the prisoners at San Miguel.

On the 2nd February I left the fort in a sailing-boat with five rowers which I took from the village of Puga, and I arrived at San Miguel, where I took up the people I had left there, and then continued my journey until the 5th instant, on which I arrived at the capital, and having met on this day a canoe from Panapana near the port of the said village, I sent off the Indian woman Josefa, as she was very ill.

(Signed) ANTONIO LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE.

Guayana, February 5, 1789.

Note.—That the River Curumo is navigable the greater part of the year for sailing-boats and canoes, and in flood time even for large vessels. By this river there is a great saving of rapids in going to Essequibo, which abound in the Yuruari and Cuyuni to the mouth of the Curumo.

Note.—In the River Cuyuni, notwithstanding the bad passes that it has, one can navigate with launches and sailing-boats, and in the season of the year that it is in flood even frigates may pass the rapids.

(Signed) ANTONIO LOPEZ.

Guayana, February 5, 1789.

No. 451.

Report of the Fiscal, dated April 2, 1789, as to the Founding of Tumeremo.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 341.]

His Majesty's Fiscal has seen the despatch of the Governor of Guayana relative to the request of the devout Father Prefect and Capuchin missionaries of Catalonia of the said province, that there be granted to them sacred vessels, ornaments, and bells for the church of the new cattle-farm of Tumeremo, which they denominate the village of Nuestra Señora de Belen, with the documents which he annexes, and says: That the necessary license for the foundation of this village not yet being granted, nor the selection of its site approved, notwithstanding that the community and Assistants have arranged it, there can be no question at present of

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providing the ornaments for the church, nor until, all the necessary information having been taken and the special points examined, it is seen whether the establishment be convenient or not, which the Fiscal considers a most delicate point. He is of opinion that His Majesty must be consulted, and most careful consideration given to the points raised in the journal of the official, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, and in the Report of the former missionary, Fray Thomas de Mataro, at present absent in the Kingdom of Spain. The Fiscal is aware that on account of the exposed situation of the lands between the mouths of the Orinoco and the forts of Old Guayana and their proximity to the Dutch Colonies, it has not been permitted that they should be settled, and for the same reason the Missions established are for the greater part situated in the lands of the River Caroni higher up than the said forts, and in the interior of the province.

The Fiscal has information that as the head-waters of the Cuyuni (which flows into the Essequibo) are close to the interior villages of the same Missions, the Royal Commissioner, Don Josef de Iturriaga, recommended that a fort should be built at the outlet of the River Curiamo to the Cuyuni, to hinder the said foreign Colonies from penetrating into that part, and by that route.

He likewise recognizes from the said journals and Report of Father Mataro the proximity of the Savannahs of Tumeremo to the said River Cuyuni, and to the before-mentioned outlet of the Curiamo, at a distance of six hours of road, from which the navigation to the Dutch farms is very short and easy. This is all the more dangerous on account of the attempts they are making to work the silver mines discovered at the town of Upata, distant very few leagues from the said Cuyuni, Curiamo, and River Yuruari, and the villages of Cura, San Antonio, and others. The means of communication and traffic with the Dutch Colony thus afforded to the Indians are very objectionable, and the before-mentioned official, Lopez de la Puente, learned that it is necessary to take the greatest precautions.

On this account, notwithstanding the earnest request of the said missionaries, it appears to the Fiscal that it is necessary that orders be given to the said Governor to the effect that he shall employ the most experienced officials acquainted with that province to explore carefully all the lands of the said site and Savannahs of Tumeremo, its communication with the Rivers Cuyuni and Curiamo, the outlet of the latter, and the facility of its navigation to the outlet of the Masuruny, where the first plantations of the Dutch are situated on the Rivers Aporgara and Cosacuro. The distances from these lands to the said Colonies, as well as to the town of Upata, should be set down, and the Governor should be warned of the importance of this business, and be instructed to give

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all information to this Superintendency, with as many particulars as can be acquired.

As to whether it would be well that on the said site of Tumeremo, at the junction of the Curiamo, a considerable village of Spaniards be formed, with magistrates and zealous officials of the Royal Treasury, who may be able to prevent smuggling in that part, and restrain the foreigners from penetrating there, the whole case must be laid before His Majesty with the necessary clearness, so that he may issue a Royal Resolution thereon with full knowledge of the facts. Your Excellency, in view of the "Expediente," will be pleased to resolve what is best.

(Signed) SARAVIA.

No. 452.

Letter from Governor Miguel Marmion, to Antonio de Valdes, Secretary of State, Dated September 22, 1789, Asking for Troops and the Founding of a Town on the Cuyuni at its Junction with the Curumo.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, pp. 342-343.]

The proximity of the Dutch possessions of the Colony of Essequibo to that part of this province which borders on the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia has, since my entrance into this Government, compelled my most careful attention, as I knew the importance of the point, as I showed in my general topographical Report, and the others accompanying the despatch of the 10th June of the past year, [17]88, which I addressed to your Excellency.

Lately, to comply with the obligation by which I consider myself bound, I dispatched, for the exploration of these frontiers, the Adjutant Major of the force of this garrison, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, who discharged and fulfilled the Commission in the manner set forth in the inclosed journal, which I transmit to your Excellency, in copy, with the plan or map.

With this, and my previous information, I have recently set forth, as clearly as possible, the configuration of the country bounded by the sea-coast and the Rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni, Caroni, and Orinoco, within which are situated the said Missions and their numerous cattle farms, the tobacco crops of the town of Upata—the only district of all this province where the revenue permits the cultivation of tobacco—the timber for building examined in [17]87, and the silver mines lately discovered, and which are actually being tested by practical miners sent here by the Captain General-Intendent of Carácas to prove their value or worthlessness.

This portion of the country, the best, richest, and most populous of

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the province, is also exposed and without defence; the River Cuyuni affords the Dutch a free and open passage to our possessions, by which they can carry on their wicked traffic in the Indians whom they enslave, introduce merchandize, and carry away the produce of the Missions; nor can any one prevent them, for the river flows through desert country as far as the Missions. It is also impossible to stop the natives' communication with the Dutch, as there is no guard or settlement of Spaniards to restrain them. There are plenty of examples of this kind up to the last war, without mentioning the two recent cases referred to in the journal of the official commissioned to explore the country, which also serves as an asylum for bad characters, who, on account of their excesses and libertinage, have fled from the Missions; these men very frequently pass into that Colony, or its frontiers, carrying with them the population of whole villages, as practical experience has proved. Now, what is most remarkable in the affair is that the known advantages of this district as compared with the rest of the province excite the avarice of an active enemy, into whose hands Essequibo may fall, precisely as happened in the last war, especially as they know that, in its present state, it could easily be taken without any costly expedition, as there is no force to prevent it. Then the reduced escort of twenty-five or thirty men maintained here by Royal Order, and divided up among those Missions, is insufficient, and nearly useless in such a case.

The Indians, being an uncivilized and insubordinate people, lovers of their independence and liberty, which the enemy would undoubtedly offer so as to attract them to their side, it is to be feared that they would submit cheerfully to any change which would enable them to escape the subjection in which the Religious keep them for the purpose of instruction.

It is very doubtful whether assistance from the capital, to hold the port in case of a surprise, would arrive in time, on account of the long distance which intervenes; in case of the invasion of the province it would be still less likely to do so, for the force having to attend to the forts of Old Guayana, the principal and only defence of the entrance of the Orinoco, it could not be given without greatly weakening or abandoning the forts, as there are only three companies of infantry and one of artillery. These are always dispersed in the remote outposts of the Higher Orinoco and Rio Negro, of the Parime, of Barceloneta, of the River Caura, of the forts of Old Guayana, and in the above-mentioned escort of the Catalan Capuchin Fathers, at distances which render their assembling together impossible in any of the two cases explained happening. For the same reason, and the want of forces, the garrisons indicated in the project of Brigadier Don Augustin Crame must remain incomplete, and two or three years without relief, and when this can be given it is very expensive to the Royal Treasury in the mat-

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ter of transport. This is the chief cause of the want of assistance and military discipline among the soldiers.

In consideration of these reasons and the others which the wise penetration of your Excellency will deduce from the papers before you which I had the honour to transmit to you on the 10th July, 1788, I take the liberty of proposing to your Excellency the urgent necessity of now adding promptly two companies of infantry to this garrison, and without any prejudice to whatever may be considered right in the future, and in regard to the artillery, putting it on a footing of 100 men. I also particularly advise that a town should be founded as quickly as possible in the fork or junction of the River Curumo with the Cuyuni. A beginning may be made with the escort fixed by His Majesty in the Royal Order referred to of the 22d December, 1773, at thirty men; it would be well that they be married and militiamen, and at the same time, as they guard the Missions and attend to their duties under the command of an officer, they can also serve as settlers with the help which for this purpose the venerable community of the said Catalan Capuchin Fathers should freely give, with a part of the 10,000 to 12,000 head of cattle which they offered to His Majesty, and he accepted with the pious intention of distributing them among the poor people of this province, which Royal grace can never be enjoyed in a better nor more opportune time than on this occasion.

God preserve you, &c.

No. 453.

Extract from Letter, dated June 4, 1790, from Governor Miguel Marmion to Antonio Valdes, regarding Spanish post at junction of Cuyuni and Curumo rivers.

[Reprinted from Ven. Span. Docs., No. 3, p. 260.]

Document 2.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Considering the urgent necessity of guarding in the best possible way, for the present, the avenue of the Cuyuni river, whereby the Dutch from Esquivo are accustomed to advance inland, I deemed it advisable to designate the Adjutant Major of this detail, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, as an expert party in those localities, entrusting him with this object and the command of the escort of the Missions of the Reverend Catalonian Capuchin Fathers. And at the same time I charged him to re-examine a site which should be the most advantageous on the said Cuyuni river at the fork or confluence it forms with the Curumo, to establish a fixed detachment or outpost.

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He performed this duty in the terms Y. E., will see by the copy which I send herewith, of which I have also made a report to the Captain General of Caracas, stating that I consider very necessary the sentry-box or stronghold that the military Commissioner proposes, in order that, in view of the antecedents, and until Your Excellency shall otherwise determine, you may examine and decide whether carrying this work into execution, the cost of which will amount, more or less, to five hundred *pesos*, is expedient for the best service of the King.

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No. 454.

Letter, dated August 29, 1790, from Governor Miguel Marmion, to the Ministers of the Royal Treasury of Guayana, as to the post at the junction of the Cuyuni and Curumo rivers.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 3, pp. 261-262.]

Document 3.

It befitting the best service of the King to protect the territory and Missions of that Province which borders on the Dutch Colony of Esquivo, I have resolved to have constructed a stronghold or sentry-box at a point which may seem most proper and adapted, which is to be selected by the Adjutant-Major Don Antonio Lopez de la Puento, the cost of which will amount to five hundred *pesos*, which amount, as well as the other materials and military stores the Governor of that Province may need, will be transmitted, Y. H. paying the cost per account of the Royal Treasury.

At present there ought to be at the orders of the Adjutant-Major Puente, eight militiamen to serve as escort and first settlers of the Spanish village to be founded there, and there shall be sent, successively, up to the number of thirty militiamen, who are to be at the same time settlers, as is provided by Royal Command of December twenty-second of seventeen hundred and sixty-three; the pay of which men Y. H. will provide without the slightest embarrassment, as I am authorized by the King to act in the matter as may seem best to me for his Royal service.

God preserve Your Honor many years. Caracas, August twenty-ninth, seventeen ninety. To the Principal Ministers of the Royal Treasury of Guayana. It is a copy of its original. Guillelmi—[a flourish].

No. 455.

Letter, dated Aug. 29, 1790, from Governor Miguel Marmion to the Prefect of Missions as to the post at the junction of the Cuyuni and Curumo rivers.

[Reprinted (with correction) from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 8, pp. 262-263].

Document 4.

REVEREND FATHER: In order to protect the Missions under the charge of your Reverence and your Reverend Community, I have ordered the building of a stronghold to defend them. Under the protection thereof it is advisable and necessary to establish a settlement of Indians of the Guayca nation, and afterwards a village of Spaniards, which is provided for by Royal command of the twenty-second of December, seventeen sixty-three, the execution of which I have entrusted to the Adjutant-Major of the Veteran companies of that Province, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente.

I trust your Reverence will agree with this officer as to the founding of the settlement and village, after notice and approval of the Governor of the Province, as is proper, and that you will furnish all the necessary assistance from the cattle ranch and settlement of Tumeremo, which is to have its port on the Corumo river; and since that Reverend Community offered H. M. ten or twelve thousand head of neat cattle, which were accepted by Royal commands of the twentieth of October, of seventeen seventy-eight, and fourteenth of March, seventeen eighty, the time arrives when it can be carried into effect, and I trust that the said Reverend Community will gladly order the furnishing of the number which, on account of the offer, the Governor of that Province may request for the purpose of distributing them among the settlers of the village to be founded, and for any other purpose that may be advisable, as this will redound to the benefit and advancement of the Missions themselves.

God preserve your Reverence many years. Caracas, August twenty-ninth, seventeen ninety. To the Reverend Father Prefect of the Missions of Catalonian Capuchins. It is a copy of the original. Guillelmi— [a flourish].

No. 456.

Letter from the Captain-General of Caracas to the Prefect of Missions, dated August 29, 1790, asking co-operation with Lopez de la Puente in Founding an Indian Village and Spanish Town.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 345-346.]

In order to protect the Missions which are under your Paternity's charge and your reverend community, I have arranged that a fort be constructed that may defend them.

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For the support of it, it appears well and it is necessary to found a village of Indians of the Guayca tribe, and afterwards a town of Spaniards, which is commanded by a Royal Order of the 22d December, 1763, the execution of which I have confided to the charge of the Adjutant-Major of the veteran Companies of that province, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente.

I hope your Paternity will arrange with this official for the foundation of the village and town the Governor of the Province having been informed and given his approval, as is right, and that you will furnish all the help that may be necessary from the cattle-farm and village of Tumeremo and that the port in the River Curumo must have; and as your reverend community offered to His Majesty 10,000 or 12,000 head of cattle, which were accepted in the Royal Orders of the 20th October, 1778, and 14th March, 1780, the time is now at hand when it may begin to be carried into effect. I trust that your reverend community will cheerfully arrange to supply the number which the Señor Governor of that province may request for the purpose, with the object of distributing them among the settlers of the town which is to be founded, and the other objects to which it may be well to destine it, so that it may result to the benefit and advancement of the Missions themselves.

God preserve you, &c.

No. 457.

Second report of the Fiscal on the founding of Tumeremo, dated October 7, [17]90.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 345.]

The Fiscal has again examined this "Expediente" with the despatches of the Governor of Guayana of the 8th October of the past year and 6th May of the present, with the journal of the Adjutant-Major, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, which was presented to his view without the map of the districts and rivers which the said official surveyed or explored in fulfilment of the commission. He states that, being able to consider the said journal and despatches for making the Report, which was requested of him on the 30th April of the past year, it is found that there is a necessity for the establishment of a village of Spaniards and other huts (?) on the site at the fork or junction of the Rivers Curuamo and Cuyuni, as suggested by the Fiscal in his Report of the 2d April of the past year; and it appears the Governor of Guayana represented it, at the same time, to His Majesty according to the copy of his despatch of the 22nd September of the past year, in which and in that which the said Governor forwarded to the Prefect of the Missions, he says he has suffi-

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cient powers for the establishment; and the measures which your Excellency has taken with the same object are not shown, nor whether orders have been given to survey the site where the village of Spaniards or fort must be constructed, nor the distance from it to the Savannahs of Tumeremo, where the Capuchin Fathers intend to transplant a part of their cattle-farm and found a church, the said distance being somewhat considerable, according to what may be inferred from the journal of the official Puente from the number of days which he spent in his return from the mouth of the Curiamo to the said Savannahs. It appears to him that, in conformity with what has been determined in regard to the new foundation of the village or fort, the Governor of Guayana might be charged that if he should consider that the new establishment of the cattle-farm which the Fathers intend may be useful for the sustenance of the new settlers or fort, he may permit the new Mission of Our Lady of Belen de Tumeremo, and arrange with the Royal Sub-Treasury of the same province that it should grant the ornaments, sacred vessels, and bell for the service of the church to the missionaries free.

But in case the fort or village of Spaniards is not founded which is to cover those frontiers and restrain the robberies of the Dutch and wild Indians, and put an end to the smugglers, the establishment of the said Mission and the church furniture should be refused to them, so that they may not remain exposed to these dangers.

Your Excellency will be pleased to form whatever resolution may appear best in this matter.

No. 458.

Extract from strictly confidential letter from Luis Antonio Gil, Governor of Guayana, to Pedro de Lorena, November 8, 1790.

[Reprinted from Ven. Sp. Docs., Vol. 1, p. 236.]

Strictly confidential.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Well aware of what your Excellency directs me to do, by the strictly confidential Royal Order of the 4th of last June, I have been informed with the greatest secrecy, reserve and necessary precautions for finding out the number of fugitives from the Dutch Colony of Surinam, and whether among them are the two nephews of the rebellious Tupac-Amaro, if they have any dealings with the Indians, and whether the latter look upon them with any consideration. Upon these particulars and the other points communicated to me (simulating a desire to be posted as to the extension of this Province, their boundaries and frontiers, number of inhabitants, whether white or colored, of the Indian

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tribes, reduced and wild, inhabiting the country), I have succeeded only in obtaining the following information:

That the amount of fugitive persons from Surinam is very large, and that it is further increased by the accession of those who go to join them from Bervice, Demerari, and Esquivo, all foreign colonies situated on the same coast at a distance of 45 leagues from the *Boco de Navios* of the Orinoco River; * * *

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No. 459.

Letter from Juan Guillelmi to Pedro Lerena, dated October 25, 1790, transmitting various Papers relating to a Post on the Cuyuni at its junction with the Curumo, etc.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 3, p. 326.]

(On the margin of the first page, No. 65.) The Intendant at Carácas transmits, as promised, the certificate and other documents relating to the construction of a strong house or post and settlement of Spaniards in the fork or junction of the Rivers Curiano and Cuyuni of the Province of Guiana.

Minute: Received and approved for the present.

(Translation.)

Caracas, October 25, 1790.

Your Excellency.

In my despatch No. 1 of the 29th September last, marked "Very Confidential," informing you of the resolution I had taken of ordering a strong house or post to be constructed, and a settlement of Spaniards to be founded in the fork or junction of the Rivers Curiamo and Cuyuni, in the Province of Guiana, which flow into the Essequibo in the Dutch Colonies, I mentioned that I would transmit to your Excellency the testimony of an "Expediente" that had been drawn up with another object, and which relates to the said settlement and that of the village or Mission of Tumeremo.

I now forward to your Excellency, marked No. 1, the "Expediente" referred to, and also, as inclosures Nos. 2 and 3, copies of my despatch and instruction to the Rev. Father Prefect of the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchins and officials of the Royal Treasury, so that your Excellency, being informed of all that has transpired, may be pleased to approve of my resolution, on account of the importance of this new fortification, from a military point of view, and to detail the Adjutant-Major of the Veteran companies of Guiana, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, for the carrying out of the said commission.

No. 460.

Approval by Spain of the Plan for Building a Town at the Junction of the Cuyuni and Curumo rivers; dated July 9, 1791.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, pp. 846-847.]

The Governor of Guayana, Don Miguel Marmion, in a letter of the 6th of August, 1788, sent by the secret channel a report, dated the 10th of July previous, on the condition, forces and plan of defense of the said Province, proposing certain measures for improving it, and among them that the district comprehended under the name of Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro should be formed into a separate Commandancy, but directly subordinate to that Government, and that a fixed Garrison Company should be created for that object, whose Captain should be the Commandant of the same district. That the fertile lands of Lower Guyama should be settled, and batteries and fortifications of timber should be constructed, and a harbour of registers formed on the terms shown in separate papers which he mentioned in the said representation without noting the dates, and which have not been received. In another representation of the 22nd of September, [17]89, (No. 14,) Marmion forwarded the diaryof Adjutant Major Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, of the exploration he made of the frontiers of the Colony of Essequibo and the plan which, upon this information and that which he previously possessed, he had drawn up to show, in the best possible manner, the local characteristics of the land which is enclosed by the seacoast and the rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni, Caroni and the Orinoco, within which are the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers, and their large cattle farm, the tobacco plantations of the town of Upata, the timber for shipbuilding surveyed in the year [17]87, and the silver mines just recently discovered; in order to show the exposed and defenceless condition of this district, which is the chief in value, fertility and population in the Province. For the river Cuyuni offers the Dutch free and open access to our possessions for their vile traffic in Indians, whom they enslave; for the importation of manufactures, and exportation of the products of those Missions. For which reasons, and the special attention which the recognised advantages of that territory attracted, and the ease with which it could be invaded by an active enemy who had obtained possession of Essequibo, Marmion proposed, as a ready expedient, to increase the garrison of that Province by two companies of infantry, and to put the existing artillery upon the footing of 100 men. That with special care and all possible speed, a town should be founded at the junction of the River Curumo with the Cuyuni, beginning with the 30 men appointed as an escort to the Missions, who might conveniently be married militiamen, and thus at the same time protect the said Missions under their commanding

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officer, and serve as settlers, with the help to be contributed to this important object by the venerable community of the said Capuchin Fathers, by part of the 10 or 12 thousand head of cattle which they offered to His Majesty, who accepted them with the benign object of their distribution to the poor settlers of that Province. No resolution was taken upon these representations, because in that of the 6th of August, [17]88, Marmion offered to send a similar one by Your Lordship's hands to be annexed to his report.

In a letter of the 9th of November last, No. 92, Your Lordship said that you had received the representations mentioned by the Governor of Guayana, and, at the same time, a very confidential Royal Order from Count de Lerma; that his information agrees in part with that obtained by Puente. And in fulfillment thereof, and to cover his obligation for the security of those Provinces, you had communicated to the said Governor the order, of which a copy is enclosed, to the effect that a fort or watch-house is to be built at the junction of the rivers Curiamo and Cuyuni, which communicate with the Essequibo; that under its protection is to be founded the town of Spaniards as indicated to Commodore Don Joseph de Iturriaga in Royal Order of the 23rd of December, [17]63, and and in its vicinity a Mission and village of Guaycos Indians, for the assistance of the town of Spaniards, in the places approved by Adjutant-Major Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente.

The King, being informed of everything, has been pleased to approve these arrangements; and His Majesty desires that Your Excellency will report, in view of the foregoing, what may exist in your Commandancy respecting the further points which Marmion treated of, and especially respecting the means of settling the lands of the Lower Orinoco, and protecting its entrance, with the least possible cost to the Treasury; bearing in mind that Your Lordship must present the points relative to the security and defence of the said Province, and send everything relating thereto by this "*via reservada de guerra.*" I notify this to Your Lordship by Royal Order for your information and performance.

No. 461.

Extract.—Orders and account of assistance forwarded by the Government to the Sergeant-Commandant of the Cuyuni River, dated at Guayana, February 17th, 1792.

[Translated from Copy printed in U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 666-667.]

It is urgent that, at the earliest moment and with all the efficacy and certitude possible, you should be assured of the report made to me in your letter of the 29th of January last, to the effect that *on an island lying beyond the mouth of the Masaruni there are different nations of*

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Indians protected with firearms and a palisade; for under such circumstances, although positive information in the matter may be lacking, the news should not be looked upon lightly, but, until the truth can be established, all precautions should be taken against any surprise contemplated by the Indians, as is their wont, whether in these Missions or elsewhere in the Province; and it is the more to be apprehended when, as you notify me, they are supplied with firearms, in contravention of the general decrees now in force, and much more so, if mature consideration is had of the condition and circumstances attending wandering nations, which, but for the assistance of others, more civilized, could not be supplied with such armament on the frontiers of our possessions, or, in other words, within our own borders. Consequently, by way of precaution and in order to prevent any surprise or outbreak that they may plot against us, I am compelled to decide upon sending you by veteran corporal of militia, Joseph Montanchez, 250 musket-cartridges with which to supply your people for the present, and to strictly instruct you to repair in person to the stronghold of Cuyuni, where you will remain until further orders. Taking with you from among the militia that are now in garrison at these Missions such men as may seem to you more suitable, up to the number of twenty, including the eight which you have and the aforesaid Corporal Montanchez, and, posted together at that place, you will continue the service. These men you shall keep on the watch without doing any hostile act or movement, except in case of attack, when you will maintain the post on the defensive, reporting anything that may occurr. You are not to close up the passage to Essequibo, either to Indians or other class of people, but the ones coming from those colonies to the Missions you shall endeavor to confine in the fortress. You shall examine them with the greatest precaution and ability in order to ascertain the motive of their coming and what business they have on hand. You shall seize whatever goods or effects they carry, and specially such documents, letters or books found upon their persons, carefully scrutinizing vessels, boxes, clothes, trunks and all other places where in your opinion they are likely to conceal them, so that they may not succeed in passing them owing to negligence, you being responsible to me without any excuse or pretext whatever, no matter how well founded.

* * * * * *

Guayana, February 17th, 1792.

LUIS ANTONIO GIL.

To the Sergeant-Commandant Pedro Tomás Bommón.

No. 462.

Extract from letter from Luis Antonio Gil, Governor in Guayana, to the Friar Hermenegildo de Vich, Prefect of Missions, advising that measures be taken to protect and defend the Cuyuni river, etc., etc., 1792.

[Translated from Copy printed in U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, pp. 668-669.]

I despatch on this occasion Corporal José Montánchez with two militiamen and a box of munitions for Sergeant Pedro Tomás Bommón, and you will please order that the necessary conveyance be placed at his disposal for the speedy trausportation to his destination. Sergeant-Commandant Simón Denia is notified that in the event of the Commandant at Cuyuni, Pedro Tomás Bommón, should ask for the assistance of from 12 to 16 militiamen, of the garrison under his command, that he shall let him have them without any delay resulting to the detriment of the Royal service, and, at the same time, I instruct Denia that, in case of urgency and of undoubted necessity, to ask the Lieutenant of Upata for the number of people to meet the requirements of the case, inasmuch as the short number of Veterans and militiamen on regular duty, prevents me from despatching from this capital any reinforcement beyond said Corporal and the two soldiers. In order to supply Sergeant Bommón and the men under his command at Cuyuni with victuals, some safer means and less occasioned to failure should be adopted, regarding which you will notify Sergeant Bommón, in order that you may come to an agreement as to the manner and time their supplies are to be forwarded. * * *

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Guayana, February 22nd, 1792.

LUIS ANTONIO GIL.

No. 463.

Letter from Luis Antonio Gil in Guayana to Pedro de Lerena, dated March 1, 1792, as to the Trouble with the Indians on the Cuyuni.

[Translated from document in the archives at Caracas.]

The temporary Governor of Guayana, informing of the trouble occurred on the river Cuyuni and of the revolt or flight of the Indians of the town of Curauno, which belongs to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers.

By the copy which I hereby send to Your Excellency (as I also do to the Captaincy-General), Your Excellency will be informed of the trouble

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occurring on the river Cuyuni, which flows into that of the Colony of Esquivo; the news of the gathering of the Indians provided with fire-arms and protected by an entrenchment of stakes on the island further down on the mouth of the river Masaruni, which flows into the Cuyuni, lacks confirmation; but, notwithstanding, for the sake of precaution and for fear of what might happen, I have made my provisions for aiding, in case of need, as far as circumstances will allow, the Sergeant-Commander, who is detached in the stronghold or sentry-post on the Cuyuni river, charging him to ascertain the truth of the matter. In case our fears are realized it will be necessary to strengthen that stronghold, it being an open avenue for the Colony of the Esquivo and a road for the fugitives and for others who are not fugitives and wish to travel by the river to leave the place; it is also indispensable that some means should be devised for the subsistence of the troops who man this place, and to this end I make a suggestion to the Father Prefect of the Catalonnia Capuchins of these Missions, in a letter dated February 22d ult.

Although the same Prefect advised me of the flight of the Indians from Pueblo del Cura, without informing me of their numbers, I have had private information that there were over eight hundred of them, together with others who joined them from the Missions in the vicinity—Sergeant Bommon having set forth to pursue the fugitives, aided by such of the residents of the town of Upata as could be collected at that time by the lieutenant, and also the militia of this capital, and who served as a guard, dispersed in various distant towns. Up to the present time I know nothing of the results of the steps they have taken.

This is the state of affairs, as shown by the letters, copy of which is enclosed, and according as events transpire I shall keep your Excellency promptly advised of the same.

God save Your Excellency many years.

No. 464.

[Tranlated from document in the archives at Caracas.]

Superintendent-General sub-Delegate of the Royal Treasury.

By Your Excellency's note of May 10th ult., No. 44, and copies of notices addressed by the Prefect of the Missions of the Capuchins of that province, and the Sergeant-Commandant detached to the fort of the river Cuyuni, I am in receipt of the information of the flight of the Indians of Pueblo del Cura and the neighboring missions, in number 800 or more, and I hope that the wise provisions you have made for their restoration to my respective dwellings shall meet with the success they so well deserve and is so much to be desired, but, in order to calm the

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anxiety of these people living in the obscurity of their origin, I would advise it as very expedient that Your Excellency should persuade some European families or creoles to establish themselves in the Indian towns in numbers in proportion with those in each one, to the end that, by contact with the former, they may learn the Spanish language and the civilization which they lack.

God save, etc.

Cariacas, April 11, 1792.

No. 465.

Letter from A. Backer in Demerara, to the Spanish Governor-General, June 9, 1792.

Whereas our Sovereign, the High and Mighty Lords, the General States of the United Netherlands have, on the 23d of June of the past year, made an agreement in Aranjuez with His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, with regard to the extradition and surrender of fugitive slaves from the Spanish Colonies and of our own in the West Indies; and whereas the confirmation of said Agreement has been sent to us, we have the honor to inform Your Excellency of the same and to send you a copy thereof.

We have no doubt, however, that Your Excellency shall have received already from your Government the necessary notice in regard to this matter; and in this belief we hope that the bearer of this letter will receive from Your Excellency all the facility and aid to recover several negro slaves who have fled last year from Essequibo and Demerara to Orinoco, for which purpose he has received our order to observe the stipulations in the mentioned Agreement.

We are disposed, on our part, to strictly fulfill the above-mentioned Agreement, and the first claim made by His Catholic Majesty's subjects in the West Indies in regard to fugitive slaves shall be attended to with all consideration to facilitate the recovery in conformity with the stipulations of the Agreement.

By which same we commend, Most High, Noble, and Just Sir, Your Excellency to God's holy protection, and remain, Most High, Noble, and Just Sir, Your Excellency's most servant.

Drawn in Demerara, 9th of June, 1792.

Sealed and countersigned

M. DIEZ TANGE,
Secretary.

No. 466.

Letter from Pedro Tomas Bommon to Luis Antonio Gil, 1792.

[Translated from Copy printed in U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 665.]

MY MOST VENERABLE CHIEF: Inasmuch as upon this trip the stronghold is to be finished and some soldiers of the militia are to remain there, as there are now four, I proceed to enquire of Your Excellency if the victuals are to be brought down for account of the Royal Treasury, or of that of the Militia, having in mind that, to bring down said victuals, *peons* must be taken from these Missions as there are none in Cuyuni, although it seems to me advisable that, at least, there should be some families, not only for the victuals but also for other urgent needs that may occur; for the soldiers (militia) who are thus employed are greatly exposed to many contingencies, both as to victuals and other things, they being far removed from any assistance, and, further, having no one to send as a courier. Although nothing has happened thus far, it has been learned *that in an island lying beyond the mouth of the Maseroni, there are different nations of Indians, protected with fire-arms and a palisade*, but I believe that they have armed themselves as a defence against being captured.

God preserve Your Excellency many years.

Upata, January 29th, 1792.

PEDRO TOMAS BOMMON.

To His Excellency, General Don Luis Antoni Gil.

No. 467.

[Translated from document found in the archives at Caracas.]

I enclose to Your Excellency a note of the establishment of Spanish towns on the fork or union of the rivers Cuyuni and Curiamo, having for defense a stronghold or fort and a town of Guaica Indians, which Your Excellency asked of me in Your Excellency's [note] of the 4th of the present month.

God save, etc.

Caracas, October 8, 1796.

No. 468.

[Translated from document in archives at Caracas.]

I hereby return to Your Excellency the dispatch which your Excellency enclosed in the note of the 8th in regard to the establishment of the town of Cura and stronghold on the fork or union of the rivers Cuyuni and Curiamo, in the province of Guayana, which I asked for on the 4th inst.

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God save Your Excellency many years.
Caracas, October 14, 1796.

JOACHIM DE TUBILLAGA,
Intendent-General of the army and the Royal Academy.

No. 469.

List of the Capuchin Missions in Guayana, made in compliance with the Tenth Decree of America, June 6, 1797.

[Translated from Copy printed *in* STRICKLAND (*Rev* Joseph *s. J.*). The boundary question between British Guayana and Venezuela, fol. Rome, 1896. Appendix 1 pp. 58-59.]

TITULARY.	Foundation.	Reverend Father President.	Nation of Indians.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Deaths.	In Existence.
Mission of the Puresima Concepcion de Caroni	1724	Fr. Serafin de Areña, Procurator, with Fr. Buevrav de S. Celonio, Prefect	Guayanos or Pariagotos.	2357	537	1419	688
Mission of Santa Maria del Jacuario.	1730	Fr. Juan Bautista de Livia	Guayanos..	1460	620	1885	512
Mission of S. José de Cupapui	1733	Fr. Manuel de Castell-Tersol, *Conjudice*	Guayanos..	3032	629	1271	839
Mission of Our Father St. Francisco de Alta Gracia	1734	Fr. Mariano de Cervera	Guayanos..	2850	662	1511	921
Mission of San Miguel del Palmar	1734	Fr. Antonio de Martorell	Guayanos and Caribs	1841	302	746	656
Mission Divina Pastora del Turuario.	1737	Fr. Fulgencio de Barcelona, with Fr. Juan de Alforja, Nurse	Guayanos..	1136	258	616	481
Mission of Our Lady of Monserrat del Miamo	1748	Fr. Buenaventura de Santa Colomo, Ex-Confudice	Caribs..	2139	177	867	775
Mission of S. Fidel del Carapo	1752	Fr. Manuel de Preixana	Caribs	1757	196	815	746
Mission of Santa Eulalia de Murucuri	1754	Fr. Buenaventura de Sabadell, Ex-Prefect	Caribs and Guayanos.	1287	94	491	609
Mission of San Josef of Leonisa de Ayme	1755	Fr. Enrique de Puig, Re'tg	Guaycas	1945	176	1172	608
Mission of N. Sro. del Rosario de Guasipati	1757	Fr. Francisco de Orgaña	Caribs	1196	74	576	731
Mission of Santa Ana de Puga	1760	Fr. Felix de Vick, Conjudice	Aruacas, Caribs and Guarannos	1305	196	622	477
Mission of Santa Cruz del Calvario	1761	Fr. Sebastian de Igualada, with Fr. Antonio de San, Nurse.	Guaraunos and Salibas.	1214	141	626 200	443 395
Mission of San Ramon de Caruachi	1763		Caribs	531	61	461	664
Mission of San Antonio de Huicsatono	1765	Fr. Miguel de Olot	Guayanos..	887	308	469	502
Mission of Con de S. Pablo, of Cumamo	1767	Fr. Bernardino de San Feliu.	Caribs	1044	17	269	276
Mission of Los Delores of Piedpa	1769	Fr. Pasqual de Barcelona	Guayanos..	533	74	550	557
Mission of San Felix de Tupuquén	1770	Fr. Leopoldo de Barcelona	Caribs	1063	16	694	398
Mission of San Pedro de Las Bocas	1770	Fr. Jacinto de Sarriá	Guaicas	1161	103	334	666
Mission of San Buenaventura de Guri	1771	Fr. Francisco de Darnius	Guaicas and Caribs	771	31	245	454
Mission of San Miguel de Enata	1779	Fr. Hermenegildo de Vich, Ex-Prefect	Aruacas and Guayanos.	474	41	294	206
Mission of Santa Clara de Yavarapana	1779	Fr. Diego de Palan-Tordera	Guaicas	440	5	188	292
Mission of San Serafin de Aravatalma	1779	Fr. Felipe de Verdu	Guaicas	315	5	472	743
Mission of Santa Rosa de Lima de Cura	1782	Fr. Domingo de San Hipólito	Guaicas	1117	11	75	234
Mission of Santa Magdalena, de Curucal	1783		Guaicas	180	10	274	487
Mission of San Juan Bautista de Avechica	1783	Fr. Matias de Tivisa.	Guaicas	812	24	64	176
Mission of Angel Custodio de Aicaba.	1785		Guaicas	240			
Mission of N. Sra. de Belen, de Tumeremo	1788	Fr. Mariano de Perafito	Guayanos	284	36	105	328
Village of San Antonio, de Upata	1762	Fr. Luis de Castell-Tersol, Ex Conjudice	Spaniards	781	184	313	667
Village of San Isidoro, de Barceloneta	1770	Fr. Salvador de Barcelona	Spaniards and Indians	365	77	225	403
Sum total, 30.		Note.—That Father Fr. Hermenegildo de Premiá has no mission owing to sickness.		34667	5053	17077	16140

No. 470.

List of Catalonian Capuchin Missions in Guayana in 1799 by Father Buenaventura de Sebadel.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 855.]

Table of the Capuchin Missions in the Lower Orinoco, according to a Report drawn up by Father Buenaventura de Sebadel in the year 1799.

Names of the Missions.	Date of Foundation.	Population in 1799.
Purisima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora de Caroni	1724	659
Nuestra Señora de los Angeles del Yucuario	1730	540
San José de Capapuy	1733	886
San Francisco de Alta Gracia	1734	946
Divina Pastora	1737	532
San Miguel del Palmar	1746	714
Nuestra Señora del Monseratti del Miamo	1748	889
San Fidel del Carapo	1751	768
Santa Eulalia de Murucuri	1754	572
San José de Leoniza de Aima	1755	748
Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Guascipati	1757	788
Santa Cruz del Calvario	1760	426
Santa Ana de Puga	1760	513
San Ramon de Caruachi	1763	403
San Antonio de Huisatanos	1765	739
San Pablo del Cumamo	1767	458
Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Puedpa	1769	409
San Felix del Cantalicio de Tupuquen	1770	567
San Pedro de las Bocas	1770	514
San Buenaventura de Guri	1771	679
San Miguel	1779	487
Santa Clara	1779	217
San Serafin	1779	290
Santa Roza de Cura	1782	895
San Juan Bautista de Avechica	1788	514
Santa Magdalena de Currucal	1788	200
Anjel Custodio de Aicana	1785	304
Nuestra Señora de Belen de Tumeremo	1788	351
Total twenty-eight Missions	....	15,908

No. 471.

Spanish troops in Guiana in 1800 and where stationed.

[Translated from document in archives at Carácas.]

Companies.	At the Capital.							At Fortresses of Antigua, Guayana.							At Rio Negro.				At Sacaripoma.			At Cuyuni.			Parime.	Caura.	Misiones	Grand Total.
	Captains.	Lieuts.	Ensign.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Corp. and soldiers.	Total.	Captains.	Lieuts.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Corp. and soldiers.	Total.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Corp. and soldiers.	Total.	Sergeants.	Corp. and soldiers.	Total.	Sergeants.	Corp. and soldiers.	Total.	Corp. and soldiers.	Corp.	Soldiers.	
Co. of R. C. of Art'y.	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	2	1	26	29	..	..	1	1	..	....	..	..	....	..	...	....	.....	31
Co. of veterans	2	1	1	1	..	1	2	1	2	1	3	5	62	70	1	2	16	18	1	10	11	1	..	1	9	1	2	114
Co. of white militia	1	..	..	3	1	64	68	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	....	..	..	....	..	..	....	..	....	....	....	70
Co. of quadroons	..	..	..	..	..	....	..	1	1	..	2	1	90	94	..	..	....	..	..	..	..	..	8	8	....	....	....	102
Co. of mulattoes	..	..	..	..	..	....	..	1	1	..	3	..	38	40	..	..	....	..	..	....	..	..	....	..	....	....	....	40
Total	4	1	1	4	1	66	71	4	5	1	10	7	218	235	1	2	17	19	1	10	11	1	8	9	9	1	2	357

Guayana, October 14, 1800.

(Signed) Inciarte.

FRANCISCO PIRARES.

FRANCISCO OROSCO.

No. 472.

Spanish troops in Guiana in 1809 and where stationed.

[Translated from Copy printed in U. S. Commission, Report, Vol. 2, p. 671.]

Names of the posts where they are.	Number of troops of each body.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Corporals.	Soldiers.
	Of the Veteran Corps	3	3	3	8	6	23	123
	Of the Company of Veterans from Barimas	1	1	1	3	2	5	38
	Of the Colored Militia	1	1	1	3	1	10	63
	Of the Veteran Artillery	1	.	1	3	2	5	42
	Total	6	5	6	17	11	43	266
Rio Negro	Infantry	..	..	..	1	..	3	14
	Artillery	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Guirior	Infantry	..	..	..	..	..	1	8
Caura	Ditto	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Cuyuni	Ditto	..	..	..	1	..	1	6
Fortress of Old Guayana	Ditto	2	1	1	4	6	16	72
	Artillery	..	..	..	1	1	2	23
Tacaupana	Infantry	..	..	..	1	..	..	13
At the Capital	Ditto	3	4	4	7	3	16	110
	Artillery	1	..	1	2	1	3	19
	Total	6	5	6	17	11	43	266

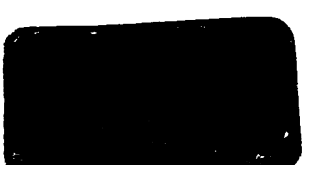
Note.—That the distribution of the force on garrison at the fortress of Old Guayana and at this Capital is shown in the two tables accompanying the above for the purpose of greater clearness, it being understood that the difference noted between the number of men comprised in these tables, as posted in the Capital, and those on Garrison therein, consists of some individuals of the Veteran Corps, who are here as invalids, sick and employed.

Guayana, March 1st, 1809. JOSÉ FELIPE DE INCIARTE.

No. 473.

List of Missions in Guayana, 1813.

[Reprinted from Blue Book, No. 8, p. 356.]

Official Table of the Missions of Guayana, in the Lower Orinoco, after the Suppression of the Capuchin Missionaries by the Spanish Cortes in 1813.

Name of Mission.	Date of its Foundation.	Number of Inhabitants in 1816.
Mission de la Purisima Concepcion del Caroni	1724	946
" de Santa Maria de Yacuario	1730	661
" de San José de Cupapuy	1733	1,168
" de Nuestro Padre de San Francisco de Alta Gracia	1734	754
" de San Miguel del Palmar	1737	1,015
" de Divina Pastora del Yaruario	1746	833
" de Nuestra Señora de Monserrata del Miamo	1748	1,041
" de San Fidel del Carapo	1751	1,000
" de Santa Eulalia de Murucuri	1754	780
" de San José de Leonisa de Ayma	1755	710
" de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Guascipati	1757	984
" de Santa Ana de Puga	1761	578
" de Santa Cruz del Calvario	1761	517
" de San Ramon de Caruachi	1763	634
" de San Antonio de Huicsatono	1765	955
" de Conversion de San Pablo del Cumamo	1767	864
" de Nuestra Señora de Dolores de Puedpa	1769	412
" de San Felix de Tupuquen	1770	736
" de San Pedro de las Bocas	1770	628
" de San Buenaventura de Guri	1771	758
" de San Miguel de Unata	1779	751
" de San Serafin de Arabatayma	1779	347
" de Santa Clara Yavaragana	1779	362
" de Santa Rosa de Lima de Cura	1782	551
" de Santa Magdalena de Currucay	1783	355
" de San Juan Bautista de Avechica	1783	732
" de Nuestra Señora de Belen de Tumeremo	1788	632
" de Villa de San Antonio de Upata	1762	1,596
" de Villa de San Isidro de la Barceloneta	1770	494
Total, twenty-nine missions	....	21,246